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The Church of England the Poor Man's Church,

The Church's Property her Rightful Heritage;

BEING

A REPLY TO A PAMPHLET BY J. C. WILLIAMS, ESQ.,

Secretary to "The Society for the Liberation of Religion from State Patronage and Control,"

ENTITLED

"THE CHURCH AS BY LAW ESTABLISHED."

BY THE

REV. EDWARD CARR, LL.D.,

INCUMBENT OF THE PARISH OF ST. HELENS.

Delibered in the Town Hall, St. Helens, March 25, 1859, and published at the request of the Meeting.

CENTER FOR AMERICAN STUDIES BURLINGAME CALIF.

LONDON:
SEELEY, JACKSON, & HALLIDAY, 54, FLEET ST.,
EDWARD HOWELL, 6, CHURCH ST., LIVERPOOL.
W. FOREMAN, ST. HELENS.

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SIXPENCE.

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BURLINGAME, CALIF.

ADVERTISEMENT.

In the month of January last, the Secretary of the (so called) "Society for the Liberation of Religion from State Patronage and Control," visited the town of St. Helens, for the purpose of holding a meeting. The author of the following pages thought it his duty to be present, and having heard statements made there which he believed to be opposed to the interests of true religion, he announced, at the close of the Meeting, that it was his intention to hold a Counter-Meeting, with a view to disabuse the minds of his parishioners of the fallacies then put forth. The Society seemed to attach some importance to the result of the controversy, as appeared from their sending a special reporter from London to enable them to reply.

A third Meeting took place, at which their Secretary, in a very elaborate and carefully-prepared address, replied to his statements. Being very unwell on the day previous to the last-named meeting, he requested his friend, the Rev. Dr. Baylee, Principal of St. Aidan's College, to represent him at the Meeting,—an arrangement which he considered to be necessary, as it was announced, without his permission, that he was invited to attend. On that occasion Dr. Baylee proposed to discuss with the deputation the question at issue, which was declined. A proposition to the same effect was made to the Committee of the Society in London, extending the invitation to any one they might select to represent them; this also was declined.

At a fourth Meeting the following reply was given, and is sent forth at the request of the Meeting to whom it was addressed.

The Author hopes that it may encourage others to stand forth in defence of a righteous cause; and he believes that a strenuous effort on the part of Churchmen will carry with it the conviction and good feeling of all whose judgment is not hopelessly biassed by party excitement.

REPLY

TO

MR. WILLIAMS' PAMPHLET.

At a meeting lately convened in this place, for the purpose of hearing an address from Mr. Williams, Secretary to "The Society for the Liberation of Religion from State Patronage and Control," I pledged myself to reply to the statements made on that occasion. I now appear before you to redeem that pledge. I repeat my regret, before expressed, that circumstances should have imposed this unpleasant duty. It would have been much more in accordance with my wishes to stand on this platform with those to whom I am not opposed, their ally in the promotion of some public good, rather than their opponent, in defence of what I believe to be a righteous cause.

Whatever may be the issue of the controversy; (and concerning that issue I entertain no fears) I shall have the satisfaction of reflecting, that we have not been the aggressors: and it will be my aim that they who are opposed to us, shall have no reason to complain of the tone in which my reply shall be conducted. I cannot promise, that they shall hear *pleasant* things (and they will admit that Mr. W's pamphlet has laid me under no peculiar obligation on this

ground) — but, I *do* promise, that the most disagreeable statements, to which they will listen, shall be *the recorded sentiments of their own friends.*

Mr. Williams, in opening his address, congratulates himself on the advantage he enjoyed, in having a verbatim report of my speech. I do not, for a moment, question the correctness of the report: — But, having this very decided advantage, I cannot withhold the expression of my surprise; that, in his reply he omitted to notice some of the most important points in my speech, altogether; and touched others with a very tender hand. I expected, at least, to find some attempt to prove that the Voluntary system had been successful in providing accommodation for the poor in Dissenting Chapels: I looked for some refutation of the telling statistics quoted from the Rev. Dr. Hume's pamphlet on the condition of Liverpool. I expected, and I think with reason, that the Voluntaryism of Liverpool, connected, as it is, with immense wealth, would be proved to have realized the bright anticipations that seem to have lifted Mr. W's spirit into rapture, too intense, to be expressed in tardy prose:

> "O blessed day! thrice blest the man
> Who sees its dawn, when Church and State,
> Which long have held unhallowed intercourse
> Shall be divorced."— ***Mr. W.'s Pamphlet, p.*** 42.

Why did not Mr. W. fulfil his promise of "making amends by giving me plenty to grapple in the way of facts and figures," in the important case of the town of Liverpool? Has Mr. W. dealt with the great question at issue, throughout his pamphlet? Has he attempted to prove that the opponents of the Church Rate, who would deprive the

Church of God of the means of providing, *pro tanto*, free accommodation for the poor in her churches, have themselves provided such accommodation, even in the wealthiest localities? I pause for a reply. True; he gives figures to shew the extent and increase of "religious accommodation" in Dissenting places of worship — (with these figures I shall deal by and by) — *but*, there is an important omission — there is no specific mention, that I remember, of accommodation for the poor!! And, yet, I repeat it, this is THE great QUESTION on which the issue of the whole controversy hinges.

The question is — not, whether voluntary subscriptions have been available for religious accommodation sufficient for those who are *able to pay for such* accommodation: but, whether religious accommodation, sufficient for the wants of the poor, has been provided by the exercise of the voluntary principle? That question Mr. W. wisely omitted to grapple with,

In his first speech he congratulated his hearers on the rapid progress which his cause was making in connection *with legal enactments:* a sentiment which, by the way, seems rather inconsistent with the designation of a society which deprecates "State control"—And he gave us an instance—the great changes effected in the newly established "Probate and Divorce Court."

So far from deriving any advantage from this new piece of legislation, I stated on the authority of one of the Registrar's of the new court,—who also had held office in one of the former courts—that the expense of administering to the effects of deceased persons, has been increased by at least one third. But Mr. W. is not acquainted with the

facts—it may be that those fees are oppressively heavy." The industrious poor man, who has toiled hard to save some small provision for his family, when he comes to administer, finds that the Liberation of Religion Society has, by its agitation, succeeded in *almost doubling the expense* of administering!* But—the Society consoles itself with the reflection—that, although it has added to the poor man's burden, it has succeeded in relieving those parsons who may be Surrogates of a portion of their income!

Another proof of the progress of legislation, on which Mr. W. congratulated his hearers, was to be found in the fact that the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge, whose doors, up to a recent date, had been closed against Dissenters, had been compelled to throw open their offices and emoluments to them.

I inquired, in my reply, by what instrumentality such a consummation had been effected: whether by cogency of argument, or by the exercise of the *Voluntary Principle, or by legal pressure?* I asked, further, how it came to pass that the Voluntary Principle, which Mr. W. would lead us to regard as capable of producing the mightiest results amongst Dissenters, had not rendered a participation in the advantages of Oxford and Cambridge unnecessary, by founding an Oxford and Cambridge of its own? I further inquired how Mr. W. could explain the inconsistency of Dissenters invoking legal assistance in seeking a participation in the benefits of Colleges founded, and voluntarily endowed, for the education of members of the Church of England? I am not aware that Mr. W. has noticed these

* Expense of administering to the effects of an intestate person, under £100, in the New Court of Probate..... £5 2 0
Ditto in the Old Consistory Court 2 13 5

questions. Without detaining you longer on Mr. W.'s omissions, I shall now proceed to reply seriatim to the facts and statements contained in his pamphlet.

To begin with his notice of Baron Gurney's charge to the jury at Bodmin Assizes in 1839.* "Baron G.'s charge loses all its points, when it is known that that judge, instead of being a Baptist Deacon, was in fact a Churchman, and one who had abjured the Ecclesiastical polity of his fathers." In other words, the solemn dictum of a British judge is to be estimated by the religious creed which he professes! Is this Mr. W.'s estimate—is it the estimate of the "Liberation Society," of the honour and integrity of the highest legal functionaries of the kingdom? If it is, let me tell them, they are the monopolists of such an imputation. If Mr. W. had no better reason for questioning the rectitude of a British judge, than the fact that he had abjured the Ecclesiastical policy of his fathers, he would have done wisely to withhold it. I was in error, it seems, in making Baron Gurney a Baptist when he was a judge. I give Mr. W. all the advantage of the anachronism: I ought to have said, Baron Gurney *had been* a Baptist in his younger days, but became a Churchman when he came to the years of discretion.

The manner in which Mr. W. disposes of my reference to grants made by the State to British and Foreign Schools, is worthy of attention. He does not, for he could not, deny that Dissenters—and Dissenters, too, professing to *repudiate* "*State patronage and control*," receive Grants in aid of education from the State. He admits the inconsistency. "The State," he says, "should have no more to do with

* See Appendix A.

educating the mind of the country than with the promotion of its spiritual interests." What then? Do Nonconformists repudiate grants of money voted by Parliament for Educational purposes? The answer will be found in their own statements:—"The receipts of the British and Foreign School Society for the year 1858, (including £4,249 10s. 3d. from the Council of Education) are £16,511 1s. 9d."* So that more than a fourth of the miserable sum was contributed by the Government of the country to the very persons, or many of them, who stand prominent in the ranks of "the Society for the Liberation of Religion from State Patronage and Control!" Deducting, still further, from the balance the sum of £3,327 contributed by the Wesleyans, there remains £8,937 11s. 6d. contributed by Nonconformists! I am here reminded of a scene presented some time back to a meeting in Burnley, convened for promoting the interests of the Anti-State-Church Association. Amongst other speakers, a Nonconformist Minister addressed the meeting, in terms strongly repudiating State patronage; and, to impress upon his audience, in the strongest manner, the society's abhorrence of receiving aid from the State, said, that the offer of assistance on the part of the Government would be received by them in the same manner as the Jews would *receive the offer of pork*. The Rev. James Bardsley, then Curate of Burnley, having obtained permission from the chairman to ask the speaker a few questions, the following conversation took place:—"You are the minister of such a chapel?" "Y-e-s." "You built a school there lately?" "I must explain about that school?" "Certainly." "The neighbourhood is very poor; the

* Congregational Year Book for 1858.

school could not be built by the inhabitants." "Yes, sir, but be pleased to state to this meeting whether you did or did not receive between £400 and £500 from the Government? yes or no?" "Y-e-s." "Gentlemen," said Mr. Bardsley, "they have eaten the pork."

"But," adds Mr. W., "the Church of England receives the lion's share." Quite true; but why? Because, notwithstanding her bondage, which the Liberation Society is so anxious to remove, the Church of England educates about four-fifths of the population. And if Mr. W.'s statement is correct, that "the bulk of the Voluntaries reject the proffered aid," to what an infinitesimal quantity is the sum expended by the "bulk of the Voluntaries" reduced, when the combined Educational action of all the Nonconformists results only in educating one-fifth of the population. But further, deducting from this fifth, the proportion educated by the Wesleyan Methodists, who must not be classed with the Voluntaries, and whose schools amount to more than half of the schools of all Nonconformists; deducting still further the proportion of the Voluntaries who receive State assistance, there will remain pretty much such an illustration of the educational power of Voluntaryism, as was once given of England's strength by the three tailors of Tooley-street, who modestly commenced a petition to Parliament with—"We, the people of England." And, miserable as is the number at present educated on the Voluntary principle, I may add, on good authority, that the next Educational Census of the Country will place the Church in a far higher position than is shewn in the above figures.

The question to which Mr. W. refers, in connexion

with the objection of Quakers to pay taxes for war purposes, was put to him to solve, in consequence of his having stated, as a maxim, that "the majority had no right to bind the minority in matters of conscience:" a sufficiently wide proposition, certainly, and one which, like many others of Mr. W.'s, needed to be defined. What are to be *considered* matters of conscience? and *what* not? Is *every man's* conscience, *however unenlightened*, to be arbiter of his obligations? If so, the Quaker should certainly be relieved from contributing to the support of the army. But if the majority have a right to bind the minority—and this is evidently the doctrine held by the Liberation Society—for otherwise they could not appeal to the House of Commons to legalize the abolition of Church Rates—*then* the conclusion is inevitable, that resistence to the payment of Church Rates, so long as the law demands their payment, is *wholly untenable*, even on Mr. W.'s own principles. In other words, if the majority has no right to bind the minority in matters of conscience, why make the Quakers pay towards the support of war? If the majority has a right to bind the minority, why resist the payment of Church Rates?

The next thing requiring notice is Mr. W.'s "emphatic protest against the unjust construction which the lecturer thought it right to put upon a newspaper article, the exact words of which he very judiciously said he did not profess to give." I shall now supply the omission, and leave it to candid and honest minds to judge, whether I have been guilty of the charge of dishonesty, thus insinuated against me.

In the first week of January, 1857, the "Liberator" newspaper, the organ of the "Liberation of Religion

Society," adopted the following declaration of policy, contained in an approved extract from the "Nonconformist:"—"*Radical Politicians*, we know, greatly dislike spending any particle of their strength upon Ecclesiastical questions. They will have to conquor that dislike; for Ecclesiastical questions will furnish the chief occasions of *popular conflict* for years to come. But for the strange and anomalous position occupied just now by the State Church—but for the evident fact, that *that* institution is out of keeping with all our other institutions—but for its hatred of all change, its tenacious clinging to all abuses, its monopoly of honors, its disregard of common justice, its never-ending attempts at encroachment, its oppressive exactions, its grasping cupidity—*we question whether, now-a-days, the middle classes could be got to take even a passing interest in politics. Upon no other subject can excitement be so easily awakened.* Why, even in the House of Commons there is far more earnestness in reference to some of its phases, than almost any other matter can produce. Every one feels that it is the grand question on either side of which political parties will soon range themselves. It will be impossible to form and discipline a party without reference to this. Even Parliamentary Reform is chiefly desired on the one hand, and deprecated on the other, as it is believed to bear upon the future destiny of the Church. The *Church*, in fact, although seldom mentioned as such, *constitutes the centre* about which political feeling mainly revolves; and, to profess a policy which has *no* reference, or but an oblique one only, to the State Church, would be about as *successful an attempt to create and vilify a party*, as to beat up for recruits in the name of philosophy.

Of course we do not expect that our convictions on this matter can be safely thrust into a programme of policy. But, as we said before, a fundamental truth or two, *stopping short of our ultimate aim,* and yet broad enough to answer present need, will be found an indispensable feature of any manifesto which is designed *to serve as a banner to the Radical party,* and as a source of inspiration and a bond of union to its members. They will never gain either unity, discipline, or courage, until they can dare to face the greatest anomaly of the age—the Established Church. It is the only remaining enterprize capable of inspiring enthusiasm. The policy which ignores *that,* is but the play of Hamlet, with the part of Hamlet left out."

Can any intelligent reader put any other construction on this declaration of policy, than that it aims at the demolition of the Church, and does so, *with "ulterior objects" in view?* "Down with the Church!" is but the war-cry to unite legions of Radicalism for "ulterior objects." It is intended to "awaken excitement"—to range political parties—to promote parliamentary reform—to serve as a banner to the Radical party, and a source of inspiration and bond of union to its members. And yet, the "*Liberation Society" has no ulterior political objects when it urges the discontinuance* of Church Establishments on religious grounds!"

> "Disguise—I see thou art a wickedness,
> Wherein the pregnant enemy does much."

If I failed in Mr. W.'s view to catch the meaning of the passage above quoted. I fear I shall incur his displeasure, if I say, that I cannot put any construction upon his definition of the policy of the "Liberation Society"—given in

the 7th page of his pamphlet—which will harmonize with the position which nonconformists hold in reference to the state. "It is an organization not seeking to interfere with, much less to destroy, *any* Church, but simply aiming to detach from the Government of the country all the religious bodies who, in any way, are allied to it by legal or pecuniary ties." By *legal* or *pecuniary* ties! What does Mr. W. mean? It appears to me that *all the religious bodies* are, in some way, allied to the Government by legal or pecuniary ties. The British and Foreign School Society constitutes a pecuniary tie between them; and the Courts of Law are not unfrequently appealed to for the settlement of legal disputes, *aye, and those, too, involving points of doctrine, which are readily submitted to a Chancellor or a Judge,* by the very persons who profess to repudiate "legal and pecuniary ties" with the Government. Witness, amongst numerous others, the legal contest carried on in connexion with "Hewley's Charity." Mr. W. is astounded that I took exception to his statement that the Bible was intended to regulate society without the intervention of the secular power, which it emphatically authorizes—"He (that is, the Ruler) is the Minister of God, a revenger to execute wrath upon him that doeth evil."—Rom. xiii. 4. So says St. Paul. "No," says Mr. Williams; "Bibles, not bayonets," in his first speech; and in his pamphlet, "God's truth is strong enough to take care of itself without the secular power." If it is, why do not Nonconformists settle their disputes without appealing to the secular power? Why is the Lord Chancellor called upon to pronounce upon what constitutes Trinitarian and Unitarian doctrine respectively? This is

a specimen of "the Doctor's *bad*, and of Mr. W.'s good logic."

In the 8th page, Mr. W. pronounces that "in interfering with religion, Governments enter into a region in which they are without authority." "The Government," he admits, "is responsible for good laws, good order, and good government:" in other words, Rulers are responsible for laws which promote morality without religion. If Mr. W. be right, *then* morals and religion have no necessary connexion. On what, then, would Mr. W. and his Society base their system of morality? On what principles ought the Rulers of a Christian Country carry on its government? Nay, more: I would ask, "If, in spiritual matters, men are under an obligation to follow their own convictions, and not to be coerced into accepting as truth that which they believe to be erroneous," *why* punish men for publishing the obscene and blasphemous productions of Holywell-street? *Why* punish men for refusing to take oaths? for an oath is a religious act. Why punish a man for marrying more than one wife, when he religiously believes that he may marry two? Mr. W. may reply, that "good order" requires this. But that will not do. The retort to such a plea in justification would be—You told me that "men are under an obligation to follow their own convictions;" "I am convinced that I have a right to marry two wives, or half-a-dozen, if I please;" and, according to your own doctrine "I am not to be coerced into accepting as truth that which I believe to be erroneous. The majority may be against me, it is true; but I have to remind you of your own maxim—that "the majority have no right to bind the minority in matters of conscience."

Before adopting doctrines, which, if carried out, must be subversive of all good morals, the Liberation Societies would have done well to have studied the sentiments of the greatest and best of the *Nonconformist Divines* of former days. Such were not the doctrines of Owen, of Flavel, of Matthew Henry, of Dwight, or of Doddridge. "If, says Dr. Owen in his sermon before the Long Parliament, it comes to this, that you shall say you have nothing to do with religion as rulers of the nation, God will quickly manifest that He hath nothing to do with you, as rulers of the nation. . . . Certainly it is incumbent on you to take care that the faith, which you have received, which was once delivered to the saints; in all the necessary concernments of it, may be protected, preserved, propagated, to and among the people which God hath set you over. If a father, as a father is bound to do what answers this in his family, unto his children: A master, as a master, to his servants: if you will justify yourselves as fathers or rulers of your country, you will find this to be incumbent upon you."

Mr. W. and his party should remember also, that, as Dr. Dwight states, "In the history of the globe, there is *recorded but one attempt seriously made* to establish a free government *without a religion*. From this attempt has sprung new proof, that a government, *stripped of this aid cannot exist*. Instead of being a free, just, and beneficient system of administration, it was more despotic than a Persian Caliphate; more wasteful of human life with all its blessings, than an inundation of Goths and Vandals." And yet, Mr. W. and the Liberation Society would fain pledge this nation to a repetition of the experiment! From such

counsel, in all the sincerity of my heart, I say, Good Lord deliver us!

But, we come to the fundamental error on which the fabric of the Anti-State-Church system is reared, in the ninth page of Mr. W's. pamphlet: where he tell us, that "in this country at least, it is the State which is the offspring, rather than the people that of the State. We not only elect our House of Commons, but make Peers and Monarchs bend to our will. It is *we* who furnish this supposed State-parent with all the resources which it possesses. *Its* power is *our* power, *delegated* for specific ends: *its* money is *our* money, to be expended according to *our* behest." Well, it is to be hoped that the loyalty of the Liberation Society is not to be measured by the rule laid down in this quotation. Not only Peers and Parliaments but even Monarchs are the subjects of the people! Their power including that of the Monarch "is our power delegated for specific ends." The Monarch's power *delegated*! If it be, the party delegating may, when it sees fit, revoke that power. Is this the doctrine of the Liberation Society? If this be the true exposition of the Sovereign's status—if Victoria's right to the Crown of England rest only on delegation of her subjects—let the nation no longer be insulted by a false assumption on her part—let the coin of the realm be forthwith restamped; and the words "Victoria Dei gratiâ Regina" exchanged for the words "Victoria Populi gratiâ Regina." But what says the highest of all authorities on the subject? "By me kings reign, and princes decree judgment" (Prov. viii. 15); "The powers that be ordained of *God*" (Rom. xiii. 1.)

And, as the people are represented to be the source

and fountain of all authority; so it would appear that they are also the source from which spiritual movements must emanate. This is, in effect, what Mr. W. states in the tenth page of his pamphlet. And yet he confesses "that most men are less anxious about their souls than their bodies." He tell us however, in justification of his theory that, "the existence of scores of religious communities, of thousands of christian teachers, and of tens of thousands of places of worship,—which the State has not originated and does nothing to sustain—all prove that in spite of man's depravity, religion can take hold of the human heart, independently of all the powers and principalities of earth."

To the abstract proposition, that "religion can take hold of the human heart, independently of all the powers and principalities of earth:" all will agree. But that is not the question. The question *is*, whether the Divine Author of religion intended it to emanate from the many or the few, and whether He has not employed, and does not require Kings and Princes, to use the power that He has given them, for the extension of His kingdom upon earth. Mr. W's. theory is nothing new. Adam Smith, in his Treatise on the Wealth of Nations, argues against religious establishments, on the ground, that religious instruction should be left to the pure operation of demand and supply; that in short, we should have *free trade in religion*, as we have in merchandise. However, plausible this theory may appear, a very slight examination will show that religion has ever been, as it was ordained by its Divine Author to be a movement not from earth to Heaven, but from Heaven to earth: a movement not originating with the many, but with the

few. It is no answer to say, that the people are as religious as their rulers. Nor does the state "abdicate its functions" by a neglect of its duties. The rulers may incur the displeasure of God, as they have often done, *for neglecting their* duties; but until it is proved that the people are divinely appointed to provide religious instructions for themselves; it will avail but little to hold up to contempt our Sovereigns as "patterns of piety;" or excite merriment by a facetious reference to the Duke of Beaufort's acquaintance with Aunt Sally.

"Let us consider whether this (the free trade principle) said Dr. Chalmers, is the footing on which the world ever *is* or even *can be* supplied with its Christianity, or rather with its Christian instruction. It was not so at the first introduction of Christianity; in virtue, not of a movement from earth to heaven, but of a movement from heaven to earth; and the expenses of which throughout the infancy and boyhood of the Saviour were certainly not defrayed by those for whose welfare the mission was undertaken. It was not so during His public ministry, when three or four women ministered to Him of their substance. It was not so in the journeyings of His disciples, who when they entered a city were supported by the hospitality of one individual for the good of the general population. It was not so when the Apostles went forth after the resurrection; and received their maintenance from such as Simon the tanner, or Lydia, or Stephanus, or Fortunatus and Achaicus, and others, who harboured and entertained the men of God while they held out the bread of life, without money and without price to the multitude at large. And to come down from the age of the New Testament, it generally could not

have been so that the extension of Christianity was carried forward during the three first centuries. The men who who were not Christians did not send, in those days, to the Apostolic college for men who might give them the lessons of the Gospel: but by a reverse process, teachers went forth among the yet benighted countries of the earth: and their expenses, at least in the first instance, behoved to be borne, not in the *shape of a price by those* who *received* the benefit, but in *the shape of a bounty* by those who dispensed it. It is an utter misconception that when Constantine set up in his dominions a national establishment of Christianity, he made the first infringement on the system of free trade, by which the prosperity of this religion had heretofore upholden. When he became the friend and nursing father of the church, *he did for the whole territory, what times and ways without number, the friends of the Church* had already done, each for the little district in which he resided, &c.

Nor can Mr. W.'s appeal to the "scores of religious communities, thousands of religious teachers, or tens of thousands of places of worship, avail him much, unless he can shew, that amidst this vaunted super-abundance of religious appliances, *the poor of the land have* been provided for: until he can shew further, that the Church, whose nationality he would subvert, has not been a great means of preserving the orthodoxy, and stimulating the zeal of Nonconformists. Is it too much to say, that if the spirit of rivalry in Nonconformists had been equalled by *another* spirit—the spirit, in virtue of which "the poor have the gospel preached unto them," they would be able to shew stronger reasons

than they have produced, for endeavouring to deprive the National Church or the poor man's birth-right, I mean, his right to a place in God's house, bequeathed in a far distant age by the owners of the soil, and enjoyed by his forefathers of many generations.

If it should be said that I exaggerate the Church's influence upon the orthodoxy of English Nonconformity: I would simply point to the religious communities of the Continent; and to the history of religion in Geneva in particular. Has "State patronage and control," on the other hand, ever prevented the confession of a true faith in "the State Church" since the days of the Reformation? Has Voluntaryism been able to maintain purity of doctrine in many Chapels, built by the followers of Baxter and Doddridge, and intended to perpetuate their doctrines? Are not the errors of Socinianism preached, this moment, in many a pulpit, erected for maintaining a purer faith? "In all dissenting bodies, where there is no fixed ritual, and no determined creed, (says *Mrs. Schimmelpenninck,*) whatever excellencies may at times appear, *how little can stability or permanence be secured!* Their creed, their worship, and indeed their dogmas, must always depend, more or less, on the personal instructors of the day. There is no standard of appeal: all believe and do, more or less, that which is right in their own eyes. And experience shews, that societies thus constituted have a constantly downward progress. * * * I well remember how an old grey-haired pew-opener at Kidderminster, as he shewed me Baxter's pulpit, told me, with tears, that, from *that* pulpit, which he had known in his boyhood as the centre from which

life and light were diffused, *were now heard cold and cheerless Unitarian, or perhaps Deistical principles.*"*

Having, satisfactorily to himself, disposed of my theory of the Church's relation to the State, Mr. W. proceeds to shew, by Statistics, "how the State has neglected its ecclesiastical duties. In examining these Statistics, one is involuntary reminded of a certain well-known adage, which politeness forbids me to name." In all fairness, let Mr. W. have the merit of making the best of his cause. Had certain Blue Books been entrusted to Mr. W., instead of Horace Mann, to abridge, he would have given such a compendium as would have confounded all advocates of Church and State, and that, without falsifying a single figure! This is done by a very simple method, which might be designated *the Rule of Omission*. This rule has been carefully observed by Mr. W., both towards the Established Church and Dissenting bodies. He states the number which the Church *ought to have* provided sittings, and also the number of sittings she has provided; carefully *withholding full information*, and keeping back every palliating consideration: while, on the other hand, he parades the sittings provided by Dissenting bodies as an evidence of the superiority of Dissent, *without even hinting at a single drawback in the system.*

I am far, I hope, from wishing to extol the doings of the Church unduly—farther still, from feeling that she might not have done much more than she has done; but whatever be her demerits or defects, I only ask that justice be done to her.

* Autobiography of Mary Anne Shimmelpenninck.—*Vol. I. p.* 253.

Mr. W.'s ingenious mode of contrasting the increased religious accommodation in the Church and in Dissenting bodies may serve as an illustration of his ingenuity as an advocate. Instead of giving every ten-year increase, as it stands in the Census from 1801 to 1851, he gives the gross numbers on each side, and implies that the Church has, during that period, failed in her mission, because "the Establishment has increased its religious accommodation to a less extent per cent. than even the Quakers, Unitarians, and Moravians."

This statement would be true if these denominations had provided sittings for *a dozen members each in* 1801, and for two dozen each in 1851. A fairer method of dealing with the question would have been, to have exhibited, if he liked, the Church's neglect in the first decade, but to have given her credit for vast improvement in the last—to have told his hearers that she built but 55 churches from 1801 to 1841; but that, roused from her slumber, she had built from 1841 to 1851 no fewer than 1,197 churches! And yet, *how is it to be accounted for*, that, during her years of supineness, her property was treated as inviolate, her church rates collected without difficulty? But so soon as she rises to her work with a vigour which even her enemies cannot gainsay, Anti-State Church and Liberation of Religion Societies are formed, with the avowed intention of reducing her ministers to the pitiable state of dependence on their flocks, which I shall, by and by, prove to belong to those whose financial status Mr. W. would have us to regard as quite an enviable one?

At a meeting of the United Kingdom Alliance, in Manchester, in 1857, it was strongly urged that all the minis-

ters present should bring the objects of the Alliance before their congregations, when two Dissenting Ministers publicly declared that it would be impossible for *them*, and very many more of their brethren, to do what was recommended. They gave their reasons. shewing they were Dependent Ministers of Independent Congregations.—[This is communicated by a clergyman who was present.]

We are told that a very large number of Dissenting Chapels have been lately built. Granted. But let me ask, "For whose accommodation have these chapels mainly been built?"* Mr. Horace Mann shall answer the question :—"It unfortunately, but rarely happens, that such local action is aroused, *except to obtain accommodation for an increase of the middle classes*, who already appreciate religious ordinances, and are able, and disposed to bear the pecuniary burden requisite in order to obtain them. The only prominent example within my knowledge of a vigorous effort to relieve a *local* want without waiting for local demand, *is the movemennt which, some years ago, the Bishop of London originated, and successfully, beyond anticipation, prosecuted*, for providing 50 new churches for the metropolitan parishes." That is to say, Dissenting Chapels are built mainly where there is a demand for sittings by persons able to pay for them; but provision is not made for the accommodation of the poor. In illustration of the truth of this statement, permit me to refer to some statistics given in the Rev. Dr. Hume's pamphlet on "The Condition of Liverpool," admitted by Mr. W. to be "a very interesting and able one." Let me premise, that the prin-

* Census, p. 65.

ciples of the Liberation Society can have no fairer field for testing their practical value, than Liverpool.

Speaking of the result of the migration of Dissenting Chapels, Dr. H. remarks, "the accommodation for religious worship, always sufficiently scanty, diminishes as the necessities of the neighbourhood increase. And when a population of twice or three times the original density has come to occupy a particular area, it is found that little or nothing remains to them but the Established Church." "The Chapels of Dissenters are removed from time to time towards the outward margin of the town—thus keeping within the range of the paying population." And he instances the case of two districts in the town, the one rich, with 10,000 inhabitants, and eight or more Dissenting Chapels; the other poor, with 30,000, and only one chapel, capable of accommodating 120. And not the least remarkable fact mentioned by Dr. H. is, that "three of these seven deserted chapels have become permanent churches; *and only one is retained by the community to which it originally belonged as a free school.*" In a private communication, he says—"The total of free sittings provided by the Dissenting Chapels, which, in 1851, amounted to 71, was 11,324, or 25 per cent.; whilst the rented sittings were 33,444, or 75 per cent. of the whole. These free sittings, also badly situated for the poor, being in the richer portions of the town, so that the poor have little access to them." If these things be so, they furnish strong evidence that, even in localities the most favourable to the development of the principles of the Liberation Society, the practice does not harmonize with the theory, *so far, at least, as the interests of the poor are concerned.*

Further I am not aware that Mr. W. acquainted his hearers with the fact that 3,825, dwelling houses were recorded in the return by Dissenters in the number of their chapels. If this mode of computation be correct, I think the church in all fairness should be allowed to add her thousands of Schools-licensed-rooms, and unlicensed cottage lecture-rooms where the service of God is habitually conducted. Such addition would have made a very important alteration in Mr. W's. numerical statistics. Again it should be remembered how comparatively easy it is to build a chapel. Its walls may be of any thickness: its materials of any kind. The money for its erection may be raised and often is raised by mortgaging the building, and when built, if the speculation does not answer, it may be sold and converted to any use. On such terms it is easy to build chapels. But the church cannot claim this privilege. Stability, appropriateness to holy use, and permanent occupation are inseparably connected with her edifices. Nor, have *we* the advantage of having two or sometimes three churches served by one minister! "State patronage and control" forbid such a mockery of ministering. "But, from the Congregational Calendar of 1846—It appears: that of 1858 congregations, 389 wanted ministers: or 21 per cent. of the whole! Yet, Mr. W. assures us that if we would succeed in our efforts to arrest the progress of spiritual destitution in the country, we need only adopt the principles of the Liberation Society and *discard our own.*

> "It is the witness still of excellency,
> To put a strange face on its own perfection."

With a slight alteration, I willingly adopt the words of Mr. W. and say: "I do not refer to these facts to blame

Dissenters, much less to glorify the church. Men cannot achieve impossibilities; but then they ought not to undertake them." Much less ought they try to make the public believe, that they provide an amount of spiritual instruction, which facts and figures, furnished by themselves, utterly disprove.

But, there is voluntaryism in the Church; and Dr. Carr rejoices in it. It has contributed 11 millions for building churches during the present century, and provided little short of one million sittings for the poor. Aye—Dr. C. does rejoice in it: and does not refuse, on that account, to be "put in the witness box." Dr. C. rejoices in voluntary efforts as a supplement to, but he denies that they ought to be a substitute for, the property of the church. Every thing in its place. Voluntaryism is a good servant; but a bad master. There is a vast differance between placing your status altogether at the will of another; and receiving help to improve it. There is a world of difference, for instance, between the independence of the minister, who is scantily provided, yet secure of his income; and that of the minister, who, for his bread, depends on certain officials described by Mr. James, as "the Bible of the minister, the wolf of the flock and the patron of the living." The one may receive help, but it does not necessarily compromise his independence; the other may be "starved out," whenever these lordly officials "the Lord Deacons" think it time to be tired of him.

We may pass on now to Mr. W's. historical recollections. He brings up the old story, a hundred times refuted, and which any intelligent boy in our national schools might refute, that Henry VIII. was "the creator of the Establish

ment," or as he is sometimes designated, the father and founder of the English Church. Has Mr. W. yet to learn that the English Church maintained at all times its indedence of the Church of Rome, even when it held communion with it? Mr. W. seems to have a lawyer's acquaintance with musty state-records and obsolete Acts of Parliament, and is fond of quoting as much from them, as may suit his purpose. Strange that he never happened to meet the declaration of Sir R. Twisden: "I dare boldly say, that whoever will, without partiality, look back, will find that the reverence yielded by this Church of England to Rome, for more than a thousand years after Christ, was no other than the respect of love, not of duty."* Did Mr. W. in his legal researches, never stumble on "the Constitutions of Clarendon," A.D. 1164; the "Articles of the Clergy, and Statutes of Provisors," A.D. 1,350—1,363—1,389; of "Mortmain," and of "Præmunire," A.D. 1,391, '2; and last, though not least, the Acts of his friend Henry VIII. from A. D. 1531 to 1543; all which prove that the church establishment was not created by Henry VIII., but enjoyed the independence ascribed to it by Sir R. Twisden.

Let me offer you some proofs of this. Egfrid King of Northumberland, as Twisden informs us, A. D. 670, *imprisoned Wilfrid* Archbishop of York, with the advice of his Bishops, *for appealing to Rome.* The purport of the "Statutes of Provisors" was "that the king and other lords shall present unto benefices of their *own*, or their *Ancestors'*, foundation; and *not the Bishop of Rome.*"† "*Præmunire*" was "for sueing in a foreign realm or impeaching judgment given" (well for Mr. W. that it is not

* Page 67* † Wordsworth's Theophilus Anglicanus, p. 159.

in force now. His impeachment of Baron Gurney's judgment might place him in an awkward predicament)—"for purchasing bulls from Rome"—"The Crown of England subject to none." And to come to Henry VIII.—The 24th, Henry VIII. c. 12. A. D. 1532, was enacted "*to restore to the crown its ancient jurisdiction.*"

These quotations I think place us in a position of estimating Mr. W.'s assertion that "the new church was established at the expense of the old, and with savage barbarity, ousted the Roman Catholic clergy by force" (p. 31). They place us further in a position to prove, on the ground of immemorial occupation, the Church's right to the property she holds. The Church of England, say our opponents, was changed at the Reformation: yes—but she reformed herself; that is she reverted to her ancient faith: but whether in darkness, or in light—whether before, or at, or, after her reformation, she was the Church of England still. There seems about as much sense in denying this, as there would be in denying a man's identity, who from being a good man, became a bad man, and afterwards a reformed character. "If a professorship of astronomy had been founded by some lover of the science, when the system of Ptolemy was in the ascendant, surely the trustees of his foundation would be thought to satisfy his manes best by giving it a man who would now show his pupils a more excellent way;—and that Newton was right and Ptolemy wrong, though contrary to the notions of the founder himself, and though he, like the Jesuits, would possibly have denounced the innovation as heretical."* Let us hear no more of these worn-out common places.

* Blunt on the English Reformation," p. 153.

As to the headship of the Sovereign over the church, Mr. W. has fallen into the error of confounding *temporal authority with spiritual office.* The Sovereign performs *many* duties in reference to the church, but can exercise *none* of its spiritual functions. *These* are performed *within* the church, and are provided for *by the* church herself. "He may, by the weight of his power, facilitate or retard the discharge of her duties, (and *this* he can do in reference to *every* religious body) but cannot *himself* perform them. He may nominate a minister to a benefice, but he cannot confer the ministerial character upon him. Like David, he may divide the priests in their courses, but he may not lay his hands on the Ark. To represent, then, the Sovereign as the centre of the spiritual authority which is exercised within the church, *is* to confound acts of external government, bearing on *the exercise* of an office, with spiritual acts bearing on *the creation* of an office."* As to Henry the VIII being a good, bad, or indifferent man; it affects the argument not a whit. God uses what instruments, he pleases, to work out his will. "Jehu did not please God: but his reformation did. Nebuchadnezzar and Ahasuerus were idolatrous; but their Edicts for God's Service were religious. The Temple in which our Lord was presented, in which He preached, and worshipped, was repaired and restored by the impious and cruel Herod."

I feel it almost a waste of your time to engage your attention with imaginary disabilities under which the Church is said to labour. In page 176—"Its creed and worship are provided by the State"—rather, provided by

* Boyd on Episcopacy, 331.

the Clergy in Convocation, and adopted and approved by the Sovereign and Parliament. But suppose them to have been provided by the State: what would be the proper way of ascertaining their merits? Common sense and common fairness would say, 'take them for what they are worth;' test their intrinsic value. But no; "they have been provided by the State;" that is quite enough. "Can any good thing come out of Galilee?" Will Mr. W. take Robert Hall's view of the Liturgy as a fair standard of its value? "The evangelical purity of its sentiments, the chastised fervour of its devotion, and the majestic simplicity of its language, have combined to place it in the very first rank of uninspired compositions." Can this be said of the extemporaneous *forms* used by many a Nonconformist minister?

As to the pains and penalties threatened in the Acts of Uniformity, it would have been no wonder if "Dr. C., in the preparation of his lecture, had forgotten them." Penal laws are generally impressed on the memory by the repetition of the punishments they inflict; but, not having heard of fines, confiscations, and *imprisonments for life*, in our days, in connexion with these Acts of Uniformity, I am sure that any one, not possessing Mr. W.'s opportunities for research and his retentive memory, would readily pardon my forgetfulness. I assure Mr. W. that parsons are much less hampered by penal laws, than certain Nonconformist ministers are by the *unwritten*, but of the *unmerciful* laws of "Lord Deacons."

Thirdly, "other communities possess the power of regulating their own affairs." A very doubtful advantage some-

times. Liberty is a good thing when there is proper use made of it; when otherwise, it is soon converted into an evil. "It does not unfrequently happen," says Mr. James, "that when two or more churches of the same denomination exist in a town, a most unhappy, unscriptural, disgraceful temper is manifested towards each other. * * * Oftentimes the feud has been perpetuated to the generation following."* The fact is, we have liberty enough for all practical purposes—and perhaps a little too much.

Again: "While other communities possess powers of Church discipline," "the Church has either no such authority, or can exercise it only in accordance with a system fraught with practical difficulties and absurdities." Yet the *Electic Review*, of September, 1831, indignantly asks, "Who could bestow the name of 'republic' upon a mere club, political or ecclesiastical?" Of *this spurious* Congregationalism—this ultra Independency, it may be truly said, that it wholly wants a principle of adhesiveness—that its tendency is almost to infinite divisibility. Such a church is a *polypus* that may be divided again and again; and as often as the separation takes place, puts forth a head, and becomes an individual performing the various offices of the species. The multiplication of societies by division—the *propagation of Dissenterism* by *slips*—the *raising of congregations by architectural forcing glasses called chapels—all* this *may be very proper*, and the system *may* work well in many instances; but this is no more the Congregational polity of our forefathers."

This extract is suggestive on many points. On one, it

* *Church Member's Guide*, p. 130, 126.

is conclusive: Whatever *our* defects in self-government may be, (and no doubt there is room for improvement,) it is

> "Better to bear the ills we have,
> Than flee to others that we know not of."

As to the quotation given from the *English Churchman*, whose editor is vexed at the appointment of Dr. Hampden, what does it prove after all? That Dr. Hampden was made Bishop of Hereford, and that the Editor did not approve of the appointment—and after all Dr. H. was not a bad man. So also in reference to the Bishop of Norwich, against whom he had not a word to say. As to the mode of selecting Bishops, there *may*, or *may not* be, a better one—*perhaps* there is. But looking at the results, and taking the Bench of Bishops as they are, I think they will bear comparison with the same number of delegates of any community; and will not suffer by the comparison. And, whatever evils may be connected with their mode of election, there seems nothing to gain by adopting the plans of our neighbours.

This brings me to notice Mr. W.'s allusion to the extracts I quoted from Mr. James's *Church Members' Guide*, to prove the evils of popular election of ministers. "Unfortunately Mr. W. has not been able to refer to the passage." *Strange*, that one so well versed in the works of English Bishops should find a difficulty in referring to passages taken from a Nonconformist author of such reputation as Mr. James. He did not like perhaps to transcribe into his neatly indited pages a description of an election which spoke of "secret canvassing,"* "mean, petty arts," "cabal and intrigue," and "the most disgusting exercise of the most

* James, 228; ibid., 229; ibid., 231.

disgusting tyranny" between contending parties. He admits the quotations, but apologizes for them by an extract from a subsequent work of Mr. J.'s, in which he confesses that "instances are to be found, and taking them in the aggregate, not a few, which answer to the portraiture in the volume; but he denies that this is the usual posture of their affairs." Be it so. But *not infrequent instances do occur*. Has Mr. W. confronted the portrait of popular elections with anything corresponding in the State Church?

We are reminded, to be sure, of the manner in which numbers of our ministers are appointed: by the Crown, the Lord Chancellor, the Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, and private patrons. Whether a better mode of appointing them might not be found, I do not say; but despite of this system of patronage, even Mr. James admits that excellent clergymen "are continually multiplying in every part of the country, and to such a degree, that if the reasons of Dissent were to be found only in the conduct of the clergy, instead of the principles of the Establishment, it would be difficult to withdraw from the communion of the Church of England." "The tree is known by its fruits."

Up to this point Mr. W. professes to have shewn the Church her thraldom from which the Liberation Society sighs to release her; but sighs in vain. "The iron has entered her soul." She refuses to hear the voice of the charmer. The hand, she says, may be the hand of Esau, but the voice is the voice of Jacob. Having failed in his efforts to win the Church's affections, Mr. W. turns to sympathize with his friends, and reminds them of their grievances. p. 27.

There is certainly a long list of them, with more plausibility than reality about them. This might be easily shewn in detail. Take an example or two. The Sovereign must belong to the National Church. Well: suppose her at liberty to choose one of the 100 denominations, what an inundation of appeals she would have from them, putting forth severally their claims. "None but the State clergy can be chaplains to the Sovereign," &c. How could it be otherwise? Suppose on the system of "every sect in its turn," some leader of a new sect who owed his distinction to the fact that he could read, write and cypher a little, extemporizing in provincial jargon for the edification of the House of Commons? Is that the sort of arrangement that would commend itself to the Liberation Society? I do not mean to say that this would be always the case; but fancy even a succession of the more educated ministers officiating for the House of Commons, each one putting forward his peculiar views! But I must refrain—the grievance is not worth arguing. "Nor can they be chaplains of jails and work-houses." Of course not. They would not accept payment from the State, and they could not be expected to work for nothing. "The Bishops sit in the House of Lords." True; and Dissenting ministers may, and do sometimes, sit in the House of Commons. "The Establishment claims exclusive possession of our Cathedrals." Fancy them common property! Orthodox Dissenters, taking turns with Unitarians, Swedenborgians, Mormonites, and a host of others in succession! And "Parsons receive Easter dues," &c. So would Nonconformists, if they legally belonged to them. And "Last year *the enormous sum* of £2,000 was allowed for paper

used in prayer-books"—a boon in which the poor were the largest sharers. "And upwards of £500 expended in forms of prayer:" to call down a national blessing, of which the Dissenters had to pay about £50, and for which I trust they received a rich recompense in an answer of blessing vouchsafed to the nation at large.

But what right has Mr. W. to complain, if, as he states in page 9, "The people elect the House of Commons, and make Peers and Monarchs bend to their will." Surely if this be so, the acts of the State are the acts of the people. *Why then* find fault with them? But *this* is not *all*. "The *indirect efforts* of a Church Establishment are more damaging to outsiders than the legal enactments." "Dissenters are denounced in national documents;" (where?) "preached against by State clergymen," &c. (p. 28.) My experience of State clergymen is, that they choose, in general, more edifying topics for their discourses. *But* if ever they should be *tempted* (and I hope they will not) to earn the character Mr. W. has given them, and occupy their pulpits with abusing *sects*, instead of *saving sinners*, they can find a considerable amount of palliation for such a fault in the proceedings of the Liberation Society.

Mr. W. can have but little acquaintance with the practice of Churchmen, when, amongst other charges, he accuses them of "bullying Dissenting Shopkeepers into silence." If exclusive dealing were more practised by Churchmen, and less by their opponents, we should not see Vestry Meetings so easily packed by the latter, and Churchmen so slow to act, until compelled, by factious and party spirit, to shew their superiority. Better have left this topic out.

But the climax of grievance *is*, that "the children of

wealthy Dissenters, who appreciate social position, are always likely to be drawn within the Established circle." It is quite true, there *is* a saying, that Dissent usually lasts but three generations. But I am not aware that Dissenters, as such, are excluded from the very highest positions of the social circle. A newspaper report of any of the Queen's levees will shew whether such is the case. It would be uncharitable in me to suggest, as a possible reason for such defection—if I did not borrow a dissenter's testimony—"*that the system does not work well.*"* One would have supposed, from Mr. W.'s description of Nonconformity, contrasted with the horrors of the State Church system, that Nonconformists would be able to say,

> "Though perils did
> Abound, as thick as *thought* could make them, and
> Appear in forms more horrid; *yet, my duty,*
> (As doth a rock against the chiding flood,)
> *Should,* the approach of this wild river *break,*
> And stand—*unshaken—yours.*"
>
> ***Shakspeare, Henry VIII.***

After a lengthened review of the faults, follies, and failings of the Church, we are introduced to the real question at issue—the property of the Church. Mr. W. quarrels, and with good reason, with my Statistics as set down by himself, and as furnished, I have no doubt, by his reporter. But referring to my notes, I find the exact sum set down in them, as constituting the property of the Clergy, is £2,410 7s. 6d., being the return made to Parliament in 1856 by the Tithe Commission. This, I ventured to affirm, was not the property of the State, but the

* "Remarks upon the present state of the Dissenting Interest," p. 10.

Church's own; and, by a right more sacred and a tenure more ancient than the property of any individual can shew.* I denied, and Mr. W. has not attempted to disprove the denial, that the Church's property was given her by the State: and this being so, I said that all the Church requires (she has a right to demand it) is the protection of that property. I said that Dissenting Chapels are sometimes endowed—(and, strange to say, their Trustees and frequenters are to be found amongst the zealous members of the Liberation Society!!) And the State protects *their* Endowments. This is all the Church demands.

The Church's title, however, is impugned by Mr. W., and he quotes the high legal authority of that most impartial witness—William Cobbett—to sustain his plea. The force of Cobbett's argument is, that "if Parliament has no right to alienate Church property, no layman has a good title to tithes." I reply—there is, sometimes, a vast difference between title—which an Act of Parliament may give, no matter how unjustly—and *right* which is founded in equity. Laws, however unjust, give titles: it is only Equity that can give rights. "But," says Mr. Williams, "property cannot belong to the Church; because its functionaries have no power to alienate it from the purposes for which it was given. How, then, can *Endowments belong to the Dissenting Ministers of Endowed Chapels?* Need I apply the parallelism?

Mr. W.'s deduction from Bishop Hooker's statement, (who, by the way, never was a Bishop) is a curious illustration, how men of acute understanding may be led away by one-sided views. Hooker's argument is, that the Church

* Appendix B.

and State constitute, together, one polity. "*This Church-State polity* calls upon us," says Mr. W., "to pay tithes and church-rates." "If, therefore, the resumption of Church property for other than Ecclesiastical purposes, be an act of spoliation, it will simply be *the people committing a robbery on themselves.*" THAT WON'T DO, Mr. W.!

According to your own admission, the party giving was a *compound party*, of which the Church was a component. The same must therefore be the party taking away. But the Church as a component part is ingeniously left out, and "*the people*—as if the Church were no part of the people—is substituted for the compound or Commonwealth spoken of by Hooker. When Mr. W., by his powers of persuasion and logical skill, can induce the Church to become a consenting party, he may state this argument over again.

Now for the Church-rate.

Dr. Carr *did* know, when he gave his statistics and when he stated that just 5 per cent. of the parishes had refused a church-rate—he *did* know "that the accuracy of the Parliamentary return had been "impeached;" he did not, and he does not know, that it had been "impeached decisively." Mr. W. notwithstanding his promise at the outset, is very economical of figures. "The return, he asserts contained a greater number of refusals than is admitted by the arithmetic of the Committee of Laymen." This is a grave charge, involving the double crime of dishonesty and falsehood, against whom does it lie?—Let us see. There were two returns made, one to Lord Robert Cecil: the other to Sir William Clay. Having compared these returns the Committee of Laymen placed the result before Lord

Palmerston in June 1857. Their statement was that 9,672 parishes had sent in replies—as follows:—

Parishes in which the rate was granted	8,280
Parishes provided for by estates, &c.	544
Parishes which gave doubtful replies	440
Parishes which refused the rate	408

They stated that, hence 95 per cent. allowed the rate—and remarked that 38 which had formerly refused had since granted it.

This is the statement impeached by the Liberation Society. These are the returns which "have been decisively impeached." It so happens, however that Mr. Walpole has lately placed a return before parliament, in which reference is made to the return made to Lord R. Cecil, which contains the following explanatory remarks by the Librarian of the Home Office who digested the Blue Book.

"No. 319: Sessions 1856—England and Wales—Return of all parishes in which (during the last 15 years) church rates have been refused, and since refusal, have ceased to be collected, &c. The total number of parishes for which this return was made was 9043, and the total number of refusals was 349." This more than shows the accuracy of the returns as stated by the Committee of Laymen.

Further: the recent returns to the home office, remarkably verify the above—viz: according to returns above.

Actual refusals out of 9,672 parishes	408
Dubious replies	440

Mr. Walpole's return from 10,206 parishes:—

Parishes supplied by voluntary rates, &c.	805

thus leaving the difference of the 20 per cent. of parishes unto which it is said church rates do not enter, to be accounted for by endowments or voluntary rates; or by their having failed to state their case at all. So much for the charge of dishonesty as regards *numbers*. Let us now look into the *money* question.

Mr. W.'s statement is, that since 1827 church rates have been steadily diminishing, viz:—"from £519,307 in 1827 to £314,659 in 1854—an aggregate loss of £205,000 or nearly one half in 27 years."

The correctness of this statement of figures may be judged by the following facts. 1st. The return of 1827 has a paragraph at the very commencement stating that it is "defective, as not showing *whether any*, or what sources of *income are included with church rates*." Why has Mr. W. omitted to state this? On this "defective" return the Liberation Society states the amount of church rates in 1827 to be £519,000 taking care not to shew whether it did or did not include voluntary subscriptions for enlarging, repairing, and improving churches.

In 1854 they state Church Rates to be £314,639. Shewing an aggregate loss of £205,000, or nearly half in 27 years." To make out this statement they put down £170,000 *as church income* which in fact contained all voluntary subscriptions—a very different affair. So that, deducting from the "defective" return of 1827 the amount received from sources independent of Church Rates, the balance will be pretty nearly what is shown in the return of 1854.

Mr. Williams also omitted any reference to the relative proportions paid by Churchmen and Dissenters, as appears

in the last Return. Of the proprietors, 10,540 were Churchmen; in 1,260 cases the number of Churchmen and Dissenters were about equal, and about one-tenth of the rate was paid by Dissenters; of which a considerable portion was paid by the Wesleyans, who maintain the principle of Church Establishments.

Mr. W. next impugns the *legality* of Church rates. True, Lord St. Leonards differs with him; but what of that? Who is Lord St. Leonards, that he should compete with Mr. W. on a question of law?* And, to prove Lord St. L. quite wrong, he reminds us of "a maxim of English law, that there is no right without a remedy." Yes, but he ought to have remembered the distinction between a remedy provided by law, and the power to enforce it. Landlords in the south of Ireland have an undoubted right to their rents, and an undoubted remedy is provided by law for their recovery. But that remedy is often defeated by combinations and conspiracies, and even by subtle modes of evading the effects of legal enactments. *Is this the case with Church Rates?* There is no legal remedy, says Mr. W. But Lord Wensleydale (Baron Parke) does not say so. In the debate on Church Rates in the House of Lords, July 8th, 1858, he said, "It is not to be assumed that there is no remedy. The Ecclesiastical Court will proceed to punish those who are contumacious in refusing to concur in making a Church Rate." And, after stating that expense and difficulty is necessarily connected with this mode of recovering the

* It appears from a Supplementary Return just made to Parliament, that the annual sum of £14,870 ought to have been added to the Church Rates collected during the last seven years. Appendix D.

rate, he adds: "Every one *ought* to obey the law, and is not morally excused by the chance of impunity, any more than a person would who should commit a more serious crime when he knew it would be easy to escape punishment." But no doubt Mr. W. does not agree with Lord Wensleydale! I remember to have heard of an argument in which one of the parties shewed the other that St. Paul was against him. "Then," said he, "I am against St. Paul!"

From the subject of Church rates Mr. W. passes on to shew that ministers should depend on the voluntary support of their hearers. I must here beg to assure him that I meant no offence by saying that Dissenting ministers were dependent on "Mr. Joe or Miss Polly." Indeed, I have no doubt that there are many excellent people called by these names. But as to the principle of voluntarious support, I was rather astonished at the selection he made from Scripture to prove it. In the 9th of 1st Cor. "the apostle vindicates the right of the teacher to maintenance." Who ever doubted it? "By whom?" he asks. "By those who receive no benefit from his ministrations?" "No." Then why ask people to support missionaries? They go abroad, and the people at home cannot derive benefit from their ministrations. But if the fault is not with the ministers, but with the people, how then? Do we not all pay for many things from which we receive no benefit in particular, but which are public advantages—the poor-house, &c.? But the passage is about the very strongest against voluntarious support of ministers. It takes us back to the Old Testament dispensation—to the ministers in the temple. Were

they not supported by what the people chose to give them, or by a provision first appointed by God himself, and maintained whilst the Jewish polity lasted?

Then Mr. W. attacks certain abuses in the distribution of Church property.—p. 39. I am no advocate for, nor will I be a defender of abuses, connected with the Church, or any thing else. And if, instead of attacking the Church's principles and polity, Dissenters would unite with us in removing the abuses, instead of endeavouring to sap the foundation of the Church—if, instead of setting up the cry, "Down with it, even to the ground!" they would give a helping hand to remove a blot here and there, we should have no quarrel with them. It is true, the property of the Church is very unequally divided, and a better division is most desirable. But the practical question is not so easily solved. At all events, the days of the Prettymans, the Moores, the Luxmores, and the Hales, are amongst the things of the past, and not likely to return. And as to the huge incumbrances in the way of Bishops' dwellings, which Mr. W. refers to, I venture to say, that the present occupants would be glad to exchange for dwellings more suited to their incomes. Let by-gones be by-gones. If ever such a state of things should return, it would be against the united, indignant voice of every good Churchman, lay and clerical, in the land.

And now having freely admitted our deficiencies in the matter of clerical incomes, I must take leave to ask Mr. W. on what principle he assumed the Dissenting Ministers to be so much better provided for than many of our working clergy? "It cannot be said of Dissent that 10,112 of the working clergy receive but on an average of £114 each."

Why did he not give us the average receipts of Dissenting Ministers? And it would have been edifying to have a Statement of "*the fat livings*" *enjoyed* by some of them. He has referred us to Wales, (p. 12) to prove what Dissenters could do. Let me refer you to the Report of the Autumnal Assembly of the Union of last Autumn, in Wales. Under the head of "Congregational Churches," we are told—"Our people are rapidly improving in their liberality. The incomes of Ministers have been *greatly advanced* of late years; and though still unreasonably low, not averaging above £60 a-year; yet if the Churches will improve in their liberality in the ensuing twenty years, at the same rate that they have done in the last twenty, we shall not have much cause to complain."* I think, notwithstanding the boasted liberality of Welsh Dissenters, the Miss Pollys and the Master Joes of the Principality, need a lesson in the *art of giving*. Passing from Wales to England: under the head of "Fund for Aged Pastors on resigning their Charges," there is an eloquent and impassioned appeal to the liberality of Congregationalists; and a plan proposed, the object of which is, to raise an income for pensioning off Superannuated Ministers, of the munificent sum of £3,200! This *splendid income* to be distributed in the following manner:—To 7 the grant of £30, £40, £50, £60, £70, of the first class: and 5 grants of £20, £30, £40, £50, £60, of the second class!† which would leave £450 per annum to go to the increase of the foundation fund," &c. This needs no comment.

* *Congregational Year Book* for 1858, p. 60.

† *Congregational Year Book*, p. 67.

Mr. W. leaves us in undisputed possession of the argument on the parochial system. He does not, for he could not, deny the inestimable blessings conferred by it on every class, and on the poor especially. To whom do the sick and sorrowing, the fatherless, the friendless, the houseless, go, as by a natural instinct, for comfort, counsel, and for help? To whom do the orphan and the widow appeal in the bitterness of their desolation? "*Oh, I come to you;* because I heard you were the Clergyman, Sir;" is language familiar to the ear of every Clergyman of the Church. And *this is* the state of things which the Liberation Society would subvert!

Mr. W.'s reference to Dr. Hume's pamphlet on the Condition of Liverpool, is a rather unhappy termination to the very discursive career of his pamphlet. This part of the subject I shall leave in Dr. Hume's hands. He writes—"I have read Mr. W.'s allusions to my pamphlet. I hope his quotations from other works have not been made with so little regard to the opinions of their writers. Take the following examples:—

Mr. W. states, "the very pamphlet of Dr. Hume, to which I have referred refutes the assertion, that under the voluntary system the people must be neglected."

Dr. H.'s reply: "I must have expressed myself very imperfectly in that case: *for the direct object* of it was to show, that, under the voluntary system the mass of the people, especially *the poor is neglected.*"

Mr. W. "the Liverpool Dr. has a much firmer faith in voluntaryism than his brother Dr. at Saint Helen's"

Dr. H. "this is stating a truth partially and unfairly. I show clearly that the voluntaries among themselves *desert*

the poor, and *follow* the paying population: but *the church itself* (not the voluntary portion of it) *stands by the poor;* among the Protestant Dissenters the poor are ignored almost altogether."

Mr. W. "yet he (Dr. H.) deprecates an addition to existing endowments."

Dr. H. "I" never did any such thing. I candidly despaired of it. I despair in like manner, of making all men moral or holy: but I do not "deprecate" it, for the object is very desirable."

Mr. W. "he not only does not think it possible to get the £50,000 which would be needed to meet the wants of Liverpool; but deems it better that what is annually wanted shall be annually raised."

Dr. H. "I never expressed any such sentiments: but rejecting what is apparently impracticable, proposed what is strictly practicable."

Mr. W. "he even recommends his plan, on the ground that it obviates the objection offered to the endowments, that they "make the clergy too independent of their people," and encourages negligence."

Dr. H. "I do not: but as that is one of many objections which might be brought from very opposite parties, I show *that it is untenable.*"

The great variety of topics introduced by Mr. W. into the question at issue must prevent my doing more than give a brief sketch of the scriptural argument for the endowment of the church by the state. Omitting allusion to the divinely appointed arrangements connected with the levitical economy let me refer you to the 1st chap. of Ezra, where from verse 1—6 we read; the Lord stirred the spirit of

Cyrus to make a proclamation: this proclamation set forth an obligation to furnish supplies, "besides the free will offering for the house of God." Again in vi. 3, 4. The king made a decree concerning the house of God, and the expenses were to be given out of the king's house," 4th verse. In Psalm ii., kings are commanded to serve the Lord. In the New Testament Christ commands the payment of tribute (Luke xx. 21. 5.) much of which went to the support of heathenism. In Romans xiii. 5, 6, 7, there is a command to "pay tribute for conscience sake." In Romans xvi. 23., Erastus "the chamberlain of the city" is honourably mentioned as a christian. Yet his office was to collect even from christians and pay over the appointed revenues to the heathen temples and priesthood.

To these let me add a passage with the interpretation put upon it by an eminent Dissenter. Isaiah xlix. 23. "kings shall be thy nursing fathers, and queens thy nursing mothers," &c. Dr. Gill says: "this is to be understood literally of the kings and queens of the earth; and is thought to have had its fulfilment in part, in Cyrus. Ahasuerus, Esther and others, *but more so in* christian kings and queens, as Constantine, and Helena, Theodosius and Placilla and others."

Such, too, was the interpretation put on Scripture in the days of Cromwell, when *Voluntaries voluntarily* took possession of the Church's revenues, which their former possessors *involuntarily* had to give up. Such, too, was the interpretation which Voluntaries gave to Pomare, King of Tahiti, which induced him to establish the Church there; and the Voluntaries themselves made the laws.

But *circumstances* make all the difference. "State patron-

age and control" was a right good thing in Cromwell's time, and not a bad thing at a distance of some thousands of miles in our own days. Is this, then, the standard of truth—eternal truth, which knows no variations, but, like its Divine Author, is the same yesterday, to-day, and for ever?

But in the midst of all this revived opposition to the Church, it is some consolation to mark the symptoms of gradual assimilation on the part of Dissenters. Their teachers, formerly ministers, are *now* clergymen. Their chapels have lately become churches; and as regards the style of their architecture, there is a close resemblance. Naves, and chancels, and side aisles, and stone pulpits are no longer the exclusive characteristics of the Church. The great majority of Nonconformists, too, consummate their happiness at the Church's altar, under the influence of an hereditary feeling that they are not properly married if married elsewhere. The organ, once called by the unharmonious name "a box of whistles,"

> "Now through the long-drawn aisle and fretted vault,
> In pealing anthem swells the note of praise."

Nor will Dissenters part with the right to share with us the old parish church, while living, nor the old church-yard, when dead. Nay, even at the cost of violating admitted principles of justice, while they would take from us the legacy left us a thousand years ago to keep the churches of old England in repair, they cling to the privilege of worshipping, *when they will*, in her temples, and of raising their voices in her vestries, albeit they contribute nothing to her support.

Can this be from an underlying feeling that is almost as English as our love of liberty—a love for the Church of our fathers? If it be, and I would fain hope it is, though mingled with feelings of hostility, we may, perhaps, hope for better days, when—not scanning too minutely the imperfections, and even the abuses which attach to her, and remembering that they themselves have not found a perfect system—*her opponents*, if they *rejoin* not her ranks, will, at least, wish her God speed in the work which, by God's blessing, she is doing in the land. Earnestly desiring so happy a change, I would take the liberty of altering the lines from one of Scotland's poets with which my opponent closed his address, and read them thus :—

> O blessed day! thrice blest the man
> Who sees its dawn; when Church and Sects,
> Which long have held no hallow'd intercourse,
> Shall re-unite.

APPENDIX A.

Baron Gurney, at the Bodmin Assizes, April, 1839.

A Dissenting teacher and four other persons were indicted for obstructing an auctioneer in a sale of goods seized for Church rates, in the town of Truro. In summing up the case to the jury, Mr. Baron Gurney (alluding to the handbills of the defendants, which had been read in court,) said:—"More disgraceful publications he had never had the misfortune to meet with. Disgraceful to them as men, but much more so as men professing religion. (It appeared that a Bible had been taken from Randall, Mr. Randall preferring that Bible evidently for the purpose of exciting odium.) That any man, much more a religionist, and still more a *teacher* of religion, should so act, was one of the most disgusting circumstances which, during a long professional life, he had ever heard of. Till within the last ten years no man living had ever heard of "*conscientious scruples*" upon this particular subject from any class of Dissenters, *nor until questions of conscience had been mixed with political feeling.* He respected the rights of Dissenters—no man more so; but he felt great distress when he heard *conscience* prostituted by an admixture of *political feeling.* If a man purchased a house, he gave a price subject to all burdens upon it; and he calculated that he should have to pay certain rates and taxes, and in proportion to those had he estimated its value; and he (the learned Baron) *had never heard that any one of these persons had paid over to his landlord any sum* he might have saved in consequence of reduction of any tax; and until any man had done that, *the less he said about his conscience the better.* The Church rate was an ancient rate payable by law. *It was the duty of all men to pay it*; it was the duty of all men to submit to the law.

APPENDIX B.

The following testimonies of Dissenters in favour of the Obligation of Church Rates are well worthy of attention :—

To the Ratepayers and Inhabitants of Hatherleigh.

A petition against the abolition of Church Rates without an equivalent having been prepared for signature in this parish, and having myself for many years entertained decided opinions on the subject, I venture to submit them for the consideration of such as may favour me with a few minutes' attention.

I do not look at the question from the same point of view as those who maintain that it is the duty of the State to provide for the religious instruction of the people. In my view, religion is a matter beyond the province of secular governments. I do not consider that either the Sultan, the Czar, the Emperor Napoleon, or the British Parliament have any right to impose, or are endowed with suitable qualifications for imposing, a religion on their respective subjects. I believe the religion so widely spread by the Galilean Fishermen and the Tent-maker of Tarsus, needs not the support of secular power. *I strongly object to grants from the taxes imposed on the whole mass of the people, for the promotion of the religious views of a section of the people.* and when that section is about a moiety only of the population, grants from the *taxes* raised from the whole, for the support of the church of the moiety, cannot in my opinion be justified.

I am aware that most people who hold these views think themselves aggrieved by having to pay church rates (in the rural districts particularly) *not a personal tax, but as a time-sanctioned charge on property. I occupy in the parish, land of my own, and land which I rent.* Some of my own I bought, some I inherited. *What I bought, I bought subject to church rates.* What I inherit has been charged with church rates for perhaps a thousand years. *What I rent* I took on the understanding that in addition to the rent I had to pay other imposts—the

church rates being one. *I happen to rent fields of the trustees of a Socinian meeting-house*, but it does not affect my conscience to pay for those fields, although it is applied for the promotion of Socinian doctrines, which I do not hold, as such rent is not mine, and never was; neither is my conscience affected by paying church rates on those fields, *although I object to the Athanasian creed, the church catechism statement of baptismal efficacy, and other matters, as such church rates are not mine, and never were.* I should feel myself aggrieved if I were taxed for the purpose of teaching the dogmas of Socinus or Athanasius. I do feel myself aggrieved by being taxed for the support of Socinian worship through the Regium Donum. A great stir is made about church rates, although they have been a charge on property for centuries, because the churchwarden comes round to our doors in bodily shape to demand them; but we pay without a thought or a murmur every time we drink our tea, or wash our hands, personal taxes, not only for the building Anglican Churches, and the support of Colonial Anglican Bishops, but for the support of Socinian, Baptist, and Independent Ministers, (an infinitessimal dole to them, it is true) the *education of Catholic Priests*, and until a recent period, if not even now, for honours paid to *Braminical and Buddhist Idol worship, with their attendant lascivious rites*, I do not think the State has any right to tax me for the support of any of these institutions; but I would not deprive one of them of an iota of property to which they have a better claim than any body in the world besides.

The fields rented by me were not originally given for the promotion of Socinian worship. The donors were Trinitarians. On the Socinians being possessed of Lady Hewley's charity by the orthodox dissenters, the legislature, at the instance of Lord Chancellor Lyndhurst, (very properly, I think) passed an act, providing *that where a religious body has for 70 years* been in the possession or enjoyment of property, the title of the present possessors shall not be questioned. A shorter term than 70 years suffices to secure to an individual a right to the undisturbed enjoyment of the property he possesses. Even property

acquired by wrong, the law will not allow to be disturbed after quiet enjoyment for 60, 40, 30, and even only 20 years. If there were no statutes of limitation, no one's property would be secure. Some of the largest estates in the kingdom were gotten by wrong; *but, it is properly held, that the present possessors*, the undisturbed inheritors for centuries, have a better claim than any body else now living. For many centuries the cost of the repairs of the parish church of Hatherleigh, and its worship, has been a charge on the lands of the parish. *Whatever may be done with the church rates, they do not belong to the owners or occupiers of land. If the rates are not to be applied to the parish church, they should be paid for the support of dissenting meeting houses*, rather than be pocketed by the owners and occupiers of land. If the legislature should see fit to divert the application of church rates, from the maintenance of the parish churches, to the building and maintaining of music halls, public libraries and news-rooms, it would, in my view, be preferred to simply abolishing church rates; though I should be sorry to see property secularized, which has for ages been devoted to religious uses. The abolition of church rates would be simply presenting to landowners as a boon, that which for ages has been public property, just as Harry the Eighth took the property of the monasteries (which wanted reform badly enough, no doubt) and gave it to the courtiers. The manor of Hatherleigh, and the impropriate tithes of Hatherleigh, once belonged to the Abbot of Tavistock, by whom the greater part of the present church was probably built. The Lord of the Manor is still the principal payer of church rates in the parish; for what the tenants pay is indirectly paid by him. When a man takes a farm he calculates the outgoings. If they are heavy, he offers the less rent; if light, he can afford to pay more in the shape of rent. The payments of *tithes and church rates is a landlord's and not a tenant's question; and I do not consider that the titles of the landlords to their estates, is in any case better founded—in few cases is so well founded—as that of the public to the ecclesiastical tithes and church rates.* If a dissenting meeting house, or other public institution had enjoyed, by the sanction of the law, and

the usage of centuries, a right to support from the charge on the land of a parish, I should be equally opposed to those lands being relieved of the burden. *I do not consider that the dissenters of Hatherleigh* are more aggrieved by having to pay rates for the repairs and worship of the church, than I am aggrieved by having to *pay rent to the trustees of a Socinian meeting house*—than the "Bible Christians" of Hatherleigh are aggrieved because the Baptists there have an endowment—or that the owners of the lay tithes of Hatherleigh are aggrieved because they have to keep the church in repair. On entering my present house, I put out a bow to the window of my study, to catch a view of our "Heaven-directed spire." *Let as many new temples be reared* as are requisite to meet the needs, the various convictions and predilections of men; and may they be filled with sincere and devout worshippers, but despoil not the old temple of our forefathers of that heritage which they left as its dowry. *Let us wash our hands of the sacrilegous guilt of alienating to secular* uses—nay, of confiscating for private uses—the immemorial provision which has been consecrated to the public worship of God.

JOHN PEARCE.

Hatherleigh, April 16th, 1858.

APPENDIX C.

Speech of —— Owen, Esq., at the Church Rate Meeting, Melbourne.

Gentlemen, I am a dissenter from the Church of England, and that I mean to remain. The laws of the country allow perfect freedom to every one to hold his religious opinions, provided he does not interfere with his neighbour. I come here because I understand there

is an opposition to a grant of a Church rate. Perhaps I shall surprise some of you who are present here, but I hereby publicly declare that I cannot, as an honest man, vote against a Church rate. I have given this matter a good deal of consideration, and if you will favour me with your attention, I will briefly give you my reasons. When I purchased my property in this parish, I calculated all the outgoings and expenses; I reckoned up the taxes, poor rates, tithes, and Church rates; and allowing for the drawback, I paid accordingly, and gave so much less for the purchase than I should have done but for these drawbacks. I say, Gentlemen, that, having bought my property subject to certain deductions for Church rates, I cannot, as an honest man, turn round and vote against the Church rates, and so put the money into my own pocket. It is a robbery to do so. Another reason why I cannot vote against a Church rate is because I have a respect for the law of the land; and it is the law of the land that a Church should be kept in every parish by a general assessment of property, and so long as that law remains unrepealed, I am not the man to disobey or evade it. A third reason is, that I consider by refusing a Church rate I am robbing the poor, who have a right by law and prescription that a place of worship should be provided for them by the owners of real property without exception. The property of Dissenters is equally liable with others. And, lastly, I will not vote against the rate because I do not consider it of sufficient importance to quarrel about. My maxim is, if possible, to live peaceably with all men; and I have no notion of being dictated to by a selfish set of fellows, whether in London or elsewhere, whose purpose it may suit to set us at loggerheads together. I, for one, will not be made their tool, but take the liberty of judging for myself. And I think if you would do the same, you would see that it can answer no good purpose to carry opposition further. Had you come to me for advice, I should have said you would have done better never to have begun it.

The rate was carried by 3 to 1.

APPENDIX D.

Every Judge who has given an opinion on the subject, from Chief Justice Holt to Lord Truro, has declared that the parishoners are legally chargeable with the repair of the body of the church. This has been decided by twenty-three Judges who sat successively on the Braintree case. Lord Denman said the levying of a Church rate is "*not a voluntary act, it is imperative on the parishoners that they do repair the church.*" Lord Truro said the parishoners are under *an imperative legal obligation* to provide for the necessary repair of the church, and the expenses incidental to public worship. Mr. Justice Cresswell says that as early as the time of Canute it was declared, "*ad refectisnem ecclesiæ debet omins populus subvenire.*" Lord Cranworth, though reluctantly, admits that is part of the "old Saxon *trina necessitas*, the repair of churches, roads, bridges;" equally obligatory, therefore, in law with a highway rate, though the power of enforcing the obligation may be wanting through the defects of the law.—*Rev. Augustus Campbell's Letter on Church Rates.*

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THE

PRESENT CRISIS

IN THE

CHURCH OF ENGLAND,

AND

WHAT IS NOW TO BE DONE?

AN APPEAL TO

ALL ENGLAND.

BY

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LONDON: SIMPKIN AND MARSHALL, STATIONERS' HALL COURT;
YAPP, WELBECK STREET;
WERTHEIM AND MACKINTOSH, PATERNOSTER ROW.

1863.

THE PRESENT CRISIS IN THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND. AND WHAT IS NOW TO BE DONE?

WHATEVER may be the amount of regret at the circumstance, there can be no concealment of the fact, that the Church of England, which is the National Church, has reached a crisis in her spiritual history such as she never before experienced. That she has for some years been giving manifest tokens of inward disturbance of mind and conscience is plain from the various and numerous theological opinions and dogmas which have issued from the press since the year 1836-7, and have become subjects of intense dispute and discussion in College Halls and Ecclesiastical Courts. And, looking back from the present stand-point to the records of the past twenty-six years, there will be seen a remarkable ascending series of spiritual controversies—beginning with the doctrines peculiar to the Prayer Book and now reaching to those contained in the

Bible. One thing connected with these events has become singularly evident—that whatever may have been the points at issue, and the decisions of the Ecclesiastical Courts upon them, the, so to speak, offenders have in some cases found ways and means of escaping the real weight of the sentences pronounced against them, and, by so doing have cast a shade of weakness and foolishness upon those tribunals, and thereby lowered the character of the Church of England in the eyes of the Christian world. Thus there has been through all those years a constant and gradual decline of that esteem and favour with which the Church of England was formerly regarded by the great body of the people of England. But this has been more particularly the case of late years with regard to the Rulers of the Church of England. They have, all along, with the internal dissensions of the clergy, been brought into unpleasant and unhappy publicity, and the share they have been compelled to take in such matters, and the way in which they have expressed themselves, and conducted themselves in dealing with them, has not added to their popularity. It may also be observed that their proceedings in Convocation have become a proverb for anything but wisdom. As an instance—a committee was appointed to draw up a form of prayer for Harvest. It took several weeks to compose it, and when

presented the composition was rejected. Isaiah xxix. 14.

The House of Lords has more than once been a scene of painful altercation upon these differences, and the newspapers have taken their own sides, and giving their own colouring and effect to what was passing within their reach; whilst soubriquets of more or less significance have everywhere passed current in the common conversation that has taken place on these subjects. But, whatever may have hitherto happened or transpired in the compass of the Church of England at home, nothing has appeared so strange and foreboding as the late Episcopal doings and sayings in the Colonies. The happy influence attached to the soil of England—the common sense—the moral feelings—the christianised heart and mind of the bulk of the people, like the strong rope that tethers a calf or a colt—allows a certain freedom and boldness of religious opinion to circulate among us even in print and from the the pulpit, because there has been an inward consciousness of proper correction for it, whenever the due and proper time should arrive.

But now we have made the unexpected discovery, that Bishops sent out to the Colonies can forget their home associations, and act in the most unlooked for manner in their distant spheres—quite contrary to what they promised to do, and to what

they were bound by the Gospel of Christ. Thus the spiritual sores that began at the feet have at length reached the head of the ecclesiastical body, and now we are in the midst of a great confusion of things, "some crying one thing and some another."

Now, the discredit of all this is great in the eyes of the Christian world, and all persons of reflecting minds must see that a very serious crisis has arrived, in which the Church of England must pass through an ordeal of no common character before she can right herself, and become what she ought to be. Her strongest Ecclesiastical position is threatened. The supposed moral guardianship of her Bishops is being undermined. The superior wisdom, sanctity, and rectitude of the Episcopal order is giving way. It is no longer trusted. Bishops are found to be men, not gods; erring clergymen, not unerring Apostles. As long as clergymen transgressed, there was the Discipline Bill to bring them to their senses, and to make others fear to follow in their steps. But who shall decide when Doctors disagree? Bishops can sit in judgment upon clergymen; but who shall sit in judgment upon Bishops? *Quis custodiet ipsos custodes?* The present state, then, of the National Church has now become so serious, that it seems a solemn and imperative duty to call public and universal attention to the fact. It has within the last 20 years lost numbers of its

clergy, who have gone over to the Church of Rome, evidently from a pre-received training and inclination for its services. It has lost nearly one-half of the common people of England in various ways, but principally through its Liturgy. It has everywhere lost in our cities and villages much of the respect and esteem in which it was formerly held, and by which it gained for itself a great degree of moral influence; and it now stands in a most unenviable position for any Church to occupy, with the bickerings of its leading clergy carried on in newspapers, and a fatal wound made in the body of its Bishops. The students at both Universities are evidently feeling the effect of this, and are manifesting an increasing unwillingness to engage themselves in so hazardous a service. Rome herself could not desire a worse condition for her ancient antagonist than this, and the Pope and his Cardinals must be congratulating themselves in the Vatican on the propitious signs of the speedy dissolution of the Church of Queen Elizabeth. A small body of the clergy have been for some years trying to recover the declining prestige of the National Church. They have listened to objections made from without; they have consulted the wishes and feelings of members within; and they have come to the determination of uniting together for the sole purpose of carrying out measures which,

in their view of things, they believe to be specially conducive to the spiritual welfare of the National Church.* But in this they have hitherto found little sympathy; whilst those who hold back are only seeing, year after year, fresh evils arise—each one appearing of greater magnitude and darker colour than the last.

There is, and should be, a strong analogy between the Government of England and the Church of England. If the former were to be placed in any peculiar difficulty or danger, a national sympathy would immediately be awakened, and a universal movement made to meet the crisis and to save the vessel of the State. Should not the present danger of the National Church call forth corresponding feelings in the hearts of the nation? If St. Paul's Cathedral were found to be on fire, would not the people of London at once hasten to the rescue? A slow, internal fire is consuming the moral and spiritual life of the Church of England—the Church of the Nation—and no one seems to raise a voice or lift a hand to avert the danger. Is it so, indeed? Have we here a repetition of the last days of Jerusalem, with the Roman armies without bent on its downfall, and the most bitter feuds, and contentions, and rivalries within, hastening and helping its end? I ask; does the present dangerous state of the Na-

* Revision of the Liturgy.

tional Church excite any national sympathy? If not; of what is this the sign? How can indifference to a beleaguered and disorganised National Church be construed? What is the meaning of this? What is the sign? Those that cry out against her from without are less fierce and cruel than those that tear her vitals within. Truly, the Church of England may cry—"Save me from my own children." Absalom's rebellion was more bitter and fatal than the curse of Shimei. The great climax, the culminating point of spiritual distress and trouble has now arrived at the door of the National Church. Will the nation sympathise with it? That is now the great question. On this thread all the future depends.

Now the National Church can be nationally dealt with. She has come down to this predicament. She has brought herself into this necessity. "She has come into great waters, and her rowers are about to break her up in the midst of the seas."—Ezebiel xxvii, 26. Will no one put off to save her? Will no hands join to help her?

A national conference on the state of the National Church seems the imperative duty of the present moment, if the Church is worth saving. Now, all the best and truest friends of the Church of England can do for her, what they could never do

before. The favourable opportunity, the precise moment has come for a full and thorough investigation of the state, condition, and management of the National Church. The late Revivals of true religion have given a deeper insight into, and a more extensive acquaintance with the power of the Gospel of Christ, and with the Divine art of preaching it, than was ever known before since the days of the Apostles. Now, the precise nature and use of religious forms and ceremonies can be advantageously considered under present light and past experience. Now, the real ploughing of the ground, and the sowing of the seed of the Word of God can be greatly improved upon from what has been. Now, the National Church of England may, by the voice of the nation, be raised to grander proportions—to greater enterprises—to wide world conquests. And she may at length become—*what is yet to be*—"The mountain of the Lord's House, established on the top of the mountains, and exalted above the hills."—Isaiah ii. 2.

But no time must be lost. The present state of things, if not instantly arrested, will only grow worse. *The plague has begun.* Delays, doubts, fears, and waitings will only serve to increase the danger and the difficulty of commencing a task, which, if well undertaken and scripturally carried out, and a

constant blessing and guidance invoked from on High, may prove one of the grandest moral events yet known to the world.

The free ventilation of the question of a National Conference on the present state and condition of the Church of England, so as to adapt it for the purposes of a National Church to meet the present spiritual wants and requirements of the people of England, seems the first thing to be done in furtherance of this object. If this is now generally commenced, and the idea generally entertained, there need be no fear for the practical result. The combined Christian experience of the nation will, under the Divine blessing, accomplish, whatever it may prove to be, a nobler and a wiser plan than theirs who last put their hand to the Liturgy. The full light of the Scriptures will scatter and purge away the last remains of Popery and Romanism. And the good effect will be found on every side. A tone of sound, healthy piety will gradually spread itself over the whole land; and the people, being fed and nourished with the bread which cometh down from Heaven, and folded together according to the simplicity of the Gospel of Christ, and led to drink at the fountains of living Water, will realise more and more the blessedness of such a happy state. "Then our sons shall grow up as the young plants, and our daughters be as the polished corners of a temple.

Then our garners shall be full of all manner of store and our sheep shall bring forth thousands and ten thousands in our streets. Our oxen shall be strong to labour; and neither breaking in, nor going out, nor complaining be heard in our streets. Truly happy are the people that are in such a case, yea, happy must be the people who have the Lord for their God."—Ps. cxliv. 12-15. "Deliver thyself, O Zion, that dwellest with the Daughter of Babylon." "Loose thyself from the bands of thy neck."—Zech. ii. 7. Isaiah lii. 2.

The people of England have only to demand this in Parliament, by means of their Representatives, and it shall be done.

CONGREGATIONAL UNION TRACTS.

No. V.

SECOND SERIES.

THE

RELATION OF THE CHURCH TO THE STATE.

By ROBERT HALLEY, D.D.

LONDON:

Published for the Congregational Union by

HODDER AND STOUGHTON,

27, PATERNOSTER ROW, E.C.

1870.

THE

RELATION OF THE CHURCH TO THE STATE.

On this subject three questions deserve careful consideration.

1. What is the relation of the Church to the State in this country?

2. What advantages are supposed to be obtained by that relation?

3. What objections may be alleged against it?

1. What is the relation of the Church to the State in this country? Or what do we mean by the common, though incorrect phrase, "The union of Church and State"?

In answering this inquiry we must be understood as restricting it to England, because in Scotland the relation of the Church to the State is, at least in form and profession, if not in reality, different from that which is established in England. In the northern part of the island the Church has been allowed to assume the management of her own affairs and the control of her own officials to an extent which has never been conceded to the English Church. So long as the ecclesiastical authorities of Scotland rule their Church quietly,

fairly towards all parties, and in harmony with the prevalent feelings of their countrymen, they will probably continue undisturbed in their proud disavowal of the supremacy of the Crown in ecclesiastical affairs. Should they ever get into collision with the civil authorities, they may find to their surprise, and probably their annoyance, that the Queen's Commissioner sitting in their supreme court represents the power of royalty as well as its patronage and pageantry. In theory, however, the Rev. the Moderator is the highest authority in their General Assembly, and the Right Honourable the Lord High Commissioner has only to protect the royal prerogatives from the encroachment or interference of the ecclesiastical authorities. In theory, whatever may be the practice, the Church of Scotland, while dependent upon the State for support, acts independently of its control. Possibly, in an emergency, Scottish Presbyterians may find the silken cord by which she is fastened to the State as strong and unyielding as the cart-rope which binds English Episcopacy. It is, however, neither so repulsive nor so humiliating.

In England avowedly, as well as really, the Queen is the supreme governor of the Church. The supremacy of the Crown is the great principle which has made the English Church what it is, and given form and character to its government, its doctrines, its services, its officials, and in short to all belonging to it. The clergy sign the articles which the civil power prescribes, obey the discipline which the civil power ordains, preach the doctrines which the civil power approves, and pray the prayers which the civil power commands. They are in spiritual things as much the servants of the State as are in temporal things the officers of the army, or the collectors of the excise.

It is, therefore, important to ascertain clearly and precisely what is the extent of the supremacy of the Queen in, or rather over, the Church of England.

The supremacy of the Crown is sometimes represented by its advocates as meaning nothing more than that all ecclesiastics as well as laymen ought to be equally obedient to the civil power in its administration of the laws of the country. This is certainly very harmless doctrine; and in this sense the Congregationalists of England hold the supremacy of the Queen as firmly as any other loyal subjects of Her Majesty. With them it is an unquestioned principle that the pastors and officers of their Churches have as subjects of the realm no exclusive rights or privileges whatever. They are in all their relations to the Government just what other people are, as citizens neither elevated nor depressed by the official character which they sustain in their own Churches. As decidedly as any of their Protestant countrymen they oppose the subordination of the civil power to the ecclesiastical in any form or under any pretence whatever. In short, they maintain the perfect independence both of the Church and of the State;—of the Church as a religious community doing its proper spiritual work, without respect of persons; and of the State as a civil organisation doing its proper temporal work for the just government of its subjects without the fear or favour of any on account of their religious profession or practice. In English history and English law, the supremacy of the Crown means a great deal more than the equal and impartial government of all persons and parties.

The supremacy in spiritual matters was to an unlimited extent assumed by Henry the Eighth, and conceded by Parliament to Queen Elizabeth. The history of the English Reformation can be interpreted only by observing that whatever authority in spiritual things the Pope had previously possessed, or even claimed in his frequent controversies with the English monarchs, was transferred to the King and his successors; and whatever spiritual authority had been exercised by an Œcumenical Council was conceded to the High Court of Par-

liament. In the ordering of the Church, Parliament obtained the legislative supremacy, and the King assumed the executive.

The claim and assumption of King Henry are unmistakeably manifest throughout the ecclesiastical history of his eventful reign. The Act of Supremacy by which the National Church of England was constituted and settled, is clear, unambiguous, and capable of only one construction. Whatever may be said about the uncertainty of Acts of Parliament, this one Act is not chargeable with the slightest ambiguity. According to the only construction which it admits, the King makes the laws of the Church by his Court of Parliament, and interprets them by his courts of judicature.

Offence is frequently taken by English Churchmen on being told that their Church came into existence at the Reformation. At that time, unquestionably, its government, its laws, its doctrines, its services, every thing distinctive of it, received a new form and character. It became Protestant instead of Popish, national instead of Catholic, subject to a layman instead of a priest. How the royal supremacy was then asserted and maintained in opposition to the clergy of all ranks and in both convocations, is too manifest to be misunderstood, although it is often ignored by those who delight to tell us that the Church of England reformed itself from the corruptions of Popery, and emancipated itself from the bondage of Rome. By the strong hand of the King, the Church was compelled to submit to the change or subversion of all its ancient institutions. If, previously to the Reformation, the clergy of England acknowledged the supremacy of the Pope in spiritual things, what could have been a more complete revolution of their Church, or a more decided subversion of its principles, than to separate from the Catholic communion, and to submit to the supremacy of a layman? So the clergy themselves thought in both the Southern and the Northern Convocation.

The clergy of the province of Canterbury, compelled to submit to the abject and humiliating terms of receiving the King's pardon for their contumacy in having acknowledged what they believed to be a capital article of the Catholic faith, the appellant jurisdiction of the Papal Court, appended to their act of submission to the supremacy, the clause, "so far as is agreeable to the laws of Christ." The clergy of the province of York proposed to acknowledge the King as "Supreme Head of the Church in all temporal matters." But neither the King nor the Parliament would allow the limitation of the supremacy proposed by either Convocation. The submission imposed upon the clergy was absolute. By the fundamental law of the English Church enacted by the civil power, acknowledged (not approved) by the spiritual, the King is made, without any limitation, its Supreme Head and Governor. Of course under a Constitutional Government the Act is to be interpreted as meaning not the King personally, but the constitutional authority which he represents. We have thus distinctly before us the relation of the Church to the State as it was established by the first Act of Supremacy, a relation of abject and helpless submission.

On the accession of Elizabeth, the powers and prerogatives of the supremacy, as well in spirituals as in temporals, were conferred upon her by Parliament. The Act which conferred them was passed in opposition to the vote and protest of the Church, in so far as the Church could act by its own authorities, for every bishop who had a seat in the House of Lords voted against it. On its passing, fourteen bishops, all who at that time were in Parliament, entered their earnest and solemn protest against it, while only one temporal peer adhered to them. Soon afterwards an Act of Uniformity for the government of the Church was passed in opposition to the votes of the same bishops, of whom all excepting one

were deprived of their office and dignities for refusing to take the required oath of supremacy.

The humiliating submission of the Church to the State is still more apparent on considering that this Act of Uniformity was passed in opposition to the proposals of Convocation as well as to the protest of the prelates. Elizabeth is said to have felt some Puritan scruple about being called the Supreme Head of the Church. However she may have appeared for a short time to be more scrupulous than her father (and she would not have yielded long to her scruple), her Parliament was determined to rule the Church with a firm and unyielding hand. The Convocation of Canterbury proposed to submit to Parliament certain articles of religion which might be brought into some sort of harmony with the faith of the ancient Church; but Parliament refused to consider them, and in re-constituting the Church, extinguished the power, while it spared the dignity and emoluments, of the bishops and clergy. In the first Reformation, King Henry, by good management and evil threatening, extorted from Convocation an acknowledgment of his supremacy; in the second, Queen Elizabeth did not care to obtain the acknowledgment in any other form than in the practical one of unreserved submission.*

It is true, that after the two most important Acts, that of Supremacy and that of Uniformity, had become the law of the land, Convocation was summoned to advise upon "matters as yet undetermined." But its proposals had no validity what-

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* Something has been recently said by bishops in Parliament about the distinction between "*the Supreme Head*" of the Church, as Henry is styled in the first Act of Supremacy, and the "*Supreme Governess*," as Elizabeth is called in the second. What liberty is conceded to the Church by the change is too small to be seen anywhere outside the strong light of Convocation. Whatever comfort bishops can get from the sight of it, they may enjoy unenvied by laymen.

ever, until they were accepted and approved by the Queen and her Parliament. Indeed, a commission, consisting chiefly of laymen appointed by the Queen, and authorised to visit all the Churches of the realm, to enforce the provisions of the Act of Uniformity, and to do what was expedient in restoring the reformed worship and services, had in spiritual things much more authority and power than the bishops and clergy in both their Convocations.

The supremacy of the Crown has since the reign of Elizabeth undergone some important modifications; that is to say, it has been modified in spiritual things as it has been in temporal, exactly in the same manner and to the same extent. The supremacy of a constitutional king is different from the supremacy of an absolute monarch, that is, it is exercised in a different manner, and practically entrusted to responsible ministers. The Queen maintains her supremacy over the Church in a constitutional manner, by her ministers (laymen, never ecclesiastics), responsible for its exercise to her Parliament, just as she maintains her supremacy over the justiciary, the army, or any other national institution. She is everywhere in Church, as in State, supreme, because she everywhere represents constitutional, that is, Parliamentary supremacy.

The Act of Uniformity which became the law of the land, and consequently the law of the Church, in 1662, is too well known to require detailed references. It is true that the alterations made at that time in the Book of Common Prayer were proposed by the Convocation, and adopted by Parliament; but Convocation assumed no other power than humbly to make suggestions and tender advice. The authority of the new Prayer Book, like that of the old, is the authority given to it by the King and Parliament of England. On the authority of the Parliament of 1662, not of the Convocation, a priest, but not a deacon, pronounces the absolution,

the venerable Bel and the Dragon are restored to their honourable place in the Calendar of Lessons, the genealogy of Matthew is removed from its ancient precedence as the Gospel Lesson for the first Sunday after Christmas; and sundry other changes were made by authority of the civil power in the religious services prescribed for the use of the people of England.

There is a distinction expressed in the two Acts of Uniformity respecting the authorities by which they were severally enacted. That of Elizabeth was "enacted by the Queen's Highness with the assent of the Lords and Commons in this present Parliament assembled, and by authority of the same." That of Charles was "enacted by the King's most excellent Majesty, by the advice and with the consent of the Lords *spiritual* and temporal, and of the Commons, in this present Parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same." The Lords spiritual are not mentioned in the Act of Elizabeth. As they unanimously protested against it, the omission was appropriate, and may have been designed. But that Act was none the less valid in respect to the Church than the Act of Charles, of which the Bishops were the zealous promoters. The Bishops are sometimes said to represent the Church in the House of Lords, but an Act of Parliament would be law to the Church, if it were passed in opposition to the vote of every bishop on the Bench, and the petition of every clergyman in Convocation or out of it.

Reference has been made to the gradual modification of the supremacy since the reign of the Tudors. Whatever may have been its changes, it has conceded no liberty whatever to the Church. After the long conflict carried on in one form or other through the reigns of the Stuarts, terminating with the glorious revolution, and finally settled on the accession of the House of Hanover, royalty became the authoritative symbol and constitutional expression of the power conceded to the

national Parliament. Although not absolute, it is more than symbol, more than pageantry or heraldry, because it is the acknowledged and constitutional instrument which gives expression to the power of the assembled representatives of England. As such it is honoured, venerated, and obeyed by all loyal Englishmen. But the supremacy of the Church, thus nominally with the Queen, is virtually and really with the Parliament, and chiefly with that House which has the most powerful influence in forming the government and controlling its measures.

The Queen can do no wrong to the Church, because her constitutional advisers must, in the Church as well as in the State, do everything for her; and in doing it they are responsible to Parliament and subject to its control. They must, therefore, while acting in her name, govern the Church according to the pleasure of the House of Commons, or that House would soon find more compliant rulers to occupy their position. By its constitutional power, virtually to change and avowedly to control the responsible advisers of the Crown, it really holds the supremacy of the Church which was assumed by Henry, conferred on Elizabeth, gained and lost with various fortune by the Stuarts, and retained only in symbolic representation by the Hanoverian sovereigns.

If the supremacy in its reality and power, that is, in every thing but the name and symbol, has become vested in Parliament, it is easy to discover the character and qualifications of the virtual rulers of the English Church.

They are not the bishops. Bishops can do nothing which Parliament forbids, and must do, on penalty of deprivation, whatever Parliament may command. They are not divines, for no clergyman can sit in the House of Commons. Convocation is their place, and Convocation can do only what Parliament may allow, while Parliament allows it to do very little else than talk, and for a long time would not allow it even liberty

of speech. The hierarchy, with its lordly titles, as well as the clergy, dignified and parochial, is appointed and paid to do the service which Parliament has determined, or may determine, ought to be done. By Parliament new dioceses have been made, and old ones have been divided or suppressed. Scarcely one has remained since the Reformation without some considerable change in its boundaries. Ecclesiastical revenues, as recently in Ireland, have been appropriated by Parliament. Whatever may have been the murmurings and mutterings before the passing of the recent Act to effect that purpose, no loyal Englishman now talks treason by telling us that the Queen in passing that Act has violated her coronation oath, or even trespassed beyond the limits of her constitutional authority.

What then, we may well inquire, are the religious principles of the absolute and irresponsible rulers of the English Church? We know the faith of its bishops and clergy, for we know the articles which they have all signed, and the formularies to which they have all solemnly given their assent. They all believe that article which says, "That works done before the grace of Christ and the inspiration of His Spirit are not pleasant to God forasmuch as they spring not of faith in Jesus Christ, neither do they make men meet to receive grace, or (as the school authors say) deserve grace of congruity, yea, rather for they are not done as God hath willed we doubt not but they have the nature of sin." But do any of the rulers of the Church believe this doctrine of the bishops and clergy? How many of them would say that the founding of a hospital by a compassionate man "before the inspiration of the Spirit," had "the nature of sin?"

Consistency seems to require that the rulers of the Church should themselves belong to the Church over which they exercise the supremacy. But Parliament imposes no religious test upon its members, nor does it expect any religious

profession from them. Scotland having a Presbyterian Church, and Ireland no Church established, are represented, together with England, in the Imperial Parliament. If we inquire about the several members who hold and exercise the supremacy, we find Scottish Presbyterians and Irish Catholics, about a dozen Independents, nearly as many Unitarians, five or six Baptists, five Jews, and as many Quakers. These men of conflicting opinions are associated with Churchmen of all parties—high, low, broad, narrow—whose leaders anathematize one another. Some believe in the infallibility of the Pope, others denounce him as the Antichrist. Some venerate bishops as the lineal successors of the Apostles; others would cast "black prelacy," root and branch, out of the Church. Some worship the Virgin Mary as the Mother of God; others acknowledge Jesus Christ only as the Son of Man. Some believe in regeneration by the sacraments, some in justification by faith, some in salvation by good works, some in the salvation of all men, and some in no salvation at all. The relation of the Church to the State in this country, is the subjection of the Church to this heterogeneous company of conflicting religions. It is strange that any members of that Church should defend so humiliating a subjection, especially when recent events have shown the impotence of the clergy in resisting the appointments of a minister who has the confidence of this heterodox Parliament.

2. The next inquiry is, what advantages are supposed to be gained by this relation of the Church to the State?

Some may reply, by this arrangement the State obtains a powerful instrument for the good government of the people. It has been said, the common people, often turbulent and troublesome, may be restrained and controlled by the religious services of the clergy, more effectively and far more pleasantly than by the power of the police or the arms of the military. The

Church is an organisation, and a very useful one, to preserve the tranquillity and good order of the common people. Let it, therefore, be acknowledged and accredited as serviceable in doing that important work for the country.

If this be the ground on which a State Church is defended, let that Church assume its proper character. Let it avow that its spiritual ends are secondary and subordinate to its temporal. Let its officials profess to be responsible for their action to the civil power, whose "kingdom is of the world," and whose "servants fight," and use force in "executing wrath upon him that doeth evil."

But whatever politicians or lawyers may say, there are few Churchmen who would make such an avowal. Their Church is in their esteem a spiritual power distinct from the temporal, and bound to oppose it whenever it does violence to the religion of Christ. The ministers of the Church profess to be the servants of Christ, submissive to the civil power so far and so far only as that power is submissive to the higher authority of the Lord Jesus. Their proper function, as they profess to regard it, requires an independent action inconsistent with unlimited and unreasoning submission to secular authorities. Their work, as they assert, is religious, their office of Divine appointment, their service spiritual, their Church "not of the earth, earthy." They belong, as they tell us, to another kingdom; they work for another world. If any Churchmen are content that their Church should be a human expedient, a political machine, an engine of Statecraft, for them the argument may be good enough; but it is manifestly inappropriate for such as believe that Christianity is a religion of Divine authority, of supreme importance, of personal responsibility, of universal concern, in which all national distinctions are so blended and forgotten, that in its communion there is neither Jew nor Greek, neither bond nor free, for all are one in Christ Jesus.

But there are more Christian arguments, or arguments more Christian-like, at least in words, which may be sometimes heard from the lips of Christian people. A Church supported by the State, and therefore subordinate to it, is defended on the ground of its being conservative of religious truth and favourable to religious liberty.

It must be conceded that if an Established Church can secure both religious truth and religious freedom, it is an institution of inestimable worth. But how can it secure both? How can it protect one without to the same extent endangering the other?

We do not say that religious truth and religious freedom cannot co-exist, or even flourish together; because we believe that religious truth will most prevail where it is left to its spontaneous action, without either the protection or the control of human authority. But we do say that any organisation of the civil power, formed for the purpose of protecting truth and opposing error, is an interference with the freedom of intelligent and responsible men. To be valuable to them, religious truth must be the growth of their free thought, the result of their candid inquiry, the object of their honest belief. Imposed upon them by the civil power or recommended by temporal advantages, it loses, in its influence upon them, its purely religious character, and limits their free inquiry. On the other hand, unless the civil power be infallible, it is as likely to conserve error as truth, when it determines questions which, too sacred for its jurisdiction, ought to be left to the reason and conscience of religious men.

But considering religious truth and religious freedom as distinct though not inconsistent with each other, we inquire,—By what means can a religious establishment be conservative of either?

How can it be conservative of religious truth? It can undoubtedly require from all its clergy assent to certain

articles, profession of certain creeds, submission to certain canons, and the invariable use of certain formularies. It can insist upon exact uniformity in creed, discipline, and worship. If the rulers who enforce the Acts are infallible, their imposition is undoubtedly conservative, if not of the truth, at least of its uniform profession. But is the High Court of Parliament an infallible council, or the Lord Chancellor an infallible pope? Looking for infallibility we must turn from St. Stephen's in Westminster to St. Peter's in Rome. The English Parliament can protect its own religious opinions, if it has any; but it can do no more, unless it be to protect the opinions of other fallible men, about the truth of which it cannot pronounce with any judicial authority. In so far as it conserves anything, it may be conservative of some opinions which, for aught it knows, may be either unscriptural doctrine or evangelical truth.

We say, in so far as it conserves anything, because, on looking at the practical working of a religious establishment, we cannot but see how great is the diversity or even contrariety of religious opinions among those who are induced or compelled to sign the same articles, profess the same creeds, and observe the same formularies. Without charging any man with dishonest subscription, dishonest profession, or dishonest prayers, we say that an Established Church, however protected by imposition of articles and Acts of Uniformity, becomes in the course of time, through prejudice, or carelessness, or other evil influence, conservative of no better uniformity than that of profession, which may be unmeaning or delusive, because it may represent no unity of faith among the clergy who sign the same articles and use the same formularies.

We have now to inquire,—How is an Established Church, subordinate to the civil power, conservative of religious liberty? Liberal Churchmen have recently said a great deal about their Church as the protector of free thought among her clergy. Where, they ask, do the clergy think so variously?

and where, we ask in reply, are they bound by their own professions to think with so little variety? What un-Established Church, it has been asked in a tone which seems to scorn an answer, would allow Dr. Pusey and Dr. Colenso to be included in its communion?

In what sense, we may reply, are Dr. Pusey and Dr. Colenso included in the communion of one Church? Their own Church is divided about them. One party says, "I am of Dr. Pusey;" another, "I am of Dr. Colenso." Here is a schism among those who professedly belong to one Church, but are virtually divided into two communions. What communion with each other have those two distinguished men? How, in the estimation of Dr. Pusey, does the Church conserve its evangelical doctrine by the ministry of Dr. Colenso? Or how, in the estimation of Dr. Colenso, does the Church conserve its Protestant truth by the ministry of Dr. Pusey? If the irreconcileable difference between these two Churchmen be made an argument in favour of the Church as a protector of religious liberty, who does not see that it is to the same extent an argument against the Church as a protector of religious truth?

Although professedly they belong to one Church, what common faith unites them? what common spirit inspires them? what common principles have they other than that of submission to a State establishment, and participation of State patronage? Dr. Pusey may have quite as much religious sympathy and communion with many Catholics, and Dr. Colenso with many Dissenters, as either of them can have with the other. In what sense that is not secular, do they or their respective followers belong to one Church, one fellowship of saints? If it be said they both are officially employed by the State while they teach opposite doctrines and anathematise one another, we reply, if this be favourable to religious liberty, men officially employed by voluntary societies, can quite as freely and as vehemently indulge their

polemical propensities. These Dissenting polemics have quite as much, or rather nearly as little, Christian communion with one another as have the polemics of the Established Church. The only distinction is, the Churchmen profess an unreal and delusive uniformity, while the Dissenters acknowledge their differences and call their several sects by appropriate names.

As to their freedom of thought and of teaching, a religious teacher is surely none the more free because he is bound by the obligations of his office (whatever they may be) to teach in accordance with the doctrine (whatever that may be) of an Established Church. A Church, it is said by some broad Churchmen, protects a public teacher, while his teaching is contradictory to that of his colleagues. It may as truly be said, it condemns and expels him. It may do either. It has done both. But surely a Dissenting teacher can protect himself, unless he desire (what no honest man would desire) to receive payment for teaching what can do his hearers no good so long as they do not believe him.

To those who have read the ecclesiastical history of England it seems strange, as it is certainly new, to hear the supremacy of the Crown extolled as the guardian and assurance of religious liberty. If it be so, the first act of supremacy may be regarded as the great charter of our freedom. Let us transcribe its words for the comfort of those who, under its protection, would think freely and speak plainly. In doing so we will change nothing except the old spelling, which is scarcely in accordance with the new meaning assigned to the words.

"Our said Sovereign Lord, his heirs and successors, kings of this realm, shall have full power and authority, from time to time, to visit, repress, redress, reform, order, correct, restrain, and amend all such errors, heresies, abuses, offences, contempts, and enormities, whatever they be, which by any manner of spiritual authority or jurisdiction, ought, or may

lawfully be reformed, repressed, ordered, redressed, corrected, restrained, or amended, most to the pleasure of Almighty God, the increase of virtue in Christ's religion, and for the conservation of the peace, piety, and tranquillity of this realm."

Such are the words of the Act, "Anno XXVI. Henrici VIII." "An Act concerning the King's Highness to be Supreme Head of the Church of England, and to have authority to reform and redress all errors, heresies, and abuses in the same." The supremacy may protect both papists and puritans, and restrain them from persecuting one another, but it has persecuted both, and sent them to the same prison and the same scaffold. The persecutions of men of both parties, or rather of all parties, under Henry, Elizabeth, and the Stuarts, supply a curious exposition of this great charter of religious liberty. It has been said the same intolerance prevailed under the Long Parliament and the government of Cromwell. We know it did, and it supplies another confirmation of our argument. Had neither the Parliament nor the Protector assumed any authority over the religion of the people, there could have been in the Commonwealth no opportunity for persecution.

Of the Act of Uniformity we may inquire, is that another great charter of religious liberty? It may somehow protect both Dr. Pusey and Dr. Colenso, but will it protect a minister who cannot conscientiously sign the cross in baptism, nor repeat the thanksgiving of the baptismal service, "We yield Thee hearty thanks, most merciful God, that it hath pleased Thee to regenerate this infant with Thy Holy Spirit;" nor pronounce the Absolution—"By His authority, committed to me, I absolve thee from all thy sins, in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost"? The Supreme Head of the English Church may tolerate strange contrarieties of faith, but it will not tolerate the slightest deviation from the faith

of the Thirty-nine Articles, or the formularies of the Book of Common Prayer. Such a toleration, conceded to some, refused to others, is arbitrary, invidious, unjust. Bad as intolerance of any kind is, universal intolerance is better than a partial, one-sided intolerance, conceding to some a liberty which it refuses to others, overlooking glaring contrarieties, and punishing small deviations from its standard. Ecclesiastics are said to be intolerant and persecuting. If we leave them to do their worst, they will soon discover that without the help of the civil power their worst is to scold and anathematise, which will do no great harm to the vilest heretics.

3. The other inquiry is,—What objections may be alleged against this relation of the Church to the State?

(1.) The supremacy of the State is opposed to the supremacy of Christ in His Church, or, what is the same thing, His supreme authority in religion.

"Neither be ye called masters, for One is your master, even Christ, and all ye are brethren." In Christ's Church all are equally the servants of One Master. Pure religion is the voluntary service of the Lord Jesus. For that service, and the manner of performing it, every member of Christ's Church is personally responsible to its supreme and only Lord. It is his duty, as well as his privilege, to consider for himself what he ought to receive as religious truth, and what he ought to do as religious duty. His religious services must be in accordance with the decisions of his own judgment, and the dictates of his own conscience. The action of the religious life to be healthy must be free from the influence of either the hope of earthly gain, or the fear of earthly loss. With its freedom no government ought to interfere, so long as it does no injury to any. Its laws are not human; its sanctions, like its laws, are of God. Preparation for another world, the less it is contaminated by earthly considerations, is the more certain

and complete. It is too spiritual to be impelled or restrained by the coarse machinery of human government. In this sense, as in many others, Christ's "kingdom is not of this world."

But if it be so, the putting a Church in subjection to the civil power is subjecting it to a control which is uncongenial with its free spirit, and inappropriate to its sacred character. Church life is, or ought to be, living to Christ, having respect to His laws, imitating His example, breathing His spirit, trusting to His grace, and looking to Him for a glorious immortality. Governments can prompt only by earthly rewards, restrain only by earthly force, intimidate only by earthly punishments. But these do not belong to the Church, which looks "not at the things which are seen, but at the things which are not seen; for the things which are seen are temporal, but the things which are not seen are eternal." However valuable the things temporal may be in earthly kingdoms, their influence cannot be combined, without injury, with the influence of the things which are eternal. This combination of discordant influences may be urged with more or less force against every form of the subjection of the kingdom of Christ to the kingdoms which are of this world.

Or if we look at the civil power, as many Churchmen like to look at it, in the more agreeable character of a patron rather than a ruler, its patronage appears nearly as objectionable as its control. Were it possible to do what has never yet been done, at least in this country, so to adjust the relation of the Church to the State that the former, while dependent upon the latter for its revenue, could act independently of its patron, the earthly considerations, "the things seen and temporal," would, if not so manifestly, yet quietly and insidiously, corrupt the spirituality and purity of the religious life. The Church, if it feared not the power, would court the favour of its owerful patron, and courting the favour of earthly powers

has been quite as injurious and corrupting to the spirituality and purity of religion, as fearing their terrors.

(2.) Under a Constitutional Government like that of England, the supremacy of the Church, if entrusted to the civil power, becomes subservient to political parties, and is used for political purposes.

Under an arbitrary sovereign the ecclesiastical supremacy might be wielded, if so the sovereign willed, in the interest of the Church for the promotion of true religion. A religious king might be a nursing father, a religious queen a nursing mother to the Christian Church; although under an irreligious sovereign, the influence would be of the very opposite kind. But under a Constitutional Government, the supremacy, belonging really, though not nominally, to Parliament, must be exercised by the Prime Minister or his subordinates, according to Parliamentary usage, and to the satisfaction of his Parliamentary supporters. He is responsible to a Parliamentary majority for his ecclesiastical patronage, and, subject to that responsibility, he appoints whom he pleases (provided they are legally qualified) to the highest and most important offices of the Church. He may be a pious or a profane man, a sound churchman or an extreme heretic, Puritan or Catholic in his proclivities, but his personal feelings can have little influence upon his appointments. Occasionally he may gratify himself by promoting a personal friend, but generally his appointments are more or less determined by party exigencies or political considerations. How feeble, even though it may be very loud, is the voice of the clergy in controlling such appointments, has been very manifest in their recent efforts to prevent the appointment of an obnoxious Bishop. Ask one half of the English clergy whether the elevation of Dr. Temple to the see of Exeter is conservative of religious truth, and the other half whether the elevation of Dr. Wilberforce to the see of Winchester is conservative of

religious liberty, and their answers will show how completely the Church is subject to the Government of the day.

That Government, be it observed, is selected and maintained entirely on political considerations. No reference whatever is made to the religious opinions or connections of the Minister to whom is entrusted, nominally by the Queen, virtually by his own partisans, the patronage of the Church. Party interests prevail, and however humiliating it may be to Churchmen, the interests of the Church are subordinate. In the formation of a Government it would be considered indecorous for a Bishop, or any other ecclesiastic, to obtrude his advice. The Church is silent when its rulers are appointed, and its patronage is committed into their hands.

But ought it to be so? Was the Church redeemed by Christ that it might become an instrument of party politics, moved at the pleasure and subservient to the interests of worldly politicians? His "kingdom is not of this world." Is it not, when it is made the merchandise of worldly rulers, the means by which they work for their worldly ends? We assert and maintain the sanctity of Christ's Church, when we protest against its subjection to political influence as utterly inappropriate to the "kingdom which is not of this world."

(3.) The supremacy of the civil power over the Church implies that it may establish whatever form of religion it pleases, and so, by its inconsistency in establishing different forms at different times, or in different places, it may produce doubt and uncertainty respecting all.

It cannot be said, in reply, that the civil power is bound to establish only the true faith and right form of Christianity; for who other than the civil power is allowed to decide upon its truth and rectitude? The superior must decide for the subordinate, the ruler for the subjects; not the subjects for their supreme ruler. At all events, so it has ever been in England since the Reformation; and so it ever will be while

any Church is established, unless the nation return to its old subjection to the Pope.

When Henry established a National, in distinction from the Catholic Church, he made the nation Protestant, or partially so, in its religious forms and profession. The Council of Edward made it more Protestant. Mary resigned the supremacy, but Elizabeth, resuming it, restored Protestantism. In these changes the Church became what its several rulers made it. Churchmen often assert that through the several changes of form there has been only one Anglican Church. Be it so; that Church has strangely contradicted itself by teaching opposite doctrines, and denouncing at one time as heresy what it has declared at another with infallible assurance to be the truth of the Gospel. Under the Long Parliament the Established Church became essentially Presbyterian. Under Cromwell the nation maintained a very broad Church; and under Charles II. a very narrow one. If his brother James became the Supreme Head of the Church, as he legally was according to the Act of Supremacy, the Catholic Head ought, if he were sincere, to promote the re-establishment of Popery. Nothing less than a revolution, which found another Head for the English Church, saved the nation from resuming its Popish character and profession. Can the principle be right and good which worked so inconsistently in all these changes? Why may it not again, in the unforeseen changes of the future, work to the destruction of all professions and confusion of all religious principles?

That the supremacy of the Crown is still in this country what it ever has been since the Act of Henry, a political expedient, not a religious principle, and as such, uncertain, wavering, and inconsistent in its working, is evident from the present state of the British Empire. In England the supremacy is asserted and maintained openly and boldly as something of which the nation may be proud; in Scotland,

covertly, it may be said, slily, as if the people were ashamed of it. In Ireland it is now renounced, because it cannot be exercised according to the creed of the majority; while in India it is maintained for the benefit of a very small portion of the inhabitants. In almost all the Colonies it is abandoned as an institution proper only for old and declining nations. All this might be explained and vindicated if the Church were political machinery; but how can it be appropriate to "a kingdom which cannot be moved?" If the Church of Christ be an institution, whose origin is Divine, whose principles are sacred, whose objects are heavenly, it surely ought to occupy an independent position, to claim freedom for its own spiritual life, to rely upon its own resources and its God, and to discharge its high and holy mission, whether men will hear or forbear; calling upon them all to repent, teaching them all the same truths, enforcing upon them all the same duties, neither courting the smiles nor fearing the frowns of the rulers of this world. Its Bible ought not to be a collection of Parliamentary statutes, like the Acts of Supremacy and Uniformity.

(4.) In a country where several religious parties co-exist, if the patronage of the civil power is conceded only to one of them, it excites envies, jealousies, and all kinds of ill-feeling, directly opposed to the peaceful and charitable spirit of true Christianity.

If the servility of the favoured party be unfavourable to its spiritual life, the animosities excited among other Churches must be dishonourable to their common faith and religious profession. It would be unjust to attribute all the bad feeling of conflicting sects to the supremacy of the civil power, but a considerable proportion is, in a free country, to be traced to its disturbing and exciting influence. The patronised party, however servile it may be to the Government, as if to console itself in its humiliation, usually,

if not invariably, assumes a lofty bearing towards its rivals, who on the other hand are angry at being treated as subordinate. If an Established Church be a servant of the State, it too often scorns Dissent as a servant of servants, unworthy of the privileges and honours which it claims for doing the work and earning the wages of the State. Or even if it does not, Dissent, partaking of the common infirmities of human nature, feels in its inferior position as if it were so treated. But this is an ungrateful subject, on which happily we need not insist, for the liberal spirit of the age is to a considerable extent modifying and restraining the evil influence of haughty Churchmen and irritable Dissenters. If, however, Christ's Church were not in a false position, it would not need the correcting influence of the world. The haughty feeling on the one side, and the resentful feeling on the other, however restrained, are doing much, amidst the liberal tendencies of the times, to make the principle of religious establishments unpopular in free countries.

Having thus noticed a few of the principal objections which Congregational Dissenters adduce against the relation of the Church to the State, as it exists in this country, we may be expected to say a few words on the wise and proper course for us to pursue, amidst the impending changes and controversies of our time.

As Congregationalists we must maintain our protest against the establishment or endowment of religion by the State. All attempts to modify our great principle of voluntary religion, that is, religion sustained by voluntary and independent Churches, in order to make it conformable with any kind of connection or alliance with the State, are now abandoned, as utterly and hopelessly impracticable, by all consistent Congregationalists. The founders of the earliest States of New England attempted to secure some connection between their Churches and their civil polity, but it was the greatest

folly with which those good men were chargeable. Their inconsistency proved the dishonour of their principles, as it has since furnished their enemies with many opportunities for scornful and sarcastic reflections. Under the Protectorate of Cromwell some of their brethren inconsiderately and inconsistently sought to obtain some kind of State recognition and official distinction; but in proportion as they obtained either, they acted unworthily of their own principles. At all costs, through all changes, we have to maintain our firm and unhesitating protest against all forms of religious establishment, and especially against the form in which it exists in our own country.

Whatever may be thought about political action in reference to the Established Church, we ought peaceably, but widely and zealously, to spread the knowledge of Congregational principles. Political action may often be expedient, but on all occasions its expediency deserves very careful consideration. It may not be generally desirable for Churches, as such, to act in close and avowed connection with political parties. Common interests and objects may sometimes require combined action, but both religious societies and political parties, even when acting harmoniously together, should never forget their distinctive objects and character. We ought, however, to take advantage of passing circumstances and opportunities to make known our principles, to sustain them by argument, and to honour them by stedfast and consistent adherence, whatever may be their influence upon any political organisations. In the great changes which are silently, but surely, coming upon English institutions, our religious principles will be powerful in proportion as we are faithful to their imperative claims. If we have confidence in their truth, let us promote them, assured of their eventual prevalence. The spirit of the age is on all sides rising against political establishments of religion. Wherever the Church

claims authority over the State, the growing freedom of the age resists the claim; wherever the Church is subservient to the State, the religious feeling of the age strives against the restraint of its freedom. Under both forms of the relation of Church and State, the spirit of the age, happily becoming both free and religious, is everywhere beginning to look unfavourably upon ecclesiastical institutions founded in old times, when rulers were arbitrary, and people ignorant, servile, and irreligious. Over the Continent of Europe the forcible words of Count Cavour many be heard translated into many languages: —"A free Church in a free State." In Italy, Austria, and Spain, religious liberty, precursor of religious equality, is proclaimed and established. In Portugal and Belgium the priesthood is becoming liberal, or losing its authority. In Ireland, Protestantism is now for the first time asserting its independence, and vigorously working in a manner of which Catholics have no reason to complain. In Scotland the Established Church is forsaken by the majority of the people, while its most powerful supporters—the nobility and gentry of the land—for the most part belong to another communion. The Kirk of Knox, in so far as it is established, is indebted for its position chiefly to the protection, sometimes contemptuously afforded, of its old enemies, the Prelatists. In Wales the Established Church is disavowed by the people, even though it costs them much to give expression by their suffrages to their disavowal. In the British Colonies, religious establishments have fallen, or are falling; while in many of them Episcopacy is acting more vigorously than ever it did when established, and developing a religious vitality and power which, in the time of its fictitious prosperity, neither its enemies nor its friends ever supposed it to possess. Amidst such movements advancing on all sides, England cannot remain unmoved and unconcerned. It does think; it must move; it will strive to renovate its religious institutions. Many old theories of

ecclesiastical establishments are now renounced; many old arguments in their favour are now abandoned. We now hear very little about the alliance contracted between the Church and the State by the representatives of both parties (whoever they may have been) on fair and equal terms. Dissenters of all sorts have become too numerous and powerful to allow any longer the assumption, that the Church and the nation are really one and the same community. Analogies formed out of Judaism are almost forgotten, as their ingenious authors were not consistent enough to contend for the introduction among us of the theocracy and laws of Moses. Bishops do not now preach as their predecessors did in the reign of the Stuarts—that kings, as vicegerents of God, are entrusted with authority to determine the religion of their subjects. Warburton's "Alliance" is now worn out; Hooker's "Polity" is studied for the ingenuity of his reasoning and illustrations, rather than for the soundness of his theory or the validity of his conclusions. New arguments are heard, of which many are subversive of the old ones. With what success they are adduced by able men (of whom some being generous and liberal have contrived to give a liberal aspect to what had previously appeared in an arbitary and coercive form), a few years of free discussion must be allowed to determine. At present the new advocates of the Established Church do not appear to Dissenters to be more successful than their antiquated predecessors. Indeed, many Churchmen look with distrust upon this new line of defence. At this time, when broad Churchmen are uttering their platitudes broad enough to support anything which by courtesy can be called Christianity, and narrow Churchmen are teaching theories too narrow to tolerate anything wider than their own contracted views, it is the duty of Congregationalists, disregarding the scorn of the former and the sectarianism of the latter, to do everything in their power, that their countrymen may think correctly, may move in the right

direction, and may make such changes, and such only, as will promote the freedom, the order, the morality, the religion, and the happiness of this great and powerful nation. We may be wrong. We make no pretension to infallibility. But if we are mistaken, we take the surest means of discovering and correcting our errors by acting diligently and faithfully, according to the light which God has given us.

UNWIN BROTHERS, THE GRESHAM STEAM PRESS, BUCKLERSBURY, LONDON.

WHY I AM A FREE-CHURCHMAN.

Four Letters to a State Churchman.

BY

A CONGREGATIONAL MINISTER.

LONDON:
HODDER & STOUGHTON, 27, PATERNOSTER ROW;
AND ALL BOOKSELLERS.
Price Threepence.

BUTLER AND TANNER,
THE SELWOOD PRINTING WORKS,
FROME, AND LONDON.

WHY I AM A FREE-CHURCHMAN.

LETTER I.—SCHISM.

My dear Friend,—

Your last letter affected me in a variety of ways, it amused me, it grieved me, it astonished me, it gave me considerable pleasure, and it set me thinking. I was amused at the coolness with which you assume that the Episcopal Church to which you belong is the only true church, and that all who dissent from it are heretics and schismatics. I was grieved at the hints which you threw out, that motives, not of the purest or noblest character had influenced me, when I connected myself with one of the Free Churches of the country. I was astonished that a man of your intelligence and general information knew so little of the constitution and working of Nonconformist churches. I was pleased that you had afforded me an excellent opportunity of doing what I had long wished to do—giving you a full though concise account of my reasons for taking the step I did. And although I had previously read and thought on the points at issue between state-churchmen and free-churchmen; yet I was induced by your letter to read and think on the subject again. The result has been this—that I have been confirmed in the conviction that my principles are in the main right, and that the Church to which I belong approximates more closely than the Established Church does to the Apostolic model.

Well, now let me address myself to the task of answering your letter. I will, with your permission, divide my reply into four parts, devoting a letter to each. In the first, I will endeavour to meet a serious charge you

bring against me, that of being guilty of the sin of schism. In the second, I will state as clearly as I can, what from the study of the New Testament appears to me to have been the constitution of the apostolic churches—that the churches by a gradual process became more and more corrupt, till in the Papacy, corruption reached its greatest depth, that a partial reformation took place which resulted in the formation of the Episcopal Established Church, and that we Free Churchmen endeavour to complete that work of reformation, and to restore in our churches the simplicity and purity, which characterised the very churches founded by the apostles. In the third letter, I shall point out that there are certain doctrines held by the Episcopal Church, which in the estimation of Free-Churchmen not only justify, but demand Nonconformity. This part of the subject might, perhaps, with more propriety have been included in the second letter, since it is partly through the retention of these doctrines that the Episcopal Church is only partially reformed; but I feel that the subject is so wide and so important that it demands a separate letter. Then in the last letter, I shall endeavour to answer your question, "What are Free Churchmen aiming at?" I know I shall say much with which you will not agree; but I hope I shall so say it, as not to give you needless pain. You must not think that in plainly expressing my convictions, I am actuated by any uncharitable feelings towards the members of your church. Cheerfully do I acknowledge that many of them are patterns of Christian excellence, and that not a few of your clergy are faithful ministers of Christ, and very able, earnest preachers of the gospel. But, surely I may without bigotry, and without any lack of charity, simply state what things in the constitution and doctrine of your church appear to me to be at variance with the constitution and doctrine of the churches founded by the apostles.

Now with regard to the charge of schism. Frequently is it brought against us by the members of your church. Your clergy tell us, that our ministers are unauthorised teachers—not true ministers of Christ, and that our churches are not churches at all. Well, you know, the Church of Rome says just the same of your church and clergy, and with just as much reason, for you dissented from Rome just as we dissent from you. An eminent Nonconformist minister once entertained at his table a High Church clergyman and a Roman Catholic priest. In the course of conversation, the clergyman said to his host, "Mr. —— you are a good fellow, but I look upon you as only a layman." Upon this the Catholic priest turned to the clergyman, and said, "And you are a good fellow, but I look upon you as only a layman." Had the clergyman any better reason for saying this than the Catholic priest had?

But let us examine this charge of schism more carefully. In making it you of course assume that your church is the only true one? Let me ask, on what grounds do you base that assumption? Is it this—that yours is the Established Church of the nation? Does the fact then of its being established by the government constitute it a true church? Is the secular government the Divinely appointed judge between a true church and a false one? Is Parliament an infallible authority on ecclesiastical questions? Is it not possible for a legislature, composed of men of all creeds and men of no creed, to endow a church that may not so closely resemble the Apostolic model, as some other church not endowed? Besides, if in England the Episcopal Church is the true one because it is the Established church, it follows as a matter of course that the Presbyterian Church is the true one in Scotland, that the Lutheran Church is the true one in Prussia and Sweden, that the Greek Church is the true one in Russia, and that the Roman Catholic Church is the

true one in Austria, Italy, France, and Spain. On the same principle, Mohammedanism is right in Turkey, and Buddhism in China. Are you prepared to admit all this? If not, then do not, I beg of you, say that because the Episcopal Church is the established church in England, it is therefore the true one.

Perhaps, however, your theory is that the Episcopal Church in this country is the representative and descendant of the original apostolic church—that like some noble stream it has flowed direct from the fountain head, and that by the joint aid of history and imagination, it may be traced back to the very source from which it sprang. Two questions suggest themselves by this comparison. Is the Episcopal Church such a stream at all? If it is, has the water maintained its purity? I will endeavour to answer these questions by a plain statement of undoubted facts.

The apostles, under the immediate direction of the Master, founded certain societies, commonly called churches. Of whom they consisted, on what principles they were founded, and what the members of them were required to believe, to do, and to be, we shall have to consider presently. It is sufficient for our present purpose simply to state that the apostles founded these Christian societies. Now if any persons calling themselves Christians had seceded from the very churches founded by the apostles, and had formed themselves into a separate religious community, such persons would undoubtedly have been guilty of schism. If a church existed now, which had through the last eighteen centuries preserved unimpaired the doctrine and discipline of the first churches, dissent from such a church would be schism. Do you claim this on behalf of your church? Many of your clergy do, and the manner in which they try to support their claim may thus be briefly stated: "The Episcopal Church in England (they say) is the representative of a church that existed in this country in the fourth

century. The church which existed in this country in the fourth century directly descended from one of the Apostolic churches. Therefore the present Episcopal Church in England is directly descended from an Apostolic church, and consequently to dissent from the present Episcopal Church in England is schism."

A very pretty chain of reasoning, certainly, only the worst of it is, some of the links are rather faulty. The first question that we naturally ask is; Did there exist at the period mentioned a Christian church in Britain, which had preserved in all their purity the Apostolic doctrine and practice? We have no evidence that such a church existed. We have evidence, on the contrary, that in almost every part of the world where Christian churches existed, those churches had become more or less corrupt. Even in the very times of the apostles the process of corruption had begun, for one of the apostles says, "The mystery of iniquity doth already work;" and Paul's inspired epistles to the church at Corinth, and to the churches in Galatia, plainly teach that those churches had sunk into a most deplorable condition; while the letters dictated by Jesus Himself, and sent by His command to the seven churches in Asia Minor, severely censure most of those churches, either for having departed from the truth in doctrine, or for having denied it in practice. And very clearly does history prove that after the times of the apostles the process of corruption in the churches was neither slow nor limited, but was rapid and widely extended—increasing in its rapidity, and becoming more universal, when the church was united with the state under the Emperor Constantine. It is extremely probable, therefore, nay almost certain, that the early church in Britain was more or less corrupt; so that if that early church is reproduced in the present Episcopal Established Church, it does not follow that the Episcopal Established Church is the representative of the original apostolic churches. Besides, we ask,

Does our Established Church present us with a true picture of that early British Church, completely cleansed from all the corruptions that afterwards contaminated it, and brought back to the condition in which it was, when it was first planted in Britain? No one can prove that it does. On the contrary, it is clear from the testimony of history that the Established Church was founded in the sixteenth century by a secession from Rome. Thus the link which is supposed to connect the early British Church with the apostolic Church is exceedingly faulty, and the link which is supposed to connect the present Established Church with the early British Church is broken right in two. Vain is the attempt therefore to trace the descent of the Episcopal Church in England from the Churches founded by the apostles, and to maintain on this ground that Free Churchmen are schismatics. If the Episcopal Church was not guilty of schism, when, in the sixteenth century, it came out a little way from Rome, we are not guilty of schism, when, thinking the Episcopal Church has not come out far enough, we come a little farther. Perhaps, however, you charge us with schism on the ground of your Church approaching nearer in doctrine and discipline to the apostolic Churches, than our Churches do. Well, that is a point to be proved. I shall endeavour in subsequent letters to prove the contrary. I will conclude this letter by just stating what, according to my view of the matter, is schism, and what is not. It is not schism to belong to a religious community that is separate from the Established Church of the nation. It is schism to shut out from our sympathies Christians of other denominations, and to refuse to co-operate with them in work for Christ. From this schism we are free. We hold out the right hand of fellowship to all who love the Lord Jesus Christ in sincerity, by whatever name they may be called, and to whatever denomination they may belong. We are always ready

to co-operate with Christians belonging to other sections of the Church in works of faith and labours of love. Because you are not ready to do this, and will not have fellowship with Christians of other denominations, but isolate yourselves from all the rest of Christendom, we bring against you the charge which you bring against us—the charge of schism.

I am, my dear friend,

Yours faithfully,

A FREE-CHURCHMAN.

LETTER II.—CHURCH PRINCIPLES.

MY DEAR FRIEND,—

In my previous letter I endeavoured to make it plain that the members of the Free Churches of England are not guilty of schism, because they dissent from the Episcopal Established Church. We have indeed just as much reason to charge Episcopalians with schism because they do not conform to us, as they have to charge us with schism because we do not conform to them. This I think you will see more clearly if you attentively consider the points that I shall bring before you in this letter. What I wish to do, is to give a brief sketch of the constitution of the earliest Christian Churches, to compare with these Churches both the Established Church and the Free Churches, and then to ask, In which, in the Established Church, or in the Free Churches, do we see the nearest approach to the model which is furnished by the Churches that were formed in the very days of the apostles?

Let me in a few words then state, what appears to me to be the scriptural idea of a Church, and what was the constitution of the apostolic Churches.

Our Lord Jesus Christ was the founder of the Christian Church. He, because of His great love to

us, assumed our nature, and by His death on the cross made atonement for our sins. Before He died, He announced that "as Moses lifted up the serpent in the wilderness, even so should the Son of man be lifted up, that whosoever believeth in Him should not perish, but have everlasting life." And after He had died and risen again, and ascended to heaven, His apostles, by His command, uttered such words as these: "Through this man is preached unto you the forgiveness of sins, and by Him all that believe are justified from all things from which they could not be justified by the law of Moses." "Believe on the Lord Jesus Christ and thou shalt be saved." "Ye are all the children of God by faith in Christ Jesus." The word of God teaches us, indeed, that all who trust in Jesus sustain a new relation to God, have imparted to them a new life, are influenced by new motives, and bear a new—a holy character; in short that they are new creatures, that "old things are passed away, and that all things are become new." The whole company of these believing ones are in the New Testament called "the church." Not those on earth only, those who have passed away to the world of eternal joy are also included. The possessors of glory in heaven, and the partakers of grace on earth are contemplated as one grand society, and as such are called "the church of the living God," "the whole family in heaven and earth." Very scriptural is the idea that Watts expresses so beautifully in one of his hymns—

"The saints on earth and all the dead,
But one communion make;
All join in Christ their living Head,
And of His grace partake."

Or that Charles Wesley expresses with equal beauty in one of his—

"One family we dwell in Him,
One church above, beneath;
Though now divided by that stream,
The narrow stream of death."

This is the widest sense in which the word "church" is employed. It is employed in a narrower sense when it designates the whole company of believers on earth. But what I wish you especially to notice is this, that it was evidently the design of the Divine Founder of Christianity, that believers in Himself should unite themselves in societies, for the purpose of mutual spiritual help, and in order that their efforts for the conversion of others may be more effective. These societies of professed believers were called "churches." Such a society or church was founded in Jerusalem, consisting first of the three thousand who, on the day of Pentecost, declared themselves believers in Jesus, but to whose number others were soon added. In the course of a short time, a church was formed in Samaria, then at Antioch in Syria, and not long afterwards at Philippi, at Thessalonica, at Colosse, at Corinth, at Rome, and at many other places. Now it will be well for us to mark the difference both with respect to limits, and to spiritual character, between the church in the sense in which we just now spoke of it—the whole company of believers, and these several churches. That church, as we saw, consisted of the whole company of the redeemed in heaven and earth, or, using the word in a narrower sense, of the whole company of believers in this world. To whatever professedly Christian society believers belonged, or even if they belonged to no such society, so long as they were true believers, they were members of this great spiritual church. On the other hand, whatever position a man might have occupied in one of these professedly Christian societies, however bold and conspicuous his profession of Christianity might have been, if he was not a believer in Jesus, he had no part nor lot in the company of the faithful—he was not a member of the true church of Christ. That spiritual universal church consisted of all believers, and of none but believers. It included every real Christian, it

excluded everybody else. With those separate societies, however, of professed Christians, those Churches formed at Jerusalem, Antioch, Corinth, Rome, and other places, the case was very different. The *ideal* of those Churches was that they should be societies of believers, and that they should contain within their limits none but believers. But, alas! the reality seldom, if ever, corresponded with the ideal. Judas had found a place in the little select company of the apostles, and into the earliest Christian churches "certain men crept unawares." Probably in most, if not all of these churches, there were some empty professors—some who had a name to live while they were dead, and who were spots in the church's feasts of charity. But mark this, that if purity of communion was seldom attained, it was always aimed at. We must regard it indeed as a leading principle in the constitution of the Apostolic churches. The terms by which the members of these churches are designated, both in the Acts of the Apostles and the Epistles, conclusively prove this. It was not thought in the apostles' days that the possession of a certain amount of religious knowledge, or the observance of certain religious rites, constituted a claim to church membership. The only qualification recognised was faith in Jesus.

Another principle in the constitution of these churches was, that Jesus Christ was their only acknowledged Head. It was a law laid down by the Master Himself, that His church should have no other head than Himself. You remember His words, "Call no man master upon earth, for one is your master, even Christ, and all ye are brethren." The inspired Apostle Paul says of Him, "He is the head of the body the church." This principle was recognised and acted upon by the first Christian churches. They acknowledged no head but Christ.

Another principle in the constitution of these Churches was that they were independent of each other.

We do not read anywhere of the church of a country, or even of the church of a province or district. When the Christian societies in any country or district are referred to, they are never spoken of as one Church, of which each society is a branch; but as so many Churches, each society being in itself a church. And according to the unanimous testimony of ecclesiastical historians, the churches maintained this independent position for a century, at least, after the death of the apostles. Each church was self-governed in obedience only to the law of Christ. No church interfered with the affairs of another church, nor were a number of churches subject to any synod, or council, or any central authority whatever. Even the most strenuous advocates of episcopacy admit that the earlier churches were independent churches.

Another principle in the constitution of the churches founded by the Apostles, relates to the officers of the churches, and to the manner in which they were chosen. There were only two kinds of officers. For the terms elder or presbyter, pastor or shepherd, ruler or guide, and bishop or overseer, describe in various forms the same office. The man holding that office we now speak of as the pastor, more frequently perhaps as the minister. The other kind of church officer was the deacon, who was chosen to attend principally, though not exclusively, to the temporal affairs of the church. Early church history recognises no other order of Church officers than these two. And although the term bishop was restricted in very early times to the presiding elder; yet, even then, he was only the first among equals, and his authority did not extend beyond the limits of his own church. An ecclesiastical historian of undoubted veracity* tells us, that two hundred years and more after the time of the apostles, there were nearly fifty churches, each with its bishop in the small country of Palestine, and no less than twenty bishoprics within forty miles of Rome.

* The Rev. John Stoughton.

The question naturally arises, How were these pastors and deacons chosen? The New Testament says but little on this point, chiefly because at the foundation of the churches, the appointment of pastors over them was made by the apostles, who in making the appointment were specially guided by the Great Head of the Church. But when the first deacons were to be chosen, the apostles called together the multitude of the disciples, and told them to look out among them seven men full of the Holy Ghost and of wisdom. Thus the first deacons were chosen by the church. History tells us that immediately after the time of the apostles the pastors also were chosen by the churches.

One principle more must be mentioned, and that is this—that in the first Christian Churches, and in those which succeeded till the beginning of the fourth century, the ministry and the ordinances of the church were supported by the free contributions of the people. This was in accordance with the law of the church's Head. For "so hath the Lord ordained that they who preach the gospel should live of the gospel." "Every man according as he purposeth in his heart, so let him give, not grudgingly or of necessity, for God loveth a cheerful giver." The voluntary principle is the principle of the New Testament, and it was put into practice by the early churches.

Such is, to the best of my knowledge, a true account of the principles in the constitution of the churches founded by the apostles under the immediate direction of their Lord. I wish now to point out how by degrees the Churches became overlaid as it were by a mass of corruption; how a part of this mass of corruption was removed when, at the Reformation, the Episcopal Established Church was founded; and how we Free Churchmen aim to clear away the rest and to restore apostolic purity. And it is because we endeavour to be completely free from those corruptions by which those from whom we secede are partially contaminated,

that we call ourselves Free Churchmen, and our churches Free Churches.

It was not very long, then, after the time of the apostles when the Church principles that we have mentioned, began to be departed from in practice. Some of the bishops, or ruling elders, who, as we have said, had been only the first among equals, began to assume a little undue authority, then a little more, then more still, assuming it first on rarer and more special occasions, then on more ordinary and frequent occasions, till after a while they claimed this authority as a right to be exercised whenever they pleased. In proportion as this authority was assumed, the independence of the churches was lost. The smaller churches of a district became subject to a large city church, and the pastor of that large city church claimed authority over the pastors of the smaller churches. Thus was Independency merged in Episcopacy. Some may call this the first step in advance; we call it the first stage of corruption. This stage being reached, it did not take long to reach another. The bishops of the larger churches having claimed authority over the pastors and Churches of the surrounding districts, the bishop of Rome claims authority over them—over all the churches and their pastors. Then, in the early part of the fourth century, when Constantine was emperor of Rome, the church was taken under the patronage of the state—was made subject to state control, and supported by state resources. After this the work of corruption proceeded much more rapidly; the qualification for membership in the church soon ceased to be a spiritual one, and became a sacramental one; a hierarchy took the place of the two officers of the early churches, and in their choice the voice of the people was disregarded. The assumption of power on the part of the metropolitan, or bishop of Rome, became more and more arrogant, not content with calling himself a bishop, he calls

himself Pope, and is not satisfied till temporal princes, as well as spiritual guides, own subjection to his power. Then the priest takes the place of the pastor, and claims the power to forgive sins; baptism administered by priestly hands is said to regenerate; the bread and wine of the Lord's Supper, when consecrated by the priest, are stated to become the very body and blood of Christ; saints and angels are worshipped; relics, a few perhaps genuine, but very many spurious, are adored; the Virgin Mary is made a very goddess; indulgences to commit sin are sold for money; and prayers are offered for the dead. A climax is reached, and a few good and noble men are determined that this gigantic imposture shall be exposed, and that a better and purer state of things shall be brought about. The Reformation takes place, and England shares its benefits. But the work which once promised to be very thorough was thrown back. Men who clung to the old system influenced those who longed for something better. To quote the words of Macaulay, "A compromise was effected, and the fruit of that compromise was the Church of England."

The Episcopal Church established in this country is, in the estimation of us Nonconformists, a partially reformed one. Some Popish doctrines and practices it has discarded, others it has retained. Doctrines I will speak of in another letter; I will now speak of practices, by endeavouring to show, that with regard to the church principles that were recognised and acted upon in apostolic times, the Established Church has but partially purged itself from the corruptions of subsequent ages, and has but partially returned to apostolic practice. I ask then, Is purity of communion one of the principles of the Established Church? In reply, we say, that it requires in its candidates for membership no evidence of conversion whatever; it does not profess to regard the converted as the only fit persons for church fellowship. All that it demands

of candidates for membership is, that they should have been baptized and confirmed; and the qualifications for confirmation as stated in the Prayer-Book are, that the candidate should be able to say the Creed, the Lord's Prayer, and the Ten Commandments, and also to answer such other questions as in the short catechism are contained. It is plain that the most thoughtless youth, the most eager pleasure-seeker, the most thorough worldling, and the most abandoned slave of vice, could easily acquire these qualifications. And when such persons have entered the communion of the church, there is no power to expel them. In the Established Church discipline is practically unknown. A man may be a drunkard, or a swindler, or anything else that is notoriously bad; his conduct may be such that he shall be banished from all respectable society; yet, if he chooses from any motive whatever, to remain in the communion of the Church of England, there is no clergyman, churchwarden, or any one else that has the power to expel him. Certainly, purity of communion is not one of the principles of the Episcopal Established Church.

Does the Episcopal Church acknowledge any head but Christ? You are well aware that it does—that the Sovereign of this realm is that church's earthly head.

How are the pastors of that church chosen? I scarcely need remind you that it is not by the people to whom they are about to minister, but that the archbishops and bishops are appointed to their office by the Prime minister of the day; while rectors and vicars are "presented to their livings" by patrons, many of whom have purchased at a sale by auction the right of presentation.

How many kinds of officers are there in the Established Church? More than two. Archbishops, bishops, archdeacons, deans, canons, priests, and deacons, together with churchwardens, exceed by one what was once thought to be the perfect number—seven.

How is the Episcopal Church governed and supported? It is not governed by its members, in obedience only to the law of Christ, nor is it supported, except to a comparatively small extent, by their voluntary offerings. From the state it receives its support in the form of tithes, exacted from the willing and unwilling alike. Receiving state support, it has to submit to state control. What doctrines may be lawfully preached, and what ceremonies may be legally performed, have to be settled by a civil tribunal. Not the slightest change can be made in its ritual, not even a special prayer can be offered in a time of national calamity, or special thanksgiving presented for a great national blessing, without the authority of Parliament. The Episcopal Church has gold, but it has not liberty, it is not a free church, but a church in chains.

Not long had the Church of England been formed, when a large number of Christian men felt that the work of reformation had not been carried far enough. They longed and laboured to make that work more thorough. Failing to reform that Church from within, they came out of it; many by the Act of Uniformity were driven out, and they founded England's Free Churches. Bitter were the persecutions which they were called upon to suffer; truly they had to endure hardness as good soldiers of Jesus Christ. But they were brave, noble men. They were prepared to sacrifice everything, even life itself, for the sake of the principles which they held so dear. We who are Free Churchmen are the descendants of these men. And in our churches we endeavour to restore the constitution of the early churches. We go back for our model to the churches that existed in the times of the Apostles, and the times immediately following. And without hesitation we assert, that in the particulars just mentioned, our churches do resemble those which eighteen centuries ago were founded in Palestine and the surrounding countries. We require in the candi-

dates for membership in our churches satisfactory evidence of conversion, and those persons who unite themselves with us in church fellowship, by that act profess to have passed from death unto life. We acknowledge no authority but that of Christ, we have no rule of faith and practice but His inspired word. Our churches are, in the management of their affairs, independent of each other, for the County Associations and the Congregational or Baptist Union exercise no authority over the churches; but are formed for the purpose of promoting fraternal union and giving friendly counsel. The only officers of our churches are pastors and deacons. These officers are chosen by the churches whom they serve. Not by state pay are our pastors supported, but by the free contributions of those who enjoy the benefits of their ministry. In these particulars, we say, the constitution of our churches resembles that of the early churches. I admit that many imperfections are connected with the carrying out of our principles into practice. Sometimes authority is assumed by those who have no right to assume it, sometimes our liberty degenerates into licence, and disorder creeps in where peace and harmony should prevail. But what is there that human beings have to do with, that is not marred by human frailty? I acknowledge that we are often wrong in practice, but we claim to be right in principle. Commending these principles to your calm and thoughtful consideration,

I beg again to subscribe myself

A FREE-CHURCHMAN.

LETTER III.—DOCTRINE.

MY DEAR FRIEND,—

I wish in this letter to call your attention to some of the doctrines of the Established Church, in

order to show you that these doctrines are, in the estimation of Free Churchmen, a powerful reason for Nonconformity. I reminded you in the last letter that while the Episcopal Church had discarded some of the practices, and denied some of the doctrines of Popery, it had retained others. Some of the practices it has retained I then mentioned. I have now to speak of the doctrines. These doctrines may be summed up under two heads—priestly power, and sacramental efficacy. Closely connected are these doctrines with each other, but for convenience sake we will consider them separately.

It is well known that the Church of Rome invests her priests with tremendous power. She claims for them the same prerogatives that were conferred on the supernaturally inspired apostles. The salvation of the souls of all her members she places in the hands of the priests. The priest, we are told, has the power either to forgive sins or to retain them. All her members are compelled, as a condition of their membership, to confess their sins periodically to the priest. All her members, indeed, are in a state of complete subjection to the priestly power. They must not read the Bible for themselves, they must not think for themselves on religious subjects, they must believe what the priest tells them and no more. No tyranny in all the world is so complete as that which the Romish priests exercise over their people; no slavery in all the world is so abject as that which members of the Church of Rome voluntarily endure, by yielding to their priests such unlimited submission. Now I do not say that the Church of England ascribes such power to her priests as the Church of Rome ascribes to hers, still we may trace in the Prayer-Book the elements of the same doctrine of priestly power. The Absolution read in the morning and evening service suggests this doctrine. "The order for the visitation of the sick" teaches it more plainly. In a certain part of the service the

following directions are given, "Here shall the sick person be moved to make a special confession of his sins if he feel his conscience troubled with any weighty matter. After which confession, the priest shall absolve him (if he humbly and heartily desire it) after this sort." Then follow these words of absolution, "Our Lord Jesus Christ, who hath left power to his church to absolve all sinners who truly repent and believe in Him, of His great mercy, forgive thee thine offences. And by His authority committed to me, I absolve thee from all thy sins, in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, Amen." The latter part of this declaration, strongly savours of popish heresy. What right has the so-called priest to say to the man, "I absolve thee from all thy sins?" Has he the discernment of spirits? Can he by any possibility know whether the man's confession of sin was sincere or insincere? If not, it is nothing less than the height of presumption for him to tell the man positively that his sins were pardoned. A conditional declaration of pardon he might with propriety make; he might say to the sick man or to any man, "If you truly repent of sin and sincerely believe in Jesus, there is pardon for you; the moment you behold the Lamb of God, your sins are all blotted out." Such a declaration of absolution, any Christian may make to a fellow-creature, no man calling himself a priest has any greater right to make it than every Christian has.

The Church of England teaches then, in her formularies, that her priests have the power to tell persons who make a verbal confession of sin, that their sins are forgiven. What is taught in her formularies is preached in not a few of her pulpits, and we frequently hear of one clergyman and another setting up a confessional, and inviting members of their congregations to come and confess to them their sins. This doctrine of priestly power as held by the Episcopal Church, is in the estimation of Free Churchmen a strong reason for

nonconformity. Our belief is, that under the Christian dispensation there is no official priesthood at all. We believe that all Christians are priests, and that ministers of the gospel are not priests in any other sense than that in which all Christians are. Jesus is our Great High-Priest, and under Him all believers, without any distinction, constitute "a royal priesthood," are "kings and priests unto God." Our ministers are pastors, not official priests; teachers, not confessors; not "lords over God's heritage, but examples to the flock."

The doctrine of sacramental efficacy is closely connected with that of priestly power. This doctrine is held by England's Established Church. It is especially in connection with the ordinance of baptism that we shall consider it. For whatever doubt there may be as to whether the Church of England holds the doctrine of "the real presence," there can be none as to whether she holds the doctrine of baptismal regeneration. Let us in imagination follow a member of that church from the cradle to the grave, and we shall see that at every stage of life he was made to imbibe the doctrine that he was regenerated in his baptism. Behold him first as a little babe. He is brought to the font to be baptized. As soon as the rite is performed, the congregation are thus exhorted: "Seeing now, dearly beloved, that this child is regenerate, and grafted into the body of Christ's church, let us give thanks unto Almighty God for these benefits, and with one accord make our prayers unto Him that this child may lead the rest of his life according to this beginning." Thanks are rendered in the following words: "We yield Thee hearty thanks, most merciful Father, that it hath pleased Thee to regenerate this infant with Thy Holy Spirit, to receive him for Thine own child by adoption, and to incorporate him into Thy holy church." The child over whom in baptism these words are read, emerges from the period of infancy and becomes old enough to go to school. A catechism is put

into his hands, which is supposed to be a manual of gospel truth adapted to the capacities of the young. What is the first question in this catechism? It is this, "What is your name?" And the child having answered that question, is asked "Who gave you that name?" and is taught to answer, "My godfathers and godmothers in my baptism, wherein I was made a member of Christ, the child of God, and an inheritor of the kingdom of heaven." Here we have a statement in another form, but with equal distinctness, of the same doctrine of baptismal regeneration. The child grows up to be a youth, reaches the period of life at which it is supposed that his godfathers and godmothers ought to be freed from the responsibility of being his sponsors, and released from the solemn vows which they had made in the child's name, and that he ought to take the burden of responsibility upon himself. So, having been duly qualified, that is, as I have already said, having been taught to "repeat the Creed, the Lord's Prayer, and the Ten Commandments, and other such answers as in the Short Catechism are contained," he is brought to be confirmed by the bishop. The rite of confirmation rests upon the basis of baptismal regeneration. This is evident from the following prayer which is offered in the service: "Almighty and everliving God, who hast vouchsafed to regenerate these Thy servants by water and the Holy Ghost, and hast given unto them forgiveness of all their sins; Strengthen them we beseech Thee, O Lord, with the Holy Ghost, the Comforter, and daily increase in them Thy manifold gifts of grace; the spirit of wisdom and understanding; the spirit of counsel and ghostly strength; the spirit of knowledge and true godliness; and fill them, O Lord, with the spirit of Thy holy fear, now and for ever. Amen." In this prayer and throughout the whole service, the youth is taught that in baptism he was regenerated and received the forgiveness of his sins, and that at his

confirmation he is still in a regenerated and pardoned condition. By confirmation he is admitted into the full communion of the church, and he is exhorted to come to the table of the Lord. What is now his position? According to the doctrine of the church he belongs to, he is a Christian. I admit that your Prayer-Book teaches the necessity of daily renewal, and exhorts to earnest prayer for the influence of the Spirit, that this renewal may be brought about; but it seems to me that this teaching is robbed of the greater part of its force by the assumption that the great change of regeneration, which may not have taken place, certainly has taken place, and that it took place in connection with the ordinance of baptism. Such an assumption cannot I think but tend to impart a false peace to many who have great need to be intensely anxious about their spiritual condition, and to lead many a child of wrath to imagine himself a child of grace. Thus the man whom I have been describing passes on through life till life comes to an end. When his body is committed to the tomb, others are assured that he is certainly gone to heaven. Let me make a remark or two about the "Order for the Burial of the Dead." It is in my opinion, impossible to imagine a service that could in a higher degree combine simplicity and grandeur. In exquisite beauty and touching pathos it is unrivalled. When read over the grave of a true believer in Jesus, it is admirably appropriate. On such occasions, when I have heard it read in solemn and impressive tones, it has moved me more deeply than the most powerful funeral sermon I ever listened to. But for whom is this service to be used, and for whom not? At the beginning of it we are told that it is not to be used in the case of the unbaptized, or the excommunicate, or of persons who have laid violent hands upon themselves. It is implied that the service is to be used in the case of all other persons—that is, all the baptized who have not been

excommunicated, and who have not committed suicide. Now, what does it say of these persons? "Forasmuch as it hath pleased Almighty God of His great mercy to take unto Himself the soul of our dear brother here departed, we therefore commit his body to the ground, earth to earth, ashes to ashes, dust to dust; in sure and certain hope of the resurrection to eternal life through our Lord Jesus Christ." This is a most distinct and unmistakable declaration that the spirit of every departed one, over whom the service is read is gone to the world of rest, and that a sure and certain hope is entertained that the body will experience a glorious resurrection. Thus you see, this dogma of baptismal regeneration pursues every member of the Episcopal Church of England from the cradle to the grave. Like some malignant spirit of evil, it embraces him at the font, sits by his side at school, meets him again at confirmation, is his companion through life, and overshadows him in the tomb. Happy the man, if another Spirit, the Spirit of light and salvation, teach him that he must be born again, and by directing the eye of his faith to Jesus, make him a possessor of the life Divine. I have no doubt that many who hold the doctrine of baptismal regeneration are true Christians. They are resting on the right foundation, although they have built upon that foundation a great deal of "wood, hay, and stubble." But at the same time I entertain a deep conviction that this dogma has been the ruin of thousands. A clergyman once said that it had destroyed more souls than any one error on the black list of heresy. Can it do otherwise than lead many of the unsaved to imagine themselves saved, and to lull to sleep with a false sense of security multitudes that are in imminent danger of everlasting ruin?

Perhaps, however, you will tell me that I assume that this doctrine is false, without proving it, and that you think that there are certain passages of Scripture which support this doctrine. There are, I admit, a few

passages, which at first sight appear to favour baptismal regeneration. For a full discussion of them I must refer you to an excellent book written by the Rev. E. Mellor, of Halifax, entitled "Ritualism and its related Dogmas." I cannot within the limits of this letter examine these passages in detail. I will only observe of them in general, that if we compare them with the context and with other portions of God's word, we shall be led to the conclusion, either that they do not refer to the rite of baptism at all, but to that baptism of the Spirit of which it is a type; or that they refer to the rite of baptism as an emblem of regeneration, and not as a means of producing it. Besides, remember this, that none of the rites of the Jewish dispensation possessed any regenerating efficacy. The most strenuous advocates of baptismal regeneration admit this. Those rites were means of spiritual life to those only who observed them with faith; the mere observance of them did not impart that life. If then the Christian rite of baptism conveys spiritual life to the person baptized, it follows that Christianity is essentially more ritualistic than Judaism, and that the change from Judaism to Christianity was in this respect a retrograde movement and not an onward one. But if Christianity is less ritualistic and more spiritual than the Jewish religion, we conclude that since regeneration was not produced by any Jewish rite, it is not produced by the Christian rite of baptism. Look, too, at this doctrine in the light of facts. You know our Lord said, "By their fruits ye shall know them." Apply to the baptized this test, and what is the result? Do they by their lives afford any proof that they have been made partakers of the Divine nature? Can we see in their characters such "fruits of the Spirit," that we are led to conclude that they have been regenerated by the Spirit? Do they not rather show, as soon as their faculties begin to be developed, that they are still depraved, still in an unregenerate condition, and that

they need the renewing power of the Spirit before they can enter the kingdom of heaven? Depend upon it, this doctrine of baptismal regeneration is a most pernicious error. And since it is impossible to belong to the Established Church without sanctioning these twin errors of priestly power and sacramental efficacy, we form ourselves into Free Churches, in order that we may be free from the baneful influence of these errors, and free from the heavy responsibility of sanctioning their propagation. We gladly admit that in the Church from which we dissent much truth is believed and taught. The inspiration of Scripture, the Divinity of Jesus, Atonement for sin by His death, Justification by faith, an eternal state of punishment and reward, and other scriptural doctrines that may be mentioned, are, we well know, held by the Church of England. But we have it on the highest authority that "a little leaven leaveneth the whole lump." Priestly power and sacramental efficacy are a poisonous leaven which vitiates the whole mass of doctrine that the Church of England holds. The creed of us Free Churchmen is free from this poisonous leaven. We do not pretend to say that it is absolutely pure; but we do say that it is free from such impurities as would convert food into poison, and make that which was intended for the nourishment of life a means of producing death.

One thing more I will just mention before I conclude this letter: it is not so much a matter of doctrine as of practice, but I do not know a better time than the present to call your attention to it, unless I were to write a letter on purpose, and that is scarcely worth while. I refer to public worship. You have a most grand and beautiful liturgy. No one can admire it more than I do. But do you not think that the constant repetition of it deprives it of the greater part of its force, and tends to lead those who use it to repeat it mechanically and without thought or feeling; and that on the whole it promotes formality rather than spiritual worship? I

think it does. Well, you know, you State Church-people are bound always to use the liturgy in your places of worship, and you are prohibited from praying in any other words than those of the liturgy. This is great bondage. One reason why we are Free Churchmen is, that we may be free to use the whole of the liturgy, or any part of it, or not to use it all, as inclination may prompt, or as the time and occasion may suggest. Most of us Free Churchmen like free prayer. But whether we prefer free prayer or a form of prayer, we are at liberty to use the one or the other. We are Free. I have thus given you the principal reasons why we are Free Churchmen. I have yet to answer your question as to what we are aiming at. This I must reserve for another letter, which will be my last.

I remain, my dear friend,

Yours sincerely,

A Free-Churchman.

LETTER IV.—WHAT FREE-CHURCHMEN ARE AIMING AT.

My dear Friend,—

You hinted in your letter that we Free-Churchmen were aiming especially at two things—at the destruction of your church, and at our own supremacy. You even intimated that it appeared to you as if every Nonconformist denomination endeavoured and expected to absorb into itself every other denomination, and to be the sole embodiment of Christianity in the land. Let me assure you that we do not aim at or expect any such thing. We consider it to be an advantage rather than otherwise for Christianity to be embodied in various forms, and represented by different denominations of Christians. We believe that by this diversity Christianity is more completely adapted to men of

various orders of minds, and that a healthful rivalry between the different sections of the church stimulates energy and prompts to action. The history of the church proves that in the great majority of instances, uniformity and death, and diversity and life are closely connected with each other. It is therefore neither our aim nor our desire that all the churches should copy our model. Nor are we aiming at the destruction of your church. Often are we charged with doing this, but no charge could be more utterly without foundation. You will point me, perhaps, to the efforts we are making to promote the separation of church and state. I admit that those efforts are made; I have myself taken some part in them; I am a thorough believer in, and a hearty supporter of, the Liberation Society; and I long for the day when the state will cease to meddle in the affairs of the church, and when the church will refuse to be corrupted by state gold, and enslaved by state control. Perhaps you call this—aiming at the church's destruction. If you do, I must say that you pay your church a very poor compliment. You call liberation, annihilation; disendowment, destruction; release, ruin. State support, then, is the rock on which your church is built, and the power that keeps her from sinking into nothingness. So feeble is she that when her crutches are taken away, she will not be able to walk a single step, but will fall down and die. Are you prepared to admit this? If not, then do not tell me that because we are aiming at the liberation of the Episcopal Church, we are therefore aiming at her destruction. What we are aiming to promote with reference to your church, is her freedom and her purity. We long to see her cleansed from what remains in her of Popish doctrine, and emancipated from bondage to the state. It would rejoice us greatly to see existing and flourishing in this land a Free, Evangelical, Episcopal Church. Such a church, free like the other churches, and as thoroughly Protestant

as they, would be a great boon to the nation. What a glorious united army, although consisting of different regiments, would England's Free Churches then form, with which to resist the attacks of sin and error, and to attack sin and error in return! Who can imagine the rapidity with which the truth would then be extended, and with which the kingdom of Christ would be enlarged? The great cause of disunion being removed, Christians of various denominations would heartily work together in the service of their common Lord. Perhaps, too, steps might then be taken towards securing greater outward union as well as greater union of heart, and perhaps, at that advanced period of the church's history, an approach towards uniformity in church government, worship, and doctrine may be desirable as well as possible. But a word or two more with regard to our present aims. You know that while the links which unite your church with the state are getting weaker, those which unite her with the church of Rome are getting stronger. Taking your church as a whole, it seems to me that she is getting more and more like the Church of Rome. The Evangelical clergy are diminishing, the High Church clergy are increasing, and are teaching with greater boldness than ever, High Church doctrines. Ritualism, in spite of adverse legal decisions, at least maintains its ground, if it does not advance. Hundreds of your clergy have within the last twenty-five years joined the Church of Rome. I am really quite at a loss to see how you can call your church "the bulwark of Protestantism." That title I claim for the Free churches of England. If our churches had never existed, Protestantism in England would by this time have been well-nigh extinct. If our churches could now be annihilated, Protestantism in England would soon become a thing of the past. One great end that we are aiming at, is the maintenance and extension of thorough Protestantism. We protest not only

against Popery but also against semi-Popery. And while England's Free Churches maintain their ground, there is not the shadow of a fear that England will yield to Rome. But apart from all erroneous systems and unscriptural doctrines, we have a great work to do—a noble end at which to aim. We endeavour by mutual Christian intercourse to be the means of promoting one another's faith, and love, and hope, and zeal, and purity. We aim to be the means of attracting sinners to the Saviour. In our pulpits, the pure gospel is, with rare exceptions, faithfully preached. In our Sunday Schools the young are taught the simple truth as it is in Jesus. God blesses our efforts. State ecclesiastics may frown upon us, the world's great men may despise us, and think it unfashionable to attend our sanctuaries; but we have the seal of the approbation of the Great Head of the church. That seal consists in sinners being saved, and believers being made more like their Lord. A Divine power accompanying the word preached, and the truth taught, breaks stony hearts, and transforms the children of wrath into the children of grace. The same truth made effective by the same power is the means of comforting, strengthening, and directing the believer in Jesus. Thousands of Christians on earth, and a countless host of the ransomed in heaven, were first brought to the Saviour, and then spiritually nourished, in connection with the agency of the Free Churches. We have still a great work to do. Immorality abounds on every side, infidelity of a most insidious kind extensively prevails, and indifference holds multitudes in its paralysing grasp. Not a regiment of the great army of the Lord can be spared, not a soldier, if he would be faithful, dares lay his weapons aside. The Free Churches are determined, in the strength of the Lord, still to take a part in this mighty conflict. I must now leave the subject with you. It may be that we shall never see eye to eye on the

matters that I have brought before you in these letters; but whether we do or not, I trust that we shall both put up to heaven with ever-growing fervour the petition that God's servants have for centuries been presenting, "Thy kingdom come, Thy will be done in earth, as it is in heaven."

I remain, my dear friend,

Yours most sincerely,

A FREE-CHURCHMAN.

Butler & Tanner, The Selwood Printing Works, Frome, and London.

INCREASE OF THE MINISTRY,

BY THE APPOINTMENT

OF

Readers in the United Church of England and Ireland.

TO BE HAD,

WITH MEMORIAL TO THE FOUR PRIMATES FOR SIGNATURE, FROM

LIEUT. C. A. B. POCOCK, R.N.

LUDLOW, SALOP.

July, 1867.

[*Price Six Shillings per Hundred.—To cover Expenses, Sixpence each.*]

[*That the Order of Reader has existed in the Christian Church from the earliest times, and was not done away with in England at the Reformation: it only fell into desuetude.*]

'And in those days, when the number of the disciples was multiplied, . . . the Twelve called the multitude of the disciples unto them, and said, It is not reason that we should leave the word of God, and serve tables. Wherefore, Brethren, look ye out among you seven men of honest report, full of the Holy Ghost and wisdom, whom we may appoint over this business.'—*Acts*, vi. 1.

'And He gave some, Apostles; and some, prophets; and some, evangelists; and some, pastors and teachers; for the perfecting of the saints, for the work of the ministry, for the edifying of the Body of Christ.'—*Ephesians*, iv. 11.

'Now there are diversities of gifts, but the same Spirit. And there are differences of administration, but the same Lord. . . . . And God hath set some in the Church; first Apostles; secondarily prophets; thirdly teachers; after that miracles; then gifts of healings, helps, governments, diversities of tongues.'—1 *Cor.* xii.

Dr. Hook.—'Besides the bishops, priests, and deacons, there were in most of the Churches other ecclesiastical persons of inferior rank, who were allowed to take part in the ministrations of religion. These constituted what are called *inferior orders*.'

Tertullian, A. D. 200; Cyprian; and Eusebius; all mention more than three orders of ministers. Bingham states

that they were not of Apostolical but only of ecclesiastical institution. They differed from the superior orders. (1) In name; being called *insacrati*, unconsecrated, in opposition to ἱερῶμενοι, holy and sacred: (2) in not being ordained at the altar, and without imposition of hands: (3) in not being ordained to minister before God as presbyter, to celebrate His Sacraments.

Canon of Fourth Council of Carthage, A. D. 398.—'When a sub-deacon is ordained, seeing he has no imposition of hands, let him receive an empty paten and an empty cup from the hands of the Bishop,' &c.

Sub-deacons 'were not allowed to minister as deacons at the altar; no, not so much as to come within the rails of it, to set a paten or cup, or the oblations of the people, thereon.'

Bingham.—'From accounts of the Council of Carthage, we learn that the ancient form of ordaining a Reader, was—"The Bishop put the Bible into his hands, in the presence of the people, with these words, 'Take this book, and be thou a reader of the Word of God; which office if thou fulfil faithfully and profitably, thou shalt have part with those who minister in the Word of God.'"'

The Reformation.

Earl Nelson at the York Congress.—'In January, 1549–50, the third of Edward VI., an act was passed, which directed the bishops, and others, to issue a Reformed Ordinal, providing for the continuance of the minor orders, as well as those of bishop, priest, and deacon.

'"Be it enacted therefore, that such form and manner of making and consecrating of archbishops, bishops, priests, and deacons, and *other ministers of the Church*, as by six prelates, and six other men of this realm, learned in God's Law, by the King's Majesty to be appointed and assigned, or by the most of them, shall be devised for that purpose, and set forth under the Great Seal of England, before the first day of April next, shall *by virtue of the present act be lawfully exercised*."

'For, as Collier says, "All these," enumerating the minor orders, "seem comprehended in the clause, 'and other ministers of the Church.'"'

Strype's Annals, v. i., p. 306.—'And in this kingdom (England) in churches or chapels, where there is only a very small endowment, and no clergyman will take upon him the charge thereof, it has been usual to admit readers, to the end that Divine Service in such places might not altogether be neglected. . . . . Upon the Reformation here, they were required to subscribe to the following injunctions:—"*Imprimis.* —I shall not preach or interpret, but only read that which is appointed by public authority;—I shall not minister the Sacraments, or other public rites of the Church, but bury the dead and purify women after their childbirth;—I shall keep the register book according to the injunctions;—I shall use sobriety in apparel, and especially in the church at common prayer;—I shall move men to quiet and concord, and not give them cause of offence;—I shall bring into my Ordinary testimony of my behaviour from the honest of the parish where I dwell within one half year next following;—I shall give place upon convenient warning so thought by the Ordinary, if any learned minister shall be placed there at the suit of the patron of the parish;—I shall claim no more of the fruits sequestered of such cure where I shall serve but as it shall be thought meet to the wisdom of the Ordinary;—I shall daily at the least read one chapter of the Old Testament, and one other of the New, with good advisement, to the increase of my knowledge;—I shall not appoint in my room, by reason of my absence or sickness, any other man, but shall leave it to the suit of the parish to the Ordinary for assigning some other able man;—I shall not read but in the poorer parishes destitute of incumbents, except in time of sickness, or for other good considerations to be allowed by the Ordinary;—I shall not openly intermeddle with any artificer's occupations, as covetously to seek a gain thereby, having in ecclesiastical living the sum of twenty nobles or above by the year."

'This was resolved to be put to all readers and deacons by the respective bishops, and is signed by both the Archbishops, together with the Bishops of London, Winchester, Ely, Sarum, Carlisle, Chester, Exeter, Bath and Wells, and Gloucester.'

Church Builder, *April*, 1865.—'In 1753 it was the custom in Withrop Church, in Cumberland, to appoint a reader.'

Isle of Man Times.—'As late as 1843, Mr. W. D. Cullen was appointed Subdeacon by Bishop T. V. Short, and officiated in the Isle of Man.'

Rubric, Common Prayer.—'The Morning and Evening Service to be used daily at sea, shall be the same which is appointed in the Book of Common Prayer.'—'Then shall the priest, if there be any in the ship, pronounce the Absolution.' Accordingly, it is the custom in H. M. Navy, for the captain to read prayers, as appointed to be read by a deacon.

Thirty-ninth Canon of Episcopal Church of Scotland.—

OF LAY READERS AND CATECHISTS.

1. Any bishop may appoint lay readers and catechists to read the Common Prayer and Holy Scriptures in such places within his diocese as he may deem expedient.

2. Every candidate for this office shall be required to exhibit testimonials from not fewer than two communicants of the Church, that he lived piously, soberly, and honestly, for the space of three years last past, and is a faithful and obedient member of the Church.

3. Every such Candidate shall affix his signature to this canon on his appointment, and he shall submit to all the regulations which the bishop may prescribe.

4. The bishop may cancel his appointment whenever he shall see fit.

5. Catechists and lay readers shall not minister to the members of existing congregations, except with the consent and under the direction of the incumbents thereof.

Convocation of the Province of Canterbury.

In 1862, the Bishop of Ely presented a petition from his clergy to the Upper House, and a committee was appointed to consider the subject.

The following is extracted from a Pamphlet by Rev. J. M. Elvy.

'In February, 1862, a petition was presented to the Lower House, by the Rev. F. C. Massingberd, signed by eighty-five of the clergy of the diocese which he represented, among whom were the names of one canon residentiary, three members of Convocation, ten prebendaries, eleven rural deans, and twenty incumbents of towns, including Nottingham, praying that "The clergy might be assisted by an authorized body of lay teachers, holding some subordinate office, as that of sub-deacon or reader; yet not subject to those restrictions in respect to their other employments, or to those civil disabilities by which the clergy themselves are restrained, and whose obligation to devote themselves to

such subordinate ministry might not be perpetual." After a long and interesting debate, a report was adopted, which contains the following recommendation :—

'"We are of opinion that, whatever increase may take place in the number of persons admitted to the diaconate, a new agency is also required, which may be supplemental to it, and disturb as little as possible our present ecclesiastical authority. Our attention is therefore directed to the expediency of reviving the ancient order of Readers. . . . A class of persons is now needed to assist incumbents of populous and scattered parishes, in house-to-house visitation, in catechising, and in performing such religious services as may be assigned to them by competent ecclesiastical authority."

'The following report was presented to the Upper House of Convocation by the Bishop of London, April, 1864 :—

'"The Committee have had before them a representation of the Lower House of Convocation, dated February 14th, 1862, on the extension of the diaconate, and on the expediency of reviving the ancient order of 'Readers.' They have also endeavoured to ascertain the opinion of clergymen in various parts of England, whose pastoral activity and experience give great weight to their judgment.

'"It is undeniable that the rapid increase of the population of England and Wales, while the increase of the clergy ministering therein takes place in a lower ratio, makes it important to employ to the utmost every available agency which, without trenching on the peculiar offices of the ministry, may assist the clergy in some branches of their duty; and it is no less obvious that it is expedient for the spiritual well-being of lay members of the Church, that they should be directed and encouraged to exert themselves in the Church's work, and for the temporal and spiritual welfare of their brethren.

'"It seems to be generally admitted that there is in our populous towns, and even in smaller parishes, a large and increasing number of religious laymen, who, supporting themselves wholly or in part by their own property, profession, trade, or labour, are willing to devote a portion of their time, as lay teachers, in such ministrations as may be assigned to them by competent authority.

'"This class is distinct from that of Scripture-readers, who are maintained for the most part by their stipends, which are often as high as those of junior curates, and who are generally required to give up their whole time in their work. It is, however, the class to which district visitors usually belong; but, besides that, a large proportion of these invaluable assistants to the parochial clergyman are females, and that teaching is a duty seldom entrusted to them, it is held by many who are competent to judge, that many pious laymen would be induced to offer their aid if such an agency were recognised and systematised, and if they were duly authorised to act.

'"Your committee inclines to this opinion; or at any rate considers that the circumstances of the Church justify an experiment, the success of which would be of the highest importance."

'The Bishop of Lincoln, in his speech during the debate, said that though differences of opinion were expressed by the

clergy, to whom application for information was made as to the nature of the office which it was desirable to revive, yet *all* were agreed that there were numbers of religious laymen whose services might be secured if some ministration were assigned to them by competent authority.'

In 1866, the Lower House of Convocation of the Province of Canterbury passed the following resolution :—

'That this House, recognizing the importance of encouraging lay agency, is of opinion that the spiritual wants of the Church would be most effectually met by the constitution of a distinct office, such as that of Sub-deacon or Reader, as auxiliary to the sacred ministry of the Church.'

Lay deacons appointed at Dover by the Archbishop of Canterbury, 1865—

'Appointment.

'Charles Thomas, by Divine Providence, Lord Archbishop of Canterbury, to our well-beloved in Christ ——, of the Parish of ——, in our Diocese of Canterbury, greeting.

'Whereas we are duly informed of your desire to assist in the pastoral administration of your parish, by undertaking the work of a lay deacon amongst the people, and under the direction of the parish priest, that ——

'We do hereby give you our ordinary authority and commission to execute such office of a lay deacon in the district to be assigned you of the said Parish, and according to the rules in that behalf revised and appointed by us.

'Given under our hand this 16th day of October, 1865.

(L.S.) (Signed) 'C. T. Cantuar.'

'Rules.—St. Mary's, Dover.

'Each deacon to have a small defined district.

'He is to devote an hour a day to diaconate work.

'To acquaint himself by visitation with the names, persons, and callings and habits of the labouring population in his district.

'To specially seek out such children not baptized, attending no school, being neglected, or otherwise in an outcast state.

'To mark the case of any outcast adults whom there may appear any chance to reclaim.

'To note cases of sickness, &c.; make them known to the parish priest, and assist in their visitation.

'To be ministrants of alms to the sick and needy in connection with lady associates, now known as district visitors.

'To assist the parish priest in parochial work wherever his services can be of use.'

Archdeacon Hale.—'The Order of Sub-deacons, not being one of the Holy Orders, may be of temporary, not of perpetual, obligation.'

Rev. E. M. Baird.—'There appears to be among the promoters of this revival (minor orders) no desire to assimilate the proposed orders in any way to the existing orders of the Christian Ministry. The line of demarcation must be broad and distinct. .... This movement is one calculated to strengthen and develope her (the Church's) missionary organization. . . . . We want an increase in the number of those who exercise the pastoral office; but far more than this, we need a fresh Evangelist agency. . . . . Men must be sent into the streets and lanes with the simple message of a Saviour's love, and the simple story of a Saviour's Cross, to compel unwilling souls to come in. The existing clergy, from their numbers, are unable to do this; and there are perhaps others who would be better qualified to carry on what I may term "the rough work" of the Church. The labours of the majority of those enlisting in this great army of Church volunteers would be the labours of those "hoping for nothing again." . . . . A point on which I may venture to speak, because of late my work has been chiefly among London mechanics; . . . . if you can once enlist their sympathies in the work of the Church, I know of no body of men who would render a nobler or more willing service. That spirit of enterprise, that unwillingness to be beaten, which forms so prominent a characteristic in them in their daily occupations, only requires to be transferred to the things of God, to produce a body of noble, self-sacrificing helpers, of whom any Church in Christendom might be proud, and who would be able equally with their superiors to qualify themselves to carry on the work entrusted to them. It is not, as I apprehend, an essential feature of the Lectorate, that its ministrations should be public; and there can be no question that many men could read and pray by a sick bed . . . . who could not stand up to speak in the House of God or in the Mission Room.

'It is clear, therefore, that those who are desirous of obtaining fresh agents for carrying on practical work, would scarcely turn to the Roman Church for their working model. . . . . Before we find anything at all answering to our proposed scheme, we must take a leap in Ecclesiastical History, and come down to the Wesleyan movement; . . . . it is impossible not to admire the administrative ability exhibited in the scheme which Wesley bequeathed to his followers.' The essence of that scheme 'was in this, that it

threw a part of the burden of the ministerial office on the laity;' its grand principle, 'that ordained ministers alone do not compose the Church, and that the laity have not only their privileges, but their responsibilities and duties, in connection with the spiritual Body of Christ. The Wesleyan Local Preachers really exercised the work of a subsidiary order. . . . . Had the Church of England accepted them, they would, in fact, have been constituted into a sort of Evangelist order, and our Church would have possessed a century ago that very kind of help which she now requires.'

The following is an abstract of the 'Pembroke Wesleyan Methodist Circuit Plan for 1865.'—

Thirteen towns and villages have two services on Sunday, and one weekly; the services performed by three itinerant ministers, with a staff of twenty-one unpaid Local Preachers, six of the latter being on trial. No mention is made of class-leaders and teachers.

Conybeare.—'Everyone is aware that Wesleyanism was created and organized by ministers of the Church, and that its system was only designed to be subsidiary, and supplemental to that of the Establishment. But many will be surprised to learn that this was still more especially the case with Calvinistic Methodism of Wales, which is now regarded as the most hostile form of dissent. The founders of this sect were all members of the Church, and all but one were clergymen. . . . . One by one they (curates) were ejected from their cures by worldly prelates, who feared enthusiasm more than sin, and were zealous in nothing but in hating zeal.

'If it be humiliating to confess that this fanatical institution (Mormonism) has made more dupes in England than in all the world besides; yet the instrumentality by which they have been gained also contains matter of encouragement. The same principle of organization which has been so powerful in the cause of error, might do good service to the cause of truth. Among the Mormons, one in five participates in the ecclesiastical government. Let us suppose that, in like manner, the religious laity of the Church of England were invested with official functions. Let us suppose that they were made to feel themselves members of a living body; essential parties to its acts; sharers in its responsibilities; doers of the word, and not hearers only. Surely, if among the millions who worship in our churches—we will not say

one in five, but even one in fifty—were thus animated to exertion, their achievements in rescuing their countrymen from the slavery of ignorance and vice, might at least redeem the future, if they could not remedy the past. Meanwhile, if the greatest of our national institutions seems to fall short of her high calling, and to do but half its task, we may console ourselves with the recollection that it works in fetters, and that vital circulation may yet be restored to organs frozen by forced inaction. For it can never be more difficult to loose than to bind; and though it might be impossible to create, it is easy to emancipate.'

The 'Pastoral Aid' and the 'Scripture Reader' Societies employ hundreds of lay assistants. 'They instituted a new order under the name of Scripture-readers, drawn from the same class of society as those to whom they are sent.'—*Conybeare.*

It is very remarkable that the only order of men sent forth with quasi-ecclesiastical authority is recruited exclusively from the least educated class; while the equals of the clergy in birth, education, and knowledge of the world, offer their services in vain.

Rev. J. C. Ryle.—'The true Apostolic plan was the multiplication of agencies; . . . . . the great need of the age was a more frequent contact between those who preach and those who are supposed to hear the Gospel. Personal intercourse was impossible in monster parishes: these large centres must be subdivided into workable districts, so that the clergyman can really visit his flock. At present, if the poor want to go to church there is no room for them, and therefore the living agents sent forth by this (Pastoral Aid) Society must be supplemented and multiplied. By working on this principle, the true work of the Church would be effectively done; but without an adequate and a laborious ministry churches might be built and endowed in vain; for unless you began first with the man, you would fail of the grand issue contemplated in evangelical enterprise. . . . . The rev. gentleman (Mr. Ryle) adverted to his own experience, and affirmed that it was painfully and practically impossible for a clergyman with 10,000, 20,000, and even 30,000 souls under his spiritual oversight, to make their personal acquaintance.'

Earl Nelson's Paper at York Congress.—'I trust to see ere long many lay Readers appointed in every diocese; and not only so, but all lay works for the Church of Christ sanctified by special recognition and appointment thereto by the Church. . . . . .

* * * * * *

'And thus should we see, even now in this our day, a truer type of the Christianity of the Apostolic age than had before been realized amongst us. Clergy and laity, each in their respective callings, stimulating and building each other up—because with one heart and one mind they would be daily labouring together to carry on their Master's work in the world—striving to do good to all, and to bring all to Him, by the exercise of that very law of sympathy which He Himself has taught us.'

[*Reprinted from Report of the York Congress.*]

AT

A MEETING OF THE BISHOPS,

AT LAMBETH PALACE, ON ASCENSION DAY, 1866,

PRESENT—

Archbishop of Canterbury.
Archbishop of York.
Archbishop of Armagh.
Bishop of Winchester.
Bishop of St. David's.
Bishop of Oxford.
Bishop of St. Asaph.
Bishop of Llandaff.
Bishop of Lincoln.
Bishop of Ripon.
Bishop of Bangor.
Bishop of Rochester.
Bishop of Gloucester and Bristol.
Bishop of Peterborough.
Bishop of Ely.
Bishop of Sodor and Man.
Bishop of Derry and Raphoe.
Bishop of Grahamstown.
Bishop of Brisbane.
Bishop of Sierra Leone.

RESOLVED:

I.

That it is not expedient to alter the Statute or Canon Law with a view of extending the Diaconate to persons engaged in professions or business.

II.

That it is desirable to institute an office of Reader, and that the Form of admission to the same be by public Prayer and delivery of the New Testament by the Bishop without imposition of hands, and that it be held until the Bishop shall by an instrument under his hand remove the holder therefrom.

III.

That the office be exercised in any particular Parish or District under the Bishop's license, issued with the written consent of the Incumbent, revocable at the discretion of the Bishop, either *mero motu*, or at the written request of the Incumbent.

IV.

That the office be unpaid.

V.

That the license of the Bishop empower the Reader:—

1. To render general aid to the Clergy in all ministrations not strictly requiring the service of one in Holy Orders.
2. To read the Lessons in the Church.
3. To read Prayers and Holy Scriptures and explain the same, in such places as the Bishop's license shall define.

FORM OF LICENSE.

A. B., by Divine permission, &c., to our well-beloved and approved in Christ, C. D., greeting.

We do by these presents grant to you our license to exercise the office of Reader in the Parish of F., within our diocese and jurisdiction, on the nomination of G. H., Rector of the said Parish; and we do authorize you to read the Holy Scriptures, &c., &c., (specifying what the Bishop pleases to authorize consistently with the Lambeth rules,) to read the Lessons in the Parish Church, &c., to read such portions of the Morning and Evening Service in such and such a place as the Bishop shall direct, &c.

And we do hereby notify and declare that this our license shall remain valid and shall have full force and authority, until either it shall be revoked by us or our successors, or a fresh institution to the Benefice shall have been made and completed, provided always that it shall be competent for an application to be made to us and our successors for a renewal and continuance of this our present license.

And so we commend you to Almighty God, humbly praying in the Name of our Lord Jesus Christ, that His blessing may rest on you and your work.

Given, &c.

SUGGESTED SERVICE FOR THE APPOINTMENT OF A LAY READER.

TO BE USED IN THE PRIVATE CHAPELS OF ARCHBISHOPS AND BISHOPS.

When the day fixed upon by the Bishop is come, the Minister of the Parish for which a Reader is to be appointed shall present unto the Bishop (sitting in his chair near the Holy Table) the person desiring so to be appointed, (the same being decently habited,) saying these words:

Reverend Father in God, I present unto you this person to be appointed to the office of Reader in the Parish of A.

The Bishop.

Hath the person whom ye present unto us been examined and found meet, both for his knowledge of God's Holy Word and his godly life and conversation, to exercise the office of Reader in the said Parish?

The Minister shall answer,

He hath been examined, and hath been found so to be.

Then the Bishop shall say unto those present:

Dearly beloved, forasmuch as this person, now presented unto us, hath been nominated and presented unto us by the Rector of the Parish of A., and hath been found, after due examination, apt and meet to perform the office of Reader, we, as Bishop and Minister of the Church of Christ, are ready and willing to appoint him to execute the duties of the said office within the Parish of A., subject to such rules as we in our license shall set forth and declare. In token whereof we now purpose, in presence of you all, to

deliver into his hands the Holy Bible, authorizing him to read the same to such within the said parish as shall need and desire this his godly ministration. But, before we thus solemnly appoint him to this office, let us humbly call upon God in prayer in the Name of His blessed Son our Saviour Jesus Christ, beseeching Him to regard with His favour and blessing this our Service, and to replenish with His heavenly grace this person now to be appointed Reader, that he may faithfully and dutifully execute his office, and humbly minister to the salvation of souls, both in the Parish of A., and wheresoever else hereafter he may be authorized to serve.

Then the Bishop shall pray on this wise, and say:

Almighty God, abundant in mercy and pity, Who dost vouchsafe Thy heavenly blessing unto all such as do read and love Thy Holy Word; look down, we beseech Thee, on this Thy servant, now about to receive in his hands the Holy Scriptures, and to be authorized to read the same to Thy people in the Parish of A. Vouchsafe unto him Thy Heavenly Spirit: give him faithfully to fulfil the duties that shall be entrusted to him: make him modest and humble in his ministration; ready and willing to obey those who are set over him in the Lord; and ever zealous to frame and fashion his own life, and the lives of his family, according to the teaching of those Holy Scriptures, whereof he is now to be appointed a Reader. Grant unto him an increasing knowledge and love of Thy blessed Word; and enable him so to bring that Word home to the hearts of those that hear, that he may minister to the salvation of souls, to the glory of Thy Name, and to the edification of Thy Holy Church. Grant this, O Lord, for the sake of Thy dear Son, our Saviour Jesus Christ. Amen.

When this prayer is done, the Bishop shall deliver the Bible to the person to be appointed Reader; the receiver humbly kneeling on his knees, and the Bishop saying,

Take thou authority to read the Word of God, and to perform such other duties in the Parish of A., as shall be set forth in the license of the Bishop: In the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. Amen.

Then shall the Bishop say,

The Lord be with you.

Answer. And with thy spirit.

And (all kneeling down) the Bishop shall add,

Let us pray.

Our Father which art in Heaven, &c.

And these Collects.

Blessed Lord, who hast caused all Holy Scriptures to be written, &c. (Collect for Second Sunday in Advent.)

God, who didst teach the hearts of Thy faithful people, &c. (Collect for Whit Sunday, omitting words 'as at this time.')

Almighty God, who hast built Thy Church, &c. (Collect for St. Simon and St. Jude.)

Prevent us, O Lord, in all our doings, &c. (One of the Collects at the end of the Communion Service.)

The peace of God, which passeth all understanding, keep your hearts and minds in the knowledge and love of God, and of His Son Jesus Christ our Lord. And the blessing of God Almighty, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, be amongst you, and remain with you always. Amen.

It may then be safely asserted;—that the Apostles did not limit the Orders of the Christian Ministry to three—the only branch of the Catholic and Apostolic Church that has only three orders is the English, and that only since the Reformation—the Lectorate was not done away with at the Reformation, it only has fallen into disuse—the revival of Readers has been successful in the Colonial branches of the Church—it is impossible to work the parochial system without a very large increase of labourers, and as clergymen are not to be got, these *must* be drawn from the laity—hitherto no layman could get the authority of the Church to do spiritual work—the lay ministry is the very back-bone of the nonconforming sects—of all communities calling themselves Christian, the Church of England alone has not hitherto had the wisdom to employ laymen in the ministry.

It may be well also, to remind the reader that there is a

very powerful organization among the enemies of the Church, that aims at depriving her of both endowments and fabrics; and that the Reform Bill will have a very serious effect upon the Church—for good, or for evil. It is necessary therefore to use every means to make the Church the Church of the people, and to shew them that she is able to supply their spiritual wants.

There are two great demands existing in the Church: that of the Clergy for help, and that of the Laity for work.

Each of these demands is of a nature to supply the other.

The over-worked parochial clergyman, overburdened with secular business, has the spiritual charge of thousands. Curates are scarcely to be got for money; and money, too often, is not forthcoming to pay them. Daily Prayer becomes impossible. Many churches are open only once on Sunday—some not even once: the poor are neglected; hundreds of thousands, baptized by the Church, live and die without God in the world; never hearing of Christ, at least from the ministers of the Church.

On the other hand, there are laymen of all classes in society, anxious to do this work: they feel called to the work of saving souls for Christ, but they want to be *sent*. They hear the ravings of the camp-meeting, where poor ignorant men tell, as best they can, what Christ has done for sinners, and they know that they could do for the Church what others do for Dissent. One may have graduated at an university, and be well able to minister among the best educated in the land. Another may have passed years in the colonies, where he has lived among, and become acquainted with, the modes of thought and feeling of the working classes. The artizan or the shopkeeper hears the call of God's Spirit to go and preach the Gospel to his neighbours. The Catechumen trained in our Sunday Schools, fresh from Confirmation and first Communion, asks, "What shall I render unto the Lord for all His benefits?" It is all the same: the Church finds no work for them; and the very act of gathering people together for prayer or instruction, tends to schism, because those who gather them are not sent. Hence, a zealous layman is forced to choose whether he will speak in obedience to God, or hold his tongue in obedience to the Church. The former makes him schismatic, the latter stunts his spiritual growth.

It is the same in these days, as in those of which Conybeare wrote. 'Had the rulers of the Church done their duty during the eighteenth century, all this energy of the

Wesleyans, instead of being driven out from her pale, would have been fostered, guided, and utilized; and thus the evils which have attended its present sectarian development might have been avoided.'—*Church in the Mountains.*

One effectual remedy for these two great wants—a ready means of utilizing this latent energy—exists in the appointment of Readers. And it has been shewn that their revival is no innovation, merely a returning to the wisdom of our forefathers; advocated by Congresses, Clerical Meetings, Convocations, Bishops, and Archbishops. And yet it is not done.

Let each reader of this pamphlet decide for himself whether or not the want of Readers is hindering the work of the Church, and whether or not there are many valuable men ready to take this office. If he decides these questions in the affirmative, let him sign, and ask others to sign, the memorial now in circulation—copies of which, for signature, may be had on application to Lieut. Pocock, R. N., Ludlow.

*** *It is most important that as many signatures as possible should be obtained to the memorial before the meeting of the Pan-Anglican Council.*

[The printing and distribution of these tracts and memorial has been commenced *without funds.* Enclosures of postage-stamps are requested. Donations can be sent to Lieut. Pocock; or, Messrs. Heywood Brothers, Bankers, Manchester; to the credit of '*The Church Reader Fund.*']

Kentish Handbills

FOR

DISSENTERS AND CHURCHMEN.

No. I.

THE "GOOD AND GREAT" MIALL.

(Reprinted from the Rock *Newspaper.)*

In the recent debate (March, 1868) on the Irish Church, thus spoke Mr. Bright: "Mr. Miall, not only a good, but a great man." When a man is thus singled out for commendation in the House of Commons, he ought to possess some unusual amount of goodness and greatness to justify the eulogium. Without having any desire to make a personal attack upon Mr. Miall, yet as Mr. Bright has tried to recommend Mr. Miall's views by designating him as "good" and "great," we feel that we are perfectly warranted in opposing those views, by discoursing on the text with which our opponent has obligingly supplied us.

Now we suppose there are not a few of our readers who have some knowledge of the peculiar mode in which Mr. Miall manifested his goodness and greatness in the "Nonconformist's Sketch Book;" but, for the sake of our younger readers, we supply a few of these elegant extracts. The Establishment is described in this book as "a life-destroying upas;" "myriads" are stated to be "victims of an impious pretence," etc., etc.; and he charges "the body of Dissenting ministers with unfaithfulness to sacred principles," etc., etc., because it seems some of them have not sufficiently denounced the Church of England! Writing of "a State Church," Mr. Miall enquires if they have "never caught a glimpse of the loathsome things that live, and crawl, and

gender there?" It is an "abomination" to be "swept away." He believes "that Dissenting ministers have swerved into dishonesty." "To shatter this image (the Church) and give the dust of it to the four winds of heaven," is described as being "the sacred mission of Protestant Dissenting ministers." We could easily fill a column with similar specimens of Mr. Miall's goodness of heart and greatness of soul, but our readers have had enough, and more than enough. It has, however, been said that when Mr. Miall wrote this book he was a very young man. We reply, that may be so; but the fact is suppressed that after Mr. Miall had attained to mature, if not middle age, he published a new edition without excising the offensive remarks. In point of fact, the above apology was tendered for Mr. Miall at Bradford last year by his friends. That he should have allowed them thus to throw dust in the eyes of the electors of Bradford, is surely no proof that he possesses either of the qualities attributed to him by Mr. Bright.

We now come to a more recent work, which was supposed at one time by his friends would add very greatly to Mr. Miall's reputation. We mean "The Title-deeds of the Church of England to her Parochial Endowments." That work was most unmercifully torn to shreds by John Pulman, Esq., barrister-at-law, in his able and learned reply, published by Macintosh: "The Anti-State Church Association, etc., Unmasked." To give our readers some notion how far the terms "good and great" apply *par excellence* to Mr. Miall, we will quote the following summary, partly in the words of Dr. Massingham and partly in those of Mr. Pulman:—

"I may briefly say, that you will find how Mr. Miall has perverted and misrepresented facts, in pages 16, 20, 21 of Mr. Pulman's book; how he has misrepresented Selden about tithes (pp. 43, 44), and the groundwork of tithes (pp. 51, 52); that Ethelwolf's grant (represented as an Act

of Parliament) is not in the code of Anglo-Saxon laws, and has all the six marks of a personal, individual, royal gift (pp. 56, 57); and that Selden says it was a Royal Charter, *not* an Act of Parliament (pp. 59, 62); that King Alfred, Ethelwolf's son, re-enacted the law on tithes (p. 65); that Athelstan's law is not fairly transcribed (pp. 68, 69); that in Mr. Miall's first mention of Church-scot he is wrong by 200 years (p. 70); that Edmund's law (brother of Athelstan) is erroneously quoted (p. 71); that tithes sprung from private liberality, not public law, though the payment was afterwards thus secured (pp. 75, 76); that Mr. Miall's statement, the most important ecclesiastical structures were erected after the Norman conquest, is proved untrue (p. 83); that Dr. James Hamilton, a Dissenter, attributes all Church possessions to private liberality (pp. 84, 85); that Selden is quoted in favour of a tripartite division of tithes, which he flatly contradicts (p. 90); and a note of Selden is quite mistaken by Mr. Miall (p. 91); that Blackstone is misrepresented (p. 92); and the 32 Henry VIII., cap. 7, is misrepresented (p. 95); a Latin note, professedly taken from the *Brompton Chronicle*, is falsely given by Mr. Miall (p. 98); that he treats Selden ungratefully (pp. 117—119); that lands recently inclosed and improved, when tithed, were subject to tithes in olden times (p. 126); that Selden is shamefully misrepresented as to the origin of parochial endowments (pp. 130, 131); that Mr. Miall has misrepresented Macaulay (p. 134) and Prideaux (pp. 139—141), blundered as to Selden's meaning (pp. 142—144), sadly misrepresented Burn (pp. 146—149), and Selden again (pp. 149, 150); the Chartulary of the Monastery of St. Andrew's, Rochester, is incorrectly given (p. 153), and so is the old deed of Robert Waste (p. 159); twenty-six *assertions* of Mr. Miall are all proved untrue, and twenty-four *suppositions* unfounded, and not attempted to be proved by Mr. Miall (p. 168); Selden shown quite to differ from Mr. Miall, and the untruthfulness of the latter

satirised (p. 170); that Eagle on tithes is shamefully misrepresented (pp. 181, 182); that Mr. Miall admits individual sole corporation rights of bishops, rectors, vicars, etc., but would take them away (p. 188); that Mr. Miall quotes Acts of Parliament unfairly (p. 194), and Selden unfairly (p. 195); and on page 196 Mr. Pulman thus sums up his investigations of Mr. Miall's book:—'Vaunted as the book has been; defiant, confident, and self-sufficient as are the author's statements; in accepting his challenge, no course was open that could be satisfactory, other than to notice his paragraphs *seriatim*, and also to give the author's meaning in the author's words, and with the context. This has been done, that no point should be passed over, and that the public might see the plagiary, the misrepresentation, the *honesty* of the so-called investigation. Throughout the work [Mr. Miall's "Title Deeds"] there is not *one* Act of Parliament that has not been either garbled, unfairly cited, or the meaning of it misrepresented; not *one* "legal principle" correctly enunciated; not *one* "legal term" that has not been either misunderstood or misapplied; not *one* quotation which has not been either mutilated or misrecited, or of which, when taken with its context, the meaning has not been misstated; not *one* reference to ancient authority that is not to be found in Selden; and not *one* which, when consulted, does not either disprove or contradict the statements the author seeks to establish; not *one* "historical fact" in connection with tithes that is fairly represented, or that is not either distorted or misreported.'"

If, after these quotations, any of our readers should be of opinion that Mr. Edward Miall is the man to be singled out for special commendation as "good and great," we have nothing more to say to them.

London: William Macintosh, 24, Paternoster Row.

THE SECOND ADVENT OF OUR LORD

NOT SECRET

BUT IN MANIFESTED GLORY.

WILL the Second Advent of our Lord and Saviour for which we wait, be secret, or in manifested glory? Will it terminate the age of human evil, or will evil still reign and triumph after it! Until recently there has been in the true Church of God a happy unanimity in answering these questions. In the midst of all the disagreements which have so grievously marred, and to a great extent, nullified the testimonies of Christ's people, they have not until recently, on this point, differed. They have all with one voice affirmed that when our High Priest returns "without sin, unto salvation," He will return in manifested glory. "Behold He cometh with clouds, and every eye shall see Him, and they also which pierced Him, and all kindreds of the earth shall wail because of Him. Even so, Amen." "He shall come in His own glory and in His Father's, and of the holy angels." Until recently none have doubted that these and like texts describe the approaching Advent of our Lord—that Advent for which all His people are commanded to

watch. It is, no doubt, possible that we may all have been deceived. We are not like the Apostles, inspired and infallible. Apart from the Apostles, the concurrent assent of all the saints in earth has no authoritative value. We have no test of Truth except the Scripture. Nevertheless, a doctrine so truly new as the *secret* coming of the Lord, and the *secret* removal of His saints, must by its very novelty, awake suspicion, and should therefore be jealously tested by the Scriptures of Truth. With respect to this, and all other doctrines proposed to our acceptance, we appeal "to the law and to the testimony." Every thing that agreeth not therewith is not of light, but of darkness.

Let us refer, then, first, to the Epistles. The fourth chapter of the first of Thessalonians reveals the instrumentality by which the saints who sleep are to be raised, and the living saints changed. "The Lord Himself shall descend from heaven with a shout, with the voice of the archangel, and with the trump of God: and the dead in Christ shall rise first: afterward (επειτα) we who are alive and remain shall be caught up together with them in the clouds, to meet the Lord in the air: and so shall we ever be with the Lord."

Can we, after reading these words, affirm that the coming of the Lord will be secret? Do such expressions as "shout," "voice of the archangel," and "trump of God," imply secrecy? What expressions could be chosen to denote universality of manifestation if these do not? Nor is the sphere of this manifestation to be *above* the heavens. *There*, indeed, it might be hidden from mortal view. But heavenly places (τα επουρανια) are not to be the scene of this manifestation. It is

not said that the Lord will descend from that place of glory which He now occupieth, "high above all heavens," and that He will descend into lower heavens and there receive His saints above the skies. On the contrary, it is said that He shall descend from heaven into "the air," and "the air is not above but *below the firmament.*"* The air is the atmosphere that surrounds the earth in close contiguity thereunto, and is a part of this sublunary creation—contrasted, therefore, with the firmament and all that is above the firmament. It is "in the air" that the saints are to meet their Lord. Nor will they meet Him *merely.* The word translated "meet," means to meet† and *to come with the person whom we meet.* We are to meet Him in that day of His glory in order that we may accompany Him to the place to which He is going. It will be the day of visitation to Israel and to the earth. He will proceed from the air to the earth: and His feet shall stand on it. "His feet shall stand in that day upon the Mount of Olives," Zech. xiv. He will stand there as the Refiner indeed and Purifier of Israel, but also as their Deliverer. He will come as the Destroyer of His and their enemies who will at that moment be

* Thus the fowl are called in Genesis "the fowl of *the air,*" and it is said that they "fly above the earth in the open firmament of heaven."—Gen. i. 20.

† Εις απαντησιν. See its use in Acts xxviii. 15, where the brethren went to meet Paul at Appii Forum as he was proceeding towards Rome, accompanied him thence to Rome. "This expression occurs twice in the New Testament, and each time implies meeting one who was *approaching*—not merely meeting with a person."—ALFORD.

found under Antichrist, gathered in the valley of Jehoshaphat, there to be trodden in the winepress of wrath. His saints shall be with Him when He thus stands on Olivet, for it is written, "the Lord my God shall come, and all the saints with thee." Thus, in the same day (for "it shall be *one* day known unto the Lord") He will come *for* His saints (for they are caught up to meet Him in the air) and He will come *with* His saints, for from the air they accompany Him to Olivet. Their glory (for they will all be glorified like their Lord) will add to the brightness of the day of His glory: they will meet with Him His enemies (Rev. xvii.) whom *sudden* destruction shall overwhelm —the appointed work of judgment will be wrought, and the stricken but not destroyed earth will be taken under the care and government of Christ, with whom His saints will be associated. They will meet Him in the air; thence for a brief moment they will accompany Him to earth while there He doth "His work, His strange work; and brings to pass His act, His strange act"—His act of judgment: but as soon as that is accomplished, they will ascend with Him into heaven —their home and His home, thence as "the saints of the high places" and "the host of the heavens" (names given to them in Daniel) to reign with Christ over all things.

This branch of the subject, however, we will for the present leave. For a moment I turn aside to advert to an argument which although often refuted is still extensively used, and perplexes the minds of many. It is asserted that the Scripture marks as two distinct events, the coming (παρουσια—parousia) of the Lord,

and His Epiphany or manifestation. The Scripture, it is said, recognises believers as remaining on the earth until "the coming" (παρουσια) of the Lord, and we are commanded to wait for "His coming;" but for His Epiphany (say they) we are not to wait, because we are to be removed at His coming, which is long to precede His Epiphany.* Such is the statement. It is a very intelligible statement. But is it true?

Its truth may easily be tested. If it were true, we should be unable to point out one single passage of Scripture that recognizes believers as remaining on the earth until either "the Epiphany," or "the manifestation," or "the revelation" of the Lord: three distinct expressions, all used in the Scripture, and all equally implying *publicity*. If we are to be removed from the earth *before* the Epiphany of Christ, it is evident that the Scripture can *no where* either state or imply that we are to remain in the earth until the Epiphany. If we can point out *one* passage that speaks of believers being in the earth until the Epiphany, the whole argument is disproved, and the system connected with it falls.

Let us turn then to the first Epistle of Timothy. There we find these words: "keep this commandment without spot, unrebukeable, until the Epiphany (επιφανειας) of our Lord Jesus Christ: which in His times He shall shew, who is the blessed and only Potentate, the King of kings, and Lord of lords."

* I say "long," because, according to this system, the rise of Antichrist and all the events of His reign are to be subsequent to the Coming of the Lord, and to intervene between His Coming and His Epiphany.

(1 Tim. vi. 14.) This passage does of itself determine the question. It proves that we are to remain in the earth until the Epiphany, for it is very obvious that we should not be charged to observe the commandment given in this Epistle "UNTIL the Epiphany" if we were to be removed *before* the Epiphany.

Again, in 1 Thess. i. 6, the Apostle expressly speaks of the period at which God will grant "rest" or "relief" (ανεσιν) from suffering, to his tried and persecuted saints. Does he say that it is to be granted previously to the time when the Lord is revealed in glory? No. He says expressly that it is to be granted "WHEN the Lord Jesus shall be revealed from heaven with His mighty angels in flaming fire taking vengeance." Nothing can be more precise and determinate than the words of this passage. Shall we after reading it still venture to affirm that the saints will be removed into their rest *before* the revelation of the Lord in glory?

Nor is there throughout the Scripture one passage that does not harmonize with these texts. The Scriptures both of the Old and New Testaments, with one voice, bid us expect the coming of our Lord in manifested glory. Sometimes it is called "the coming,"—sometimes "the revelation,"—sometimes "the Epiphany" or "appearing," sometimes the "manifestation" of the Lord. The terms vary, but they all, either because of the context, or in virtue of their own signification, designate an Advent in visible glory. The first place in the New Testament in which the word "coming" is found as applied to the Second Advent of our Lord, is Matthew xxiv. There the disciples asked, "What shall be the sign of thy *coming* and of

the end of the age?"—and there the Lord after telling them that a period of brief but unequalled tribulation in the land of Israel is to be the immediate precursor and sign of His "coming," goes on to say that His "coming" will not be secret but as the lightning. "Wherefore if they shall say unto you, behold, he is in the desert; go not forth; behold, he is in the secret chambers; believe it not. For as the lightning cometh out of the east, and shineth even unto the west; so shall also the coming of the Son of man be." Will any one after reading this passage venture to affirm that the word "coming" is appropriated in the Scripture to a *secret* Advent of the Lord, and that His Advent *precedes* the time of the unequalled tribulation? If we are commanded to wait for His coming, we are at the same time told that that coming is to be as "the lightning shining from the east unto the west." Can any words be more determinately expressive of diffused manifestation. They are in strict accordance with the words already quoted from the Thessalonians. "He shall descend from heaven with a shout, with the voice of the archangel, and with the trump of God."*

* Not only is "the coming (ἡ παρουσια) of the Lord" said to be as the lightning—visible to all, but in the following passage it is expressly connected with the visitation of the ungodly world. "But of that day and hour knoweth no man, no, not the angels of heaven, but my Father only. But as the days of Noe were, so shall also the COMING (ἡ παρουσια) of the Son of man be." For as in the days that were before the flood they were eating and drinking . . . . and knew not until the flood came, and took them all away; so shall also the COMING (ἡ παρουσια) of the Son of man be. In the commencement of the next chapter this COMING is connected with the separation of the wise and

In 1 Cor. i. 7, we find the Corinthians described as "waiting for the revelation (αποκαλυψιν) of the Lord Jesus Christ." "Revelation" is a word that emphatically indicates *manifestation*. It implies the drawing aside or removal of everything that veils or hides, and therefore it is always opposed to concealment or secresy, as in the following passage: "there is nothing *covered* that shall not be *revealed*." Were the Corinthians blamed by the Apostle because they waited for the revelation of the Lord? Were they told that they should wait, not for His revelation but for His coming, as if they were distinct events? No. They were praised because they waited for His "revelation." It was spoken of as an evidence of the grace that had been given them.

In 1 John iii. 2, we read, "Beloved, now are we the sons of God, and it doth not yet appear what we shall be: but we know that, when he shall appear, we shall be like him; for we shall see him as he is." The word "appear" is sufficiently indicative of *manifestation*. "When the Lord shall build up Zion, he shall *appear* in

foolish virgins, that is, the end of Christendom. How then can it be said that "the coming" of the Lord affects the saints only?

They who have affirmed so strongly that the saints are to wait for the "coming" of Christ—not for the Epiphany, seem to have forgotten that the word "coming" is that which the Lord has chosen to denote His appearing throughout the xxiv. of Matthew—that very chapter which they are so anxious to take away from us, as if it were not addressed to us, but to Jews. If arguments such as these command acceptance, we shall have to say at last, that we are not to wait for any coming of the Lord which the Scripture mentions, but for some other coming which the Scripture does not mention.

his glory." A stronger word, however, than "appear" is used in the passage. The literal meaning of the word translated "appear," is "*to be manifested.*" "It is not yet manifested what we shall be; but we know that when He shall be manifested, we shall be like Him, for we shall see Him as He is." Can any words more simply declare that the time when we are to be changed into the likeness of our Lord and to see Him as He is, is the time of His manifestation, and not a period antecedent thereunto? In another passage (2 Tim. iv. 8), we find the saints described as those who love their Lord's "Epiphany," because that Epiphany brings them their long hoped for rest, and joy, and glory. To wait for His "coming," therefore is the same thing as waiting for His glorious Epiphany.

I have already referred to 1 Thess. iv.: "The Lord himself shall descend from heaven with a shout, with the voice of the archangel, and with the trump of God," as words that in the fullest sense indicate *manifestation*. But what is the immediate result of this manifestation? In the first place, all who have fallen asleep in Christ, from Abel downwards, arise in glory. Millions of saints, even "a multitude whom no man can number of all nations, and kindreds, and peoples, and tongues," shall suddenly rise from their graves glorified according to the glory of their Lord, and so be presented to the trembling and astonished eyes of men. "The dead in Christ shall rise first." The living saints too, shall in the twinkling of an eye be changed. And *afterwards* (for "afterwards" [επειτα] is the word used, indicating a certain interval however brief)—afterwards the changed and the raised saints together, shall be caught

up in the clouds (the angels having been sent to gather them, Matthew xiii. and xxiv. 31) to meet and to come with their Lord. Can there be this display of the Lord's glory, and of the angels' glory, and of the saints' glory, and yet the earth be ignorant that the hour of its visitation has come? When at the midnight hour the light which Gideon's host had hidden, was suddenly set free from its earthen prison, was its brightness concealed? Did it not flash terror into the hearts of all the hosts of Midian? So shall it be also when, in the saints, mortality shall be swallowed up of life: when the light that has been so long time hidden in them as earthen vessels (for Christ is in them the hope of glory) shall suddenly shine forth in its brightness and confront those mighty ones of the earth who shall have been gathered to "the battle of that great day of God Almighty." Moreover, the saints are not to be removed until "the end of the age." This is sufficiently proved by the parting words of our Lord: "Lo, I am with you alway, even unto the end of the age." The Lord could not have said that He would be with His servants "*until* the end of the age," if they were to be removed from the earth *before* "the end of the age." And He has Himself defined "the end of the age" to be the period when He will send forth His angels to separate those who nominally profess His name, from those who are in truth His people. "*The harvest is the end of the age*, and the reapers are the angels. As therefore the tares are gathered and burned in the fire; so shall it be at the end of this age. The Son of Man shall send forth His angels, and they shall gather out of His kingdom (Christendom) all things that offend, and them which

do iniquity; and shall cast them into a furnace of fire; there shall be weeping and gnashing of teeth. Then shall the righteous shine forth as the sun in the kingdom of their Father."*

It is very evident from this passage, that when the saints (the wheat) are removed from the earth, all who nominally profess the name of Christ (the *tares*) are at the same moment removed also, so that Christendom—all Christendom, suddenly ceases to exist at the very moment when the saints are taken from the earth. Could this take place secretly? Could the world be

* I have already observed (see "Occasional Papers," No. I., p. 52) that in this passage the Lord is not speaking of *Heathendom*, for the Heathen, seeing that they do not *profess* His name, do not belong to this harvest-field. They are neither "wheat" nor "tares." Nor is He speaking of the Jews, for they too reject the profession of His name. Nor is He speaking of the Ten Kingdoms of the Roman World, for they (whatever they may afore have been) will at that time be gathered in infidel blasphemy around Antichrist; openly rejecting the name both of Jehovah and of Christ. The "wheat" and "tare"-field is the emblem only of Christendom (Christ's kingdom). When the Lord descends with His holy angels into the air, the first dealing of His hand will be with *it*. Before He deals either with the Jews or with the Heathen, or with the Antichristian nations, He will gather *out of His kingdom* (to which neither Jews, nor Heathen, nor the Antichristian nations will belong, or profess to belong) all things that offend, and them that do iniquity, and cast them into a furnace of fire. Thus Christendom will end.

It should be observed that "the wheat," *i.e.*, true believers, are not said to be gathered out of Christ's kingdom, neither is His kingdom said to be destroyed or removed from the earth. On the contrary, His saints (the wheat) being changed and glorified, are removed into the heavenly branch of His kingdom; and converted Israel and others will be brought into its earthly branch.

unconscious of, or unaffected by, such an event as the disappearance of the whole of Christendom? Even if there were to be no display of the glory of Christ, or of the angels, or of the saints, yet how marvellous and astounding a sight to behold all Christendom suddenly vanish. Will it not be so when the wheat and *tares* are reaped?

If then we were to adopt the doctrines of this strange theory, we should be obliged to say that Antichrist, whose history constitutes the leading feature in the last days of this present age, is not revealed until after the age has terminated. For if (as is asserted) the saints are to be removed from earth before Antichrist is revealed, and if (as we know from Scripture) they will not be taken till the end of the age (Matt. xiii.) when "wheat and tares" are both removed, and Christendom ceases to exist, it is obvious that if we adopt the supposition referred to, we must say that Antichrist is to be revealed after Christendom has ceased to exist, and after the age of evil in which he is to act is ended. Will any one, on reflection, affirm this?*

It is very evident that if Antichrist is not to be revealed until after the wheat and tares have been

* Some have endeavoured to avoid the force of this argument by suggesting that the words, "end of age," may mean an indefinitely lengthened period. But no period can be more definitely marked: "THE HARVEST is the end of the age; and the reapers are the angels. As therefore the tares are gathered and burned in the fire; so shall it be in the end of this age. The Son of man shall send forth his angels, and they shall gather out of his kingdom all things that offend, and them which do iniquity; and shall cast them into a furnace of fire; there shall be wailing and gnashing of teeth." Is Antichrist to arise after this?

removed, he never will be revealed at all: for the greater part of the Ten Kingdoms of the Roman World which will form the very basis and strength of his power, are at present a part of "the wheat and tare" field. At present they form a part of Christendom, and so will continue until they are *by him* seduced from their professed allegiance to Christ. Antichrist is he who will detach the Roman World (*την οικουμενην*) from Christendom. If therefore Antichrist is not to arise until after "the wheat and tares" have been removed, the Ten Kingdoms will not have been detached from Christendom at the time when Christendom ends, and therefore will pass away with it. In that case it would be impossible for Antichrist to take the headship of the Roman World, because the greater part thereof as well as the whole of the rest of Christendom would have ceased to exist before he appears. It is, therefore, impossible that the apostasy of the Ten Kingdoms of the Roman World under Antichrist, should be *subsequent* to the resurrection of the saints. The Scripture again and again reiterates that the resurrection of the saints takes place not before his rise, but at the time of his destruction. The Scripture too uniformly connects the resurrection and glory of the Church of the first-born ones, with the hour when the veil shall be taken from the heart of Israel, and they shall "know the Lord:" and that will not be until Antichrist, and all in which unregenerate man has hitherto gloried, shall have sunk, never to rise again. See Dan. xii. 1.

Very important light is often afforded by the quotations made by the Apostles from the Old Testament Scriptures. Thus in 1 Cor. xv. after speaking of our

final change, when "in the twinkling of an eye . . . . this corruptible shall put on incorruption," the Apostle adds, "THEN shall be brought to pass the saying that is written, Death is swallowed up in victory." These words are a quotation from Isaiah xxv.—a chapter altogether devoted to the description of the joy and triumph of forgiven Israel in the day when they shall say, "Lo, this is our God; we have waited for Him, and He will save us; this is the Lord; we have waited for Him, we will be glad and rejoice in His salvation." In the midst of the enumeration of the honours and blessings of Israel in that day, these words, "death is swallowed up in victory," suddenly occur. They insert, so to speak, the words of the Apostle in the Corinthians into the midst of the twenty-fifth of Isaiah. They connect the hour of our resurrection with the day of Israel's forgiveness. They teach us that the day of the glorification of the heavenly branch of the Israel of God, so far from being the time when the earthly Israel is delivered over to Antichrist and abomination, is on the contrary, the hour of Zion's triumph, the hour when God will receive the spared of Israel into recognized and everlasting forgiveness. The day of the receiving back of Israel and of their restoration to their "olive tree," is always spoken of in the Scripture as a day especially honoured of the Lord. The resurrection of "the Church of the first-born" will be part of the honour of that day. "If the casting away of them (Israel) be the reconciling of the world, what shall the receiving of them be but *life from the dead*." (ζωη εκ νεκρων.) The Church of the first-born will rise as "the first-fruits," showing the character of that

heavenly glory to which all the believing House of Israel shall finally be conformed. We can easily understand, therefore, why the time when in us mortality is to be swallowed up of life, should be referred to as it is in the twenty-fifth of Isaiah.

In Isaiah xxvi. also, where Israel are addressed with reference to the day of their forgiveness, we again find the resurrection of the saints referred to. "Thy dead" (the dead saints of Israel) "shall live: my dead body, they shall arise: for thy dew is as the dew of herbs, and the earth shall cast out her dead." If the chapter in which these words occur be examined, it will be seen in what close relation the resurrection of Christ's mystical body ("my dead body," as He is pleased to call His sleeping saints) stands to the day of Israel's joy.

In Dan. xii. also, the resurrection of the saints is thus plainly referred to. "And many of them that sleep in the dust of the earth shall awake, some to everlasting life . . . . . and they that be wise shall shine as the brightness of the firmament, and they that turn many to righteousness as the stars for ever and ever." But when is this to be? Is it at the time when Antichrist is about to arise, and Israel to be delivered over to him and to abomination? No. It is the time when the career of Antichrist (see Dan. xi.) shall be finished—when he shall have come to his end, and none shall help him. THEN it is that Michael will stand up to deliver Israel: THEN it is the sleeping saints will awake to life, and shine as the brightness of the firmament for ever. The Scripture everywhere delights to bring into closest connexion these two events—the glorification of the heavenly branch

and the forgiveness of the earthly branch of the one Israel of God. The notion that Zion is to become the sphere of Antichrist's glory, and Jerusalem the sphere of his abominations *after* the resurrection of the saints, is a thought contradicted by every part of Scripture.

It would indeed be a strange result of the sounding of "the *last* Trump"—that Trumpet which is to indicate the *establishment in the earth in connexion with Israel* of that new covenant of grace under which Israel and the nations are to be manifestly blessed—it would be a strange thing if that Trumpet which is to announce to Israel and the earth, that the day of man has ended, and the day of the Lord come, should be followed by the triumph of human evil under Antichrist, and by the giving over of Israel and the leading nations of the earth to wickedness and blasphemy! Yet this must be so, if Antichrist is to be revealed after the saints are glorified at the sounding of the "last Trump."* But it is not so. The day on which that Trumpet sounds shall be the day on which "there shall come out of Zion the deliverer, and turn away ungodliness from Jacob." Never after the day on which the saints rise,

* Called the "last Trump" with reference to that which sounded at Sinai when Israel were formally brought under the first covenant. "There were thunderings and lightnings and a thick cloud upon the Mount, and the voice of the trumpet exceeding loud; . . . . And when the voice of the trumpet sounded long, and waxed louder and louder, Moses spake, and God answered him by a voice." The last Trump will sound when Israel shall be formally brought under the second covenant. It will be the *last* Trump; because the second covenant is everlasting. It will be superseded by no other.

will Zion be made the home—much less the throne of evil. It will be recognized and rejoiced in as the mountain of the Lord where He will make to all peoples a feast of fat things, and destroy the veil that at present rests upon the nations, and manifest Zion in all those connexions of glory to which Psalm lxviii. 15: Heb. xii. 22: and Rev. xiv. 1, refer. Such will be the condition of glory that awaits Zion as soon as the Trumpet sounds and calls "the Church of the first-born ones" into their heavenly glory. The first resurrection, and the forgiveness of Israel, and the making on Zion "for all nations a feast of fat things," are consecutive and connected links in the one golden chain of blessing.

We are taught in the Acts, that the Lord Jesus is to remain in heaven "until the times of restitution of all that God hath promised by the mouth of all his holy prophets." How could this be true if the coming of the Lord Jesus from heaven is to be followed, not by "the times of restitution," but by the glory of Antichrist? There is little likeness between the day of Antichrist, and "the times of restitution."

Again, in Psalm cx., we read; "Jehovah said unto my Lord, Sit thou at my right hand, until I shall have set thy foes a footstool for thy feet." How could this be true if when the Lord descends from heaven into the air, instead of finding His foes set as a footstool before Him, He were to find Israel and the nations about to enter on their last career of evil under Antichrist? The triumph of evil is not the same thing as its destruction.

Again, we read in the Revelation that among the saints who rise in the first resurrection, are especially

mentioned those who have "not worshipped the Beast, neither his image, neither had received his mark." How could this be true if the first resurrection were to take place before Antichrist, and his image, and name were known? There cannot be two first resurrections.

Questions such as these might be almost indefinitely multiplied; but I forbear. All such difficulties vanish the moment we receive the truth again and again declared in Scripture, that the day of Israel's forgiveness is that on which the saints of past dispensations will rise in glory—"a first-fruits unto God and to the Lamb." The day on which the cankered Gentile olive branch (that which we now call Christendom) is broken out of the Olive tree, because it has not continued in God's goodness—that self-same day shall see Israel grafted back into their own Olive tree. The day on which all Christ's true saints shall be translated from the earthly into the heavenly branch of the kingdom of God, shall see Israel brought into the earthly branch of that Kingdom. Whilst the earth remains, the Olive tree shall never lack branches, nor the Kingdom of heaven, subjects.

If we watch the signs of the times, we cannot suppose that the reign of Antichristian infidelity is very distant. Latitudinarianism is fast destroying the barriers which revelation has reared against the licentiousness of human thought; and when those barriers have been destroyed, that which the Scripture terms "lawlessness" (*ανομια*) must be the result: and lawlessness is to be headed up in the Lawless one (*ὁ ανομος*). To him the whole Roman World, Eastern and Western, will give its glory. That part of the earth, therefore,

which hitherto has been and which will be, till "the end of the age," the home and the centre of civilization —the spring and the pivot of the world's energies, will become utterly APOSTATE. It will utterly reject God as revealed in Christ: God as the Jehovah of Israel: and God as the Creator. The patience of God will wait until Antichrist and the nations who are with him (see Psalm lxxxiii.) shall say of Israel, "Come, and let us cut them off from being a nation; that the name of Israel may be no more in remembrance:" He will wait until that nation which He has chosen to show forth His praise in the earth, shall be in the very jaws of the devouring lion, but then He will wait no longer. The time of recompense for the controversies of Zion will have come. The throne of the Ancient of days will be set in heaven. He will sit in solemn inquisition on the nations who have given themselves to Antichrist and to Apostasy. Sentence will be passed upon them. The Son of man will be brought before the Ancient of days and invested with that administrative power over the nations which, till then, has been delegated to man. Voices shall be heard in heaven, saying, "The sovereignty of the world hath become the sovereignty of our Lord and of his Christ." Christ formally assumes (Dan. vii.) the government of Israel and of the earth, and so the Day of Christ begins. It begins not in earth but in heaven: for it is in heaven, not on earth, that the Son of man is brought before the Ancient of days, and there, unseen by mortal eyes, assumes His millennial power.

But He assumes it in order that He may cut short the reign of evil. He assumes it in order that He may

inflict the sentence that had been pronounced in heaven upon the blasphemies of Antichrist and the Apostate nations. Instantly, therefore, the tokens that immediately precede His appearance in glory will be seen. "There shall be signs in the sun, and in the moon, and in the stars, and upon earth distress of nations in perplexity at the roar of the sea and of the surge,* men's hearts failing them for fear, and for looking after those things which are coming on the earth: for the powers of the heavens shall be shaken." These signs may be regarded as concomitant with the time when the Son of man is invested in heaven with His millennial power. It is evident that they are the immediate precursors of the appearance of the Lord in glory, for as soon as "they begin to come to pass," we are commanded to look up and lift our heads, because our redemption draweth nigh. The Lord, accompanied by the holy angels, will descend from heaven into the air. Thence He shall send forth His angels; (Matt. xiii. & xxiv.) "tares and wheat" will be alike removed from the earth, and thus Christendom will end. All who profess His name, whether falsely or truly, will be taken from the earth: the latter changed and glorified, and caught up to meet Him in the air; thence to accompany Him to the earth. His feet will stand on Olivet: He will tread in the winepress of wrath His apostate adversaries: Israel shall be purged and forgiven, and the reign of Christ manifestly commence on earth. On the same day, therefore, He will come *for*

* Και επι της γης συνοχη εθνων εν απορια ηχους θαλασσης και σαλου. See TREGELLES' Ancient Greek Text.

and *with* His saints, who will then accompany Him to His heavenly home where the order of the heavenly branch of His kingdom and all connected with the heavenly city will be established, while scattered Israel is being re-gathered, partly by the instrumentality of the spared heathen nations, to their earthly city, preparatory to their receiving there the order and glory appointed for them as the regulating centre of the earth's government.

Such in brief outline is the order of events clearly revealed in Scripture. If we watch, that is, observe the appointed signs (and there is no other way of watching in the sense in which watch is used in Scripture), we shall not indeed know either the day or the hour of the Lord's appearing, but we shall know when it is near, even at the doors. Nothing can be more plain than the promise of our blessed Lord as to this. "So likewise ye when ye shall see all these things come to pass, know ye that it is near, even at the doors. Heaven and earth shall pass away, but my words shall not pass away."*

* Revelation xix. 11, has sometimes been quoted in proof that the saints will be in heaven, glorified, *previously* to the manifestation of the Lord in glory. But it must be remembered that throughout the Revelation we have continually presented to us in heaven, visions which have for the sphere of their fulfilment, not heaven but earth; the great object of the Revelation being to teach us to contemplate in heavenly aspects, things that are to have earth, not heaven as the sphere of their manifestation. Thus, when "the woman clothed with the sun," &c. (see Rev. xii.), was seen by John crying and travailing in birth, &c., the scene of *the vision* was heaven, but the *place of fulfilment* is to be *earth*. *There* her sorrow and travail is to be. So, also, the *ten-horned* Dragon

was seen in heaven, but the place of his action, through the ten kingdoms, represented by his *ten* horns, will be earth. The like may be said of "the horses" seen in the sixth chapter. The place of the vision was heaven: the place of the fulfilment, earth.

The object of the vision in Rev. xix. 11, is not to teach us respecting a condition that attaches to Christ or to His saints *before* He quits heaven to execute judgment; for in that case He could not have been seen "*clothed with a vesture dipped in blood.*" This is a description incapable of being applied to the Lord until He has begun "to tread the wine-press of the fierceness and wrath of Almighty God:" and that will not be until He has descended to earth. (Compare Is. lxiii. and Rev. xix.) The object of the vision is not to teach us respecting a condition that attaches to the Lord whilst in heaven, but to teach us what will be the character of His acting at the time of His return to earth. Then, indeed, He can be described as "clothed with a vesture dipped in blood," for He will be revealed taking vengeance: His saints will follow Him when He is thus engaged in treading the wine-press, for they will meet Him *in the air*, and fall into the train of His glory there.

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HEAR ME. Attend candidly to what I, one of yourselves, have to say to you upon the above subject; for it is one that involves grave issues to us all, as respects our religion, our liberties, our national security, and the well-being, temporal and spiritual, of our children after us.

But first, let me tell you what I am, and in what relation it is that I venture to address you. I have been for many years, and to the end of my days shall be, I doubt not, what is termed a Nonconformist, or Dissenting minister. In this capacity, during the last twenty-five years, I have travelled, and laboured,

occasionally, in nearly all parts of this highly-favoured land; although my home, my stated pastorate, and my chief position has been in London. I was born of dissenting parents, and for the last forty years I have been zealously attached, as a minister, to one of the most truthful sections of Nonconformity that I believe exists in any part of Christendom. You will see, then, at once, that in the Established Churches of England, Ireland, and Scotland, I have, I can have, no secular or personal interest whatever. Nor is it from any misgiving about my own religious principles or inward defection from the body of Christians to which I belong, that I wish to put before you my reasons why I cannot, and dare not, give my hand, my vote, or my voice to aid any man, any measure, any candidate whose object is to disturb, to weaken, or to overthrow the Established Protestant religion of my country. A more fatal step to ourselves, and to all that we hold dear, I can hardly conceive of. If then you feel any concern for your country, for yourselves, or for your children; if the maintenance of pure Scripture truth, the extension of the Redeemer's Kingdom, and the glory of God, be your only sole object in the vote you will soon have to give, I pray you weigh well, first, the reasons why I for one, can be no party to the disestablishment of any part of the ancient Church of England and Ireland.

1. Because that church holds and maintains, in her legally recognized Articles, the true doctrines of the Gospel in all that is essential to salvation, uncorrupted by idolatry, or any dangerous superstition; and these doctrines are faithfully preached by thousands of her

clergy. To oppose that Church then, or to do anything to weaken its influence, would, in my view, be to oppose God and His truth.

2. Because I have seen that Church within the last forty years, rising out of the lethargy, the worldly-mindedness, and the indifference into which she had sunk, and putting forth the most marvellous proofs of vitalizing and evangelizing power for the benefit of the people at large. I seem therefore in this to hear a voice from heaven, saying, "Destroy it not, for a blessing is in it."

3. Because the religion of Jesus Christ, in its uncorrupted state, as given us by Himself, is the first and the most essentially valuable blessing which the Almighty Lord of heaven and earth has bestowed upon us. Has not this religion, I would ask, made our nation great, as compared with all the other nations of the earth beside? Has it not, through the instrumentality of the Established Church, which carries it into every remote corner of the land, been the means of saving thousands upon thousands of souls? Is it not even now by its ministers, churches, schools, and societies, shedding its blessing upon thousands of our people;—benefiting many even beyond its own pale? How can I, then, as a Christian man, attempt to overthrow it?

4. Because I hold that the first great duty, the chief design and aim of a truly Christian nation should be to secure to every section of that nation the means, through the places in which, and the ministers by which, the ordinances of Heaven's appointment may

be administered, that the people may assemble to offer up prayer and praise to the great Fountain of all their mercies, temporal and spiritual. Would it be right for the reigning Head, and the duly authorized Government of a Christian country to leave this great vessel of mercy, the religion of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, to be tossed about on the waves of this world, without any care, protection, provision, patronage, or support whatever; as if it were a thing of the utmost indifference? To treat all religions as equal, which is now the favourite principle, as if there were no difference to be made between false gods, and the true God, would be practical atheism. While we vehemently and justly condemn those who say, "Let us do evil that good may come," shall we turn by wholesale into a nation of Antinomians, and practically decide that, as regards the establishment and promulgation of the true religion, we will have no *law at all?* Shall we consent that the very name of it shall be blotted out from the great Statute-book of our realm, so that there shall be no real security whatever that it shall continue among us? I, for one, cannot consent to this; for in my view it would be suicidal and dangerous in the extreme, letting in upon us deadly enemies of every name and form, and bringing down upon us, as a nation, we might justly fear, the frown and displeasure of Him upon whom all our prosperity depends.

5. Because God has always identified the peace and prosperity of any nation with its recognition of the Gospel of His grace. It may be very easy for political

zealots, under the sacred name of religion, to denounce the union of Church and State, because they are not members of the National Church themselves, but, Dissenter though I am, I cannot forget that in ancient times, in modern times, in all nations, cities, parishes, and societies, that historic fact of Holy Scripture has reproduced itself, as verified in God's providence, that while the Ark of the Lord continued in the house of Obededom the Gittite, the Lord blessed Obededom and all his household. As a Protestant nation with its Established Church, this country has been one large house of Obededom; and the Ark of the Lord has been preserved here by means of the union of Church and State, the State being pledged to protect it (let not this be forgotten); while, by the co-operation of the State with the Church, the Holy Bible has been placed in every parish, and read in every church—(who can doubt that God will not bless His own word, because read in a church?) a result which could not otherwise have been secured. From the Established Church, let it be remembered, all other Protestant Churches have sprung. This Church, though far from being perfect, has been the means of giving all other Protestant Churches life and being. They are all offsets from her; and shall we now, because our privileges are increased, and because our chapels and people have become many and mighty, shall we, the Nonconformists of England and Ireland, turn round, ungratefully and wickedly, to destroy the source of our existence, and kill our own best protectors? I cannot consent to it.

6. As regards the Irish branch of the Established Church, I cannot vote for its disestablishment because I find that it is—not we, the Nonconformists, who

have gained ground in Ireland of late years—but only the Established Church. That Church is almost the only ameliorating influence in that unhappy land, and to take it away is to injure and not to benefit the country.

7. Because I learn from authentic sources that the revenues of that Church are not excessive, if properly distributed. Our duty as Protestant dissenters, I believe to be to help to improve the Church both in England and Ireland; and thereby support the faithful men who are in it; and not to overthrow it.

8. Because I regard the Irish Church as having as good a title to its endowments, nine-tenths of which have been given by Protestants, for the support of the Protestant religion alone, as we have to our endowments; and if we once begin to tamper with the rights of property, where is this to end? Are we prepared, next, to have our own taken from us?

9. I never can be a party to the overthrow of the Established Church, because I look upon that Church, incorporated as it is with the State in a legal recognition with the Sovereign of the country, as its chief Representative, as the strongest and the only secure bulwark against the inroads and the restoration of the tyrannical Popish power. Behind that Church, as behind a great breakwater, our several vessels rest at anchor, and take in their passengers for the better land. It stands as a defence to us; it leaves us full liberty to carry out the convictions of our own consciences, and allows us to enjoy, undisturbed, the benefit of our own several endowments. Let us treat it, then, as we would have it treat us.

10. It appears to me that we shall be guilty of dis-

loyalty to our Sovereign the Queen, as well as a disregard for God's truth, if we lend ourselves to help to overthrow what our Sovereign has solemnly pledged herself by an oath to God, of which her whole people were the witnesses, to uphold; and to uphold it for ever was, be it remembered, the very purpose for which the present Royal Family were called to the throne of this Kingdom. The very basis of her authority, be it remembered, in Ireland as well as in England, is the Protestant Religion. Overthrow this as established, and the Queen's rightful authority is gone. In short, the Queen's authority is, in my belief, our security—and our ONLY security alike against Popery, priestcraft, and tyrannical power.

Brother Nonconformists, I earnestly call upon you to be wise in time; do not commit yourselves to a course that must prove self-destructive, at the bidding of worldly and ambitious politicians, lifting themselves into power, by making capital out of your religious prejudices; not because they care for religion, but because they would hold the helm of government, and steer you in whatever direction it best suits their purpose. The disestablishment of the Protestant Church in Ireland, I regard as only the first blow in the breaking down of the stone walls of our Protestant fortification. And so far from this being a blessing to Ireland itself, it is my belief that it will do it the greatest possible temporal mischief—by driving out of the land its Protestant gentry along with its Protestant clergy, and handing the whole over to the Romish priesthood. But it is chiefly and above all for the sake of God's truth, I implore you to pause before you give your votes to men who will put dishonour upon the Chief Dispenser of that

truth. As Dissenters—in common with myself—I know you value that truth above everything. If you cannot vote for Conservative Candidates because you differ from them in politics, at all events, refrain from voting at all, lest you should offend against God by voting practically against His truth. Weigh well, then, the reasons I have given why you should go with me in my determination to cut off my right hand rather than give a vote that shall help to the overthrow of the Protestant Religion as the established Religion of the United Kingdom, and our only sure national defence.

FELLOW COUNTRYMEN and FELLOW PROTESTANTS OF EVERY NAME—Read, consider, and mark well what that great Romish organ, *The Weekly Register*, of last Saturday, says on the coming Elections:

"The Elections are at the present moment a matter of absorbing interest for Irish Catholics, and of great anxiety for England. It is felt that RELIGIOUS LICENSE, and possibly even THE VERY EXISTENCE OF PROTESTANTISM, are staked upon the issue of this final struggle, the various stages of which have been watched by the whole world with deep interest. THE HOUR HAS ARRIVED FOR THE RESUSCITATION OF CATHOLICISM," *i.e.*, Popery.

Protestants of England! are you prepared for such an issue? "No, never!" you answer with one indignant cry. Then let us once more go forth in the spirit of our fathers, and in the strength of our God, and do battle one and all for "THE PROTESTANT RELIGION AND THE LIBERTIES OF THE UNITED KINGDOM!"

CONTRIBUTIONS to the NATIONAL PROTESTANT UNION may be paid to the Hon. Treasurer, Sir WALTER FARQUHAR, Bart., at Messrs. Herries, Farquhar, and Co.'s, 16, St James'-street; or to Sir R. W. CARDEN, Hon. Treasurer for the City, Metropolitan Bank, 75, Cornhill, or Messrs. DIMSDALE, FOWLER, and BARNARD, Bankers, 50, Cornhill.

POSITIVE RELIGION

VERSUS

NEGATIVE MORALITY;

IN

ANSWER TO THE CHARGE OF "NEGATIVE THEOLOGY."

Letters from the Protesters,

OCCASIONED BY THE DEMAND TO WITHDRAW "THE PROTEST,"

BY THE

REV. EDWARD WHITE.
REV. J. C. HARRISON.
REV. NEWMAN HALL, LL.B.
REV. JAMES SPENCE, D.D.
REV. HENRY ALLON.
REV. ROBERT ALFRED VAUGHAN.
REV. JAMES FLEMING.

LONDON:
WILLIAM FREEMAN, 69, FLEET-STREET.
1857.

Price Sixpence.

PREFACE.

The following Letters will carry their own explanation along with them. On the appearance of the *Rivulet* articles in the *Morning Advertiser*, a Protest was issued in the *Eclectic Review*, against the style of criticism therein adopted, signed by the following Ministers:—Henry Allon, Thomas Binney, J. Baldwin Brown, James Fleming, Newman Hall, J. C. Harrison, Edward Jukes, Benjamin Kent, Samuel Martin, S. Newth, John Nunn, Watson Smith, James Spence, Robert A. Vaughan, and Edward White.

With the exception of a few short letters to the Editor of the *Morning Advertiser*, by Mr. N. Hall, correcting misstatements on matters of fact, the fifteen gentlemen who signed the Protest maintained silence, under the persevering attacks of Mr. Grant and Dr. Campbell, until the Meeting of the Congregational Union in May. At that time, with a view to conciliation, Mr. Binney declared that in his judgment the Protest was "an error," though he still maintained its substance to be true, and its object good and useful. Then followed Dr. Campbell's publication of his Letters on *Negative Theology*, contrary to the advice of the meeting at the Milton Club, the dispersion of Mr. Binney's letter to the members of the Union, and the appearance of Dr. Campbell's replies to him in the *British Banner*. During the whole of this period the Protesters remained silent, and their silence was continued until late in the autumn; Dr. Campbell, Mr. Grant, and their subordinate agents, pouring forth edition after edition of their pamphlets, filled with every kind of mischievous misrepresentation respecting the Fifteen, Mr. Lynch, and the Protest.

At length it appeared to several of the Protesters that it was necessary to speak, and this they did in the following communications to the *Freeman* and the *Nonconformist*. These letters have already corrected false impressions in the minds of multitudes, and it has been thought that their publication in a connected form, with the addition of several confirmatory statements from other gentlemen, would serve the cause of truth and charity at the present time.

The collector of these letters has authority to state, on behalf of every one of "the fifteen" protesting ministers, that he adheres to the Protest in its original design; and this is important, inasmuch as this has been, within the last month, groundlessly questioned by some of their antagonists. Even Mr. Binney, in the very speech which has unfairly been quoted to prove that he retracts, says, "I consented to affix my name to the Protest to express *two* things—my belief that Mr. Lynch was a *truly spiritual man*, and my condemnation of *a style of criticism which* I thought *ought to be reprobated;* and although it might have been better for no Protest to have been issued, yet, *so far as these two things are concerned, I should sign it again.*" It is however to be understood that this pamphlet is not the conjoint production of "the Fifteen;" it is merely a collection of separate letters, for none of which is any of the Protesters responsible, but the one to which his own name is appended.

After the diffusion of these letters, it is not to be believed that the offensive calumny of abetting a "Negative Theology" will be admitted to a longer currency against men who are bearing so large a part in the actual work of evangelizing the population of London—labours which will, at least, bear comparison with those of their defamers.

January, 1857.

POSITIVE RELIGION

VERSUS

NEGATIVE MORALITY.

LETTER I.

To the Editor of the Nonconformist.

THE Revs. Newman Hall, J. Fleming, J. Nunn, and Professor Newth, of New College, present their compliments to the Editor of the *Nonconformist*, and request the favour of his inserting, in the columns of the next number of his paper, the accompanying letter, from the pen of the Rev. E. White, which appeared in the *Freeman* of last Wednesday, and which was refused admission into the pages of the *Patriot*. It so thoroughly expresses their reasons for signing "the Protest," that they cannot but wish for it, for the sake of truth and justice, the widest circulation. They have not the least doubt that all their other co-protesters would have united with them, in the request which is here made, had they been invited to do so.

SIRS,—There has lately appeared in the columns of the *British Banner* an earnest appeal to the fifteen gentlemen who signed the protest against the reviews of "The Rivulet" in the *Morning Advertiser*, having for its object to persuade them to "modify" or retract that document.

As that protest was signed by them in their individual capacity as ministers of the gospel, and not as forming any association which bound them to act ever after in this matter conjointly, each of them

Mr. Binney has availed himself of this liberty of individual action, and has acknowledged, in his speech at the Saturday meeting of the Congregational Union, last May, that he thought the protest was "an error," and that he had allowed himself to be carried away, by "sympathy with the generous enthusiasm of his younger brethren," into a course which it would have been better that he should not have taken.

The genial and godly spirit of peace in which these words were no doubt *spoken* by Mr. Binney may have justified him in offering up his brethren along with himself on the altar of Concord, and there may seem, in one point of view, something ungracious in criticising with exactness the words of such a man on such an occasion; but the subsequent publication of these expressions by himself, and, still more, the evil use which has been made of this avowal in several recent pamphlets, place the fourteen other protesters in so exceedingly false a position, that I shall perhaps be excused if, having no prospect of an opportunity for oral reply to those pamphlets at the Congregational Union, or in more private assemblies at the Milton Club, I take the liberty of expressing my own particular dissent from Mr. Binney's opinion that the protest was an "error," and of explaining the reasons why, for one, I cannot consent to any retractation or modification of it. I am sensible that my individual utterance on the question can have scarcely any weight; but there were some accidental circumstances connected with the preparation of the protest, which lead me to think that I can, not better than several others, but as well as any one else, say a few words which will be favourable to the cause of truth and righteousness. The meaning and object of that protest have been so much distorted through the heat of controversy, that the testimony of almost any one who can clearly define, from personal knowledge, the origin of the movement, becomes of some little value. I am confident that Mr. Harrison, Mr. Baldwin Brown, and Mr. Newman Hall would bear witness to the exact truth of my representations.

But, before defining the objects contemplated in the protest, I wish to observe that the gentlemen who invited Mr. Binney's concurrence were men who had wandered about forty years in this wilderness, —some a year or two less, some a few years more—that they had reached that middle age of life when most persons of education have somewhat outgrown their juvenile ardours, and possess, if they ever will possess, the faculty of calm judgment, and a habit of careful deliberation on their public acts. It is true that persons may "err' grievously at this age, and even when older; but they may be at least supposed to err in a case like that of issuing a solemn united protest

motives drawn from a higher level than mere "generous enthusiasm" for the interests of an injured friend. Those persons, therefore, who have availed themselves of these expressions of Mr. Binney, uttered with none but a good and Christian design, must not be surprised if they who discussed the question of this protest with him as coolly as they, or he, ever discussed anything in their lives, decline to follow him into a recantation, which after all is much more verbal than real, but stand fast in the judgment which he considered the best, when his sympathy with their generous enthusiasm was at the highest. If Mr. Binney has changed his mind, it was only that he might substitute one generous impulse of his nature for another, which he thought to be of less importance; but the event has shown that his self-sacrifice was unavailing.

In reply, then, to the invitation to modify the protest, my answer is, that those will, in my opinion, eventually come the best out of this "controversy," both in the approval of their own consciences, and in the judgment of the public, who maintain the statements of that protest in their integrity. Three things were contemplated by the framers of it, and the manner in which I think I can serve the right cause at this moment is by directing attention afresh to a clear description of those objects, which have been partially lost sight of through persevering and vehement misrepresentation, to the serious detriment both of Mr. Lynch and of the good name of his fifteen friends, and still more to the detriment of the great cause of truth and charity, in whose interest the movement was chiefly undertaken.

First, then, it was designed, in reply to the assertions of the *Morning Advertiser* that Mr. Lynch was no better than a Socinian or a Deist, to bear testimony that, from our knowledge of his writings, and from our close intimacy with him in private, he not only held the doctrines of the Trinity of the Godhead, of the Deity of the Lord Jesus Christ, and of the Sacrificial Atonement effected by his death, and of the regenerating and sanctifying work of the Holy Spirit, in the sense in which the protesters held them, the general sense of evangelical Christendom, but that, by patient study of these truths, he had attained a "great knowledge and understanding" of their value. This testimony was *true* when it was first borne. It is true still, as any one may see whom bitterness and prejudice will not prevent from reading carefully the "Ethics of Quotation," just published in reply to Dr. Campbell. And, therefore, no judgment which may be formed, rightly or wrongly, on the sufficient or insufficient use of the customary theological *language*, in the hymns of "The Rivulet," can justify a Christian man, who knows that Mr. Lynch believes the gospel, in permitting it to be said, without contradiction,

to express an opinion in which many others warmly coincide), that Mr. Lynch were convinced of the vast importance of speaking in his writings of familiar truths more frequently in the popular and scriptural language; but his mind is a wealthy mint, not only of thought, but of words (very many of them golden), and, being a poet as well as a thinker, he "multiplies parables and uses similitudes," and speaks in a tongue somewhat unknown to the generality, so that the more prosaic part of the human race are in some danger of not always understanding him. His friends knew this, but they also knew his Christian faith, and they held him in so much honour for his heroic life, and embraced him with such sincere affection, that a generous enthusiasm led them to regard with "utter hatred" the coarse calumnies of the assailant respecting his heterodoxy. Assuredly it argued not unfavourably respecting either his faith or his religious character, that such men as Mr. Martin, Mr. Harrison, and Mr. Newman Hall, not to mention other names of equal weight, in the clear foresight of what would follow, felt impelled to add their signatures with warm assent to the document, which briefly, but so earnestly, vindicated his theological reputation.

The protest was not intended to express concurrence in, or dissent from, any one of Mr. Lynch's opinions on secondary subjects in theology; nor was it designed to offer a judgment, favourable or otherwise, on his modes of presenting truth to the world. Those were matters on which Mr. Lynch was well able to defend himself, if his case were defensible; and, if it were not, his friends had no desire or vocation to interfere on his behalf. It was open to all who signed the document to think that he was nearly right in all his views and developments, or to think that, in some respects, although so able and excellent a person, there was room for improvement; and it is a fact that such difference of opinion did exist among those who joined in the protest. But it *was* intended to bear witness to his substantial orthodoxy on all essentials; and *that witness is true*. Nothing but shame can come of seeming, for an instant, to draw back from a firm assertion of this truth, however bold may be the declarations on the other side that his theology is negative, or that he is a Germanising Neologian, or a Rationalist, or any other description of heretic deserving of excommunication and worldly ruin. Truth will carry the protesters on this point through any number of false accusations and slanders.

Secondly, with reference to "The Rivulet," it was not intended to express any opinion as to its poetic merit, which was a question fairly open to differing criticism. It was not intended to recommend it, either alone or as a supplement, as a book suitable for public

quent verbal reference to the Atonement or the work of the Holy Spirit, in the language of the Scripture—the language best understood by the people—rendered it particularly suitable for the ordinary congregations of Christian worshippers. On the contrary, I believe it was the opinion of nearly all who signed the protest that Mr. Lynch's fixed habit of using untechnical language to express his religious ideas, though it might commend his labours to some Christians, unfitted him in a certain degree for inditing songs that could be sung by the generality of existing congregations. But it *was* intended to affirm that, in the judgment of the protesters, "The Rivulet" itself, though thus, in the opinion of some, defective in the character of the *language*, contained "*clear*" and "*ample*" indications that the author's faith was evangelically orthodox; and that therefore it was exceedingly wicked to denounce him as a Deist or a Socinian. It was intended to express the conviction that the personal religious experience indicated in these poems, was of that "complexion and range" which nothing but an evangelical faith could have developed; that it argued a fearful condition of soul in the man who, being a person of education, could not see, under the form, a spirit "alive unto God through Jesus Christ." And it was intended by that protest to teach in the churches that to deny the existence of such evidences of Divine grace, and of the work of God's Spirit, as are to be found in "The Rivulet," must needs be exceedingly offensive to that Spirit himself, and ought to be offensive to all good men. If it be as wicked to endeavour to murder a babe in Christ Jesus as to murder a man, much more did it appear to be sinful to do despite to the signs of a Divine life, such as appeared in more than a few of "The Rivulet" hymns, and shone forth in manifold forms in the character of their author.

But, thirdly, above and far beyond all particular reference to Mr. Lynch or his poems—he being a man every way strong enough to take care of himself, by God's blessing—there was present to the minds of the framers of the Protest, *as is most clearly manifest in its structure*, a desire to bear an earnest testimony against that whole genus of "religious" reviewers of which the reckless, rancorous writer in the *Advertiser* was the type; reviewers who, undertaking to guide the judgment of the people with respect to books and men, deliberately set themselves to crush, by arousing the blind terror and hatred of the less instructed classes, an order of men whom every consideration of justice and piety should lead us to regard as deserving of far different treatment. It was not intended to forbid the *Morning Advertiser*, or any other journal, to prophecy, if it felt the vocation amidst more earthly pursuits, against the want of scriptural

prose; nor was it designed to check the just freedom of criticism as to the merits or demerits of this or any other publication affecting the welfare of the world; but feeling that a man's reputation is invaluable to himself, and ought to be invaluable to his brethren—knowing that a good name is not only the chief means of living at all, but also of living usefully—convinced that very different modes of thought and forms of speech are produced by Providence within the Church, and co-exist on the common foundation of faith in Christ, some greatly superior to the others, yet all alike having their appointed uses—perceiving, further, that from time to time there arise, in the sphere of popular religious "literature," writers whom long enjoyment of power and irresponsible authority blinds, hardens, and renders reckless in the distribution of censure, while, at the same time, they lavish fulsome flattery upon their adherents—it was thought that a united protest in one particular instance might teach the *Morning Advertiser* and some of its contemporaries a useful lesson, or that at least a resolute effort should be made to abate the nuisance.

And, notwithstanding the anger and clamour which that protest has called forth from the parties principally smitten by it—notwithstanding the earnest endeavours made to diminish the public estimate of its value, by the unsparing use of the lowest weapons of vulgar controversy against its authors—I hold that it has not proved, and will not prove, a failure; but that, in spite of the secession in form, not in spirit, of Mr. Binney, through his misplaced generosity of temper towards one who "turned again and rent him," it will not be long before the public, becoming acquainted with Mr. Lynch's serious and triumphant reply to his calumniators, the "Ethics of Quotation," will ratify the judgment of the protesters respecting his substantial orthodoxy on the chief doctrines of the Gospel, his signal capacity, and thorough integrity of general character and aims; while, on the other hand, the wearisome tumult of the last eight months will leave behind this practical result, that it will be a long time before we shall see the restoration to their former power of religious journalists, who have lost the respect of honest men through cruel and mendacious endeavours to destroy the reputation of Christian ministers who did not deserve it.

I will close by affirming that, notwithstanding the insinuations of Mr. James Grant, it was not my sympathy with heresy, but, as in the case of my far worthier co-protesters, a strong sympathy with the grand outlines of the orthodox faith, which led me at first to sign, and still leads me to hope, that I shall never see the day when any one will be so unfaithful to truth as to unsign, or to "modify" this protest. The declaration which has led to such remarkable

the utmost efforts of virulent personality and perversion on the part of the chief offenders are exhausted and forgotten.

I am, Gentlemen, yours respectfully,

EDWARD WHITE.

LETTER II.

To the Editors of the Freeman.

SIRS,—Having read in your last number an able and manly letter of Mr. Edward White's, in which he gives an account of the origin and meaning of "The Protest," and appeals to myself and others to corroborate his statements, I shall feel obliged if you will insert the following remarks in your next impression, bearing witness to the truth of what he asserts.

I break silence the more willingly because I find that many, who have no wish to misjudge the "Fifteen," are perplexed and staggered by the misrepresentations of our assailants, and are asking for a word of explanation from us. Moreover, the recent clamour and excitement which have been raised are plainly intended to divert general indignation from the really culpable parties, and to fix it, if possible, on those who, whatever may be thought of the expediency of their conduct when viewed in the light of subsequent events, were impelled by a generous desire to uphold truth and right.

Whenever a controversy is carried on eagerly or excites much interest in the church, it is certain that both parties think they are contending for some very important object. In the present instance, those who regard with surprise and bewilderment the course of the fifteen protesters, take as their principle that the deep, rich Puritan theology, which has been the life and glory of our churches, must be maintained in its integrity, and must be defended earnestly; that nothing can be more dangerous than lax views respecting religious belief; and that if any body of men, whether laymen or ministers, do anything to countenance the supposition that sound doctrine is a matter of indifference, they ought to be visited with the displeasure of all evangelical Christians. In this conviction, we who protested are quite at one with them. The gospel, as held by our noble ancestors, is as dear to us as it is to them. However earnestly they may contend for it, they will ever find us by their side, if only they contend in the spirit of truth and love. They are, therefore, quite mistaken, if they suppose that by our protest we had the remotest intention to plead for a "Negative Theology" or a latitudinarian belief. Such a supposition they must entirely dismiss from their mind, if they would understand our conduct or motives.

signed that protest. Indeed, this might be charitably concluded without our assurance; for it is hardly to be credited that fifteen men, many of them of experience and standing, would take so unusual a step for a mere trifle. The object, then, which we had in view, was to declare that, because we loved orthodoxy, and regarded evangelical truth as most sacred, therefore we looked with shame and sorrow on any attempt to associate it with unrighteousness, or to uphold it by injustice and calumny. Nor was it deemed by us unnecessary to *assert* this principle, obvious as it ought to be. Reviews of books and strictures on men are continually appearing in periodicals or journals avowedly evangelical, in which Christian charity and fairness are grossly outraged, and a holy cause is damaged by the virulence of its advocates. The young, educated and inquiring, are disgusted with the display of a spirit so bitter and unjust, and cast themselves into the arms of men whose temper is often as courteous as their creed is defective and unsound.

Of this kind of reviewing a flagrant instance occurred in the *Morning Advertiser*. Mr. Lynch published a small volume of religious poems, called "The Rivulet," which were noticed in the above-mentioned journal. In this article it is asserted of the volume that "there is not from beginning to end one particle of vital religion or evangelical piety in it. At least, if there be, we have not been able to discover it. Occasionally—but even that is comparatively seldom—the name of the Saviour is introduced; but there is not one solitary recognition of his Divinity, of his atoning sacrifice, or his mediatorial office. Neither is the internal depravity of man, nor the agency of the Spirit in the work of conversion and sanctification, *even indirectly recognised*, from the first to the last page of the volume. Nearly the whole might have been written by a Deist." At the close of the article it is intimated that Mr. Lynch's pulpit discourses are "substantially similar to his hymns;" "in perfect keeping with them:" that is, of course, without one particle of vital religion and evangelical piety: nearly the whole such as a Deist might preach. Such a charge is tremendous; one more awful could hardly be brought against a Christian minister. To bring it without most solid ground is an equally awful sin.

A friend of Mr. Lynch having written to complain of the injustice of this article, a second article appeared, which, after asserting that Unitarians might use "The Rivulet Hymns," proceeds thus:—"We will put the question direct to Mr. Lynch himself—Whether he is prepared to assert that he does believe in the proper Divinity of Christ, in his atoning sacrifice, in his mediatorial work, in the innate depravity of human nature, and in the personality, the regenerating

which these doctrines are received by all evangelical denominations of Christians? We will readily publish Mr. Lynch's answer to our question. If his views on subjects so momentous are misstated or misunderstood, we are sure he will gladly avail himself of the opportunity of rectifying erroneous impressions. If he is silent, only one inference can be drawn from the fact—namely, that *the representations which we have given of his religious views are strictly correct.*" To a charge so groundless and gratuitous as to his personal belief, brought in a tone so arrogant and assuming, Mr. Lynch, on principle, chose to be silent. The accusation against Mr. Lynch's faith, which had been before made by implication is here direct, and it is insinuated that he holds not one single evangelical doctrine.

It might have been supposed that the editor now would let the matter rest; but no, having resolved to condemn Mr. Lynch himself, he will also expose those who speak well of him. In "The Eclectic Review," which had just changed hands, a brief but favourable notice of "The Rivulet" occurred, whereupon Mr. Grant writes another article, calling "The Eclectic" to account, and remarking—"Here, so far as the opinion of 'The Eclectic' has any weight, this volume, *which we have proved to be pervaded throughout by the Rationalistic theology of Germany—which is worse than even the lowest kind of Unitarianism, and, in reality, no better than a modified Deism*—is strongly recommended, on the ground of its *religious* merits, and its singular adaptation to deep Christian experience. . . . . Let us add, unless 'The Eclectic' do something to neutralise the mischief which this review is calculated to produce, it cannot expect to escape very material injury. . . . . With the loss of confidence, there must needs follow a loss of circulation."

The editor of "The Eclectic" having sent a brief reply, which was not deemed by Mr. Grant satisfactory, read the volume itself more carefully, and then declared his concurrence with the opinion of his own reviewer, and animadverted on Mr. Grant with some severity. This called forth another article, in which Mr. Grant repeats the same charges; declares that he will not be put off with implied evidence of Mr. Lynch's orthodoxy; blames Mr. Newman Hall for putting his imprimatur on "The Rivulet;" and affirms, "that if the succeeding numbers of 'The Eclectic' be conducted after the fashion of his maiden number, one of two things will inevitably happen—either he will be expelled from the editorial chair, or the proprietors of 'The Eclectic' will become legitimate objects of pity."

Stronger condemnation of a man or a book, it must be allowed, could not be pronounced. The *book* is destitute of vital piety, has not a solitary recognition of the work of Christ, or the work of the

lowest Unitarianism, and no better than a modified Deism. The *man*, it is insinuated, holds not one of the great fundamental doctrines of the Gospel.

To many of us who knew Mr. Lynch, and had read his book, the whole appeared monstrous. In our monthly meetings for conversation and devotion, his prayers, full of evangelical fervour and unction, had often refreshed our spirits; and his distinct and positive avowals, as well as his remarks in conversation, were quite unequivocal as to his firm belief in the doctrines of the Trinity, the Deity of the Son of God, the sacrifice of Christ as the only ground of human salvation, and the need of regeneration through the Holy Spirit. Two things then appeared to us plain. First, that if we continued our association with Mr. Lynch, while these charges remained uncontradicted, we placed ourselves in a false position; and, secondly, that knowing, as we did from private confidential intercourse, that the charges were false, and that he did hold the fundamental doctrines of the gospel, it would be unbrotherly, and even unmanly, to remain silent. But whilst contradicting the statements which had been made respecting Mr. Lynch, we were especially anxious to utter our solemn protest against that entire style of reviewing of which Mr. Grant's was a specimen, in which, without discrimination or charity, wholesale charges are brought against men and books, regardless of the consequences which such charges may produce. This was our main object, an object which we deemed far more important than even the endeavour to do personal justice to Mr. Lynch. Whatever may be the deficiencies of himself or his book, neither the one nor the other is totally destitute of evangelical religion—neither the one nor the other is either Unitarian or Deistical. We, therefore, issued our protest—and if that protest be *carefully* read, it will be found to have reference chiefly to these points. Respecting "The Rivulet" itself, we do not maintain that it is a fit book for Christian worship; much of it (as, indeed, Mr. Lynch himself intimates in the preface) is not so;—we do not assert that the religious element is as profound, rich, and earnest as in the hymns of Watts and Doddridge; we do not believe anything of the kind;—we do not affirm that theological truth, in a systematic form, is to be met with,—on the contrary, we say that in such a book "we did not look for didactic theological statements," our best hymns for the most part being only such an outflow of deep feeling as naturally springs from, and implies evangelical belief. But in opposition to Mr. Grant's assertion, that "from beginning to end there is not one particle of vital religion, or evangelical piety in it," we declare, that "we found" (not in the highest degree, but) "in a measure which greatly delighted us, a

ence" (not cold, negative, deistical, but) "eminently Christian, and of no ordinary complexion and range" (including moods of mind and shades of feeling not often met with in poetry)—"with clear recognitions" (not dogmatic statements) "of the work of our Lord Jesus Christ, and of the Divine Spirit,"—recognitions, which nothing short of the blindest prejudice or wilfulness could lead any reader to overlook. It would be easy to quote largely in support of these assertions, but space forbids. Still, I heartily join with Mr. White in the wish that verbal references to the Atonement, in the very language of Scripture, were *more* frequent and ample, and that in all the author's able and suggestive writings, when touching on theology, he would sometimes lay aside that strongly individual and richly figurative style of expression, which not unfrequently shades his real meaning—and would condescend to use the more ordinary phraseology which the humblest believer at once recognises and understands. But it is a shame, on account of mere peculiarity of language, to accuse a man of abjuring the faith of the gospel. What such a one needs and deserves is brotherly expostulation or suggestion, not rude denunciation and violence.

Respecting Mr. Lynch himself, our language is neither harsh nor unqualified. We say that "concerning his doctrinal beliefs we are not called upon to offer a judgment," that "in our mode of stating many things we should probably differ from him and from each other," but that in reference to "that truth which is held in common by all evangelical churches—'the truth as it is in Jesus'—we know that he is at one with us," and that his "great knowledge and understanding of this truth" have been the result of "severe and patient thought," for which we "hold him in high honour." We add that "most of us know him well, having frequent opportunities of meeting him in close Christian intercourse, and declare that we love him as a Christian brother." By all which we mean that—although from his great individuality of thought and language we might not be ready to endorse every expression he uses, or to agree with him in doctrines of secondary importance—we have had ample evidence from his own lips of his substantial accordance with all evangelical believers in the fundamental articles of the Christian faith, and evidence equally strong of the depth and ardour of his piety. And I venture to affirm that no intelligent Christian could have been present at the ministerial meetings of which he is a member, and heard his remarks on the great essentials of the gospel, without arriving at the convictions which we have thus openly expressed. As to the style of his preaching, whether it is clear or obscure, fitted for the many or for the select few whose minds resemble his own, we offer

tions in the parlour, I should conclude that they are explicitly evangelical. As to his public judgments—always very frankly expressed—or the tone in which he has defended himself, or animadverted on others, I am by no means prepared in every instance to defend him. But when it is recklessly insinuated that he holds none of the main evangelical doctrines, and finds his right place among Unitarians and Deists, I feel that at all times, and in every place, I shall be ready to declare such insinuations to be false.

Whilst thus far we deemed it our duty to defend Mr. Lynch, our chief object was to express our utter detestation of that style of reviewing of which the article in the *Advertiser* was but an example. It is on this point we lay the principal emphasis and use the strongest terms. Our language is, "We have read the reviews, which have been brought under our notice, with pain and shame, and feel called upon to express our utter hatred of such modes of dealing with either a book or a man. The reviewer has invoked so solemnly the sacred name of evangelical truth to consecrate his criticism, that we, loving the gospel, feel bound to enter our protest; and one of our number, Mr. Newman Hall, having been severely blamed for his public commendation of Mr. Lynch's poems, we, sharing his convictions, gladly place ourselves at his side. We feel no call to review the reviewer of the poems. We content ourselves with simply expressing our conviction that the spirit of the review, the conclusions and judgments of the reviewer, and the manner in which Mr. Lynch is personally referred to, are most false and unrighteous, and that if this is suffered to pass current as a specimen of Christian reviewing, then Christian reviewing will soon become an offence unto all good men." Words cannot be more explicit, nor, as it appears to me, more just. To hazard imputations against a man's orthodoxy which are in reality without foundation, to throw out reckless words which may destroy his reputation and his usefulness, insolently to endeavour to deprive him of the counteracting help of an honest editor by threats of pecuniary loss—this appeared to the originators of "The Protest" to call for the indignation of all honourable men. To this opinion I believe that we all still adhere. For although a most unfair and ungenerous use has been made of Mr. Binney's concessions, as if he intended to assert that his younger brethren had been hurried by levity and intemperate zeal into a piece of gratuitous folly; Mr. Binney clearly meant to say no such thing, nor has he abandoned the *substance* of the Protest. Looking at what has happened since, he has indeed implied his belief that the evil complained of would have been sooner corrected by letting things take their course, that the Protest contains some things which ought to have been omitted, because they could be known only to those on terms of intimacy with Mr. Lynch—

declares he would sign again is in truth the *pith* of what we all signed before. He says, "'The Rivulet' is not distinguished by express statements of doctrine." *We* say, "There is no didactic theological statements." He says, "The poems are *subjective*. Truth is *implied;* feeling only is *uttered*." We say, "There are *piety, experience*, and *recognitions* of truth." Respecting Mr. Lynch, he affirms that he is "deeply and earnestly devout, a truly spiritual man." We say that "we love him as a Christian brother, and know that he has 'one Lord and one faith' with ourselves." In his "condemnation of a style of criticism which ought to be reprobated," both he and we are agreed. So that any conclusions, drawn from Mr. Binney's remarks, against the deliberate belief of the Fifteen in the substance of their Protest, are both unjust and unwarranted.

No Christian man, indeed, who loves peace, can have failed to be grieved at the misunderstandings and strife of which our "Protest" has been the innocent occasion. But when I think of what has since been revealed by it in regard to some who are connected with the evangelical press; when I recollect the vindictive spirit of the original offender, who on the appearance of our Protest impugned the veracity of some and the soundness of others, endeavoured to bring down upon us the reprehension of our own churches, and ventured to malign the denomination to which we belong; when I remember that the letters in which we were thus assailed were recommended and endorsed by another editor without one word of censure or caution; when I recal the manner in which Mr. Lynch has been dealt with,—his feelings disregarded, his name held up to reproach, his poetry mangled and distorted, and his prose presented in fragments dishonestly torn from their connection, and made to say the very reverse of the original text; when I think of the foul and scurrilous assaults on Mr. Binney, and the attempts to degrade him as a public man; I feel that another Protest is required, louder, stronger, and more determined than the former, in which all Christian men should join, if *character* is to remain *safe*, and our churches are to be preserved from an insupportable tyranny. And I still further express my belief that, if evangelical truth is to be identified with such modes of defence, and the manifestation of such a spirit, then orthodoxy will suffer infinitely more from the conduct of its professed advocates than from the subtlest arguments of its most accomplished foes.

Allow me, in conclusion, to apologize for the length of this letter, and to thank you for your courtesy in inserting it. As Mr. White's was refused by *The Patriot*, I did not imagine that it was of any use to offer mine there, as it is little more than a confirmation of his.

I am, Sirs, yours faithfully,

Camden Town, Nov. 3rd, 1856. J. C. HARRISON.

LETTER III.

To Thomas Thompson, Esq., as the Representative of those who, zealous for Evangelical Christianity, say "Withdraw the Protest.'

DEAR SIR,—In a letter which you have published, addressed to Mr. Binney and myself, the following sentences occur:—"Our missionary meeting is close at hand; and I have reason to believe that *no invitation will be sent to either of yourselves*, nor your co-protesters, for either *the pulpit* or *the platform*, till the protest be withdrawn. . . . . The Weigh-house is the sanctuary where I love occasionally to worship, and Surrey Chapel is so familiar to me, from being the favourite chapel of my boyhood, that the dread of Ichabod being written on either, by Him who is a jealous God, and whose purpose it is that his co-equal Son shall reign King of kings and Lord of lords, has prevented my going to either, since these discussions have commenced." The mere quotation of these words will be sufficient to suggest the inquiry, whether silence would not be the most appropriate reply to such a letter. But I give you credit for good motives. In your attachment to evangelical truth I heartily share. Diligent misrepresentation is very likely to have led many other persons into the same erroneous supposition that, by signing the Protest, I have lent my sanction to the Negative Theology, which, equally with yourself, I repudiate. The cause of truth may thus, for a time, suffer through misconception. I have, therefore, resolved not to treat your letter with the indifference which its extraordinary threat strongly urged and would have amply justified.

Before I give you my reasons for not withdrawing the Protest, allow me to express my surprise at the grounds on which you refuse to recognise as faithful ministers of Christ those who signed it. One of our brethren having been charged with heresy, instead of receiving with thankfulness our testimony to the soundness of his faith, you charge heresy not only on him, but on us also! Because he does not express his sentiments in terms which satisfy *you*, those who have better opportunities of knowing him, and who *are* satisfied, must be also condemned, in spite of *their own* repeatedly published views of religion, with which *you are satisfied!* Instead of condemning the fifteen along with the one, might not the charity which "rejoiceth not in iniquity but rejoiceth in the truth," have embraced the one on the testimony of the fifteen? If you were previously satisfied with the doctrines taught at the Weigh-house and at Surrey Chapel, might you not have inferred that the ministers of those churches would scarcely have warranted the substantial orthodoxy of one who was little better than a Socinian or a Deist? But if

implies, you suspect them also, you can easily satisfy your doubts by examining their works. The last missionary sermon preached at Surrey Chapel has been published, under the title of "Sacrifice," and as that subject is the one in which of all others we are most in danger of a negative theology, you can readily ascertain whether you are warranted in the fear that Ichabod may be written on the walls which re-echo similar instructions every Sabbath-day. In reference to your missionary meetings, let me remind you that the services of ministers are rendered by them at great sacrifice of time and ease, and with no other remuneration than the highest of all—the pleasure of doing good. I should be glad if I could avail myself of a twentieth part of the opportunities presented me of advocating missionary and kindred enterprises; but if I cannot do this except by surrendering my Christian liberty at the dictation of others, I should feel that to such work I had not been summoned by Him to whom alone I owe spiritual subjection. I will only add on this part of my subject, that I cordially concur in the following sentence from your letter:—"What is to sustain earnest piety and holy zeal such as the world absolutely requires? Not Negative Theology, but the love of Christ." It is because this conviction deepens with every day's increased experience of the necessities of my own heart and of the world at large, that I have taken the course from which you ask me to withdraw.

I shall now briefly refer to the circumstances which led to, and, as I am more than ever convinced, justify the Protest.

For many months previous to the publication of "The Rivulet," it had been my privilege to meet its author at a monthly association of a few ministers, among whom were Mr. Joshua Harrison, Mr. Samuel Martin, Dr. Spence, and others whose names are among "the Fifteen." We still meet for prayer and religious conversation. Often, in common with my brethren, had I been greatly edified by Mr. Lynch's heart-utterances of a deep spiritual life, as well as by the most unequivocal statements of evangelical truth. When "The Rivulet" appeared, I read it with much interest. I interpreted the book by what I knew of the man; but I also interpreted the book by what the book itself contained. I regarded it as a volume of sacred poetry, expressing the thoughts of a reflective mind, sanctified by Divine grace, and thus looking forth lovingly on all God's works, to find "sermons in stones and good in everything." I never considered it as suitable for introduction into our churches. And although used by the author's own congregation, in the proportion of one "Rivulet" hymn to two from Dr. Watts, he never contemplated its general adoption even as a supplement. The very style and price of the volume refute such a supposition. At the Congregational Union, in

to the second edition, dated last July, he says, "The 'Rivulet' is not issued as in itself a sufficient book of song for Christian churches. The only public use could be as supplemental—the metres are far too various for ordinary congregations; and knowing that the book would not come into general public use, I have included several compositions which otherwise I should have omitted." I had, nevertheless, in private meetings for worship, much enjoyed singing several of its compositions, which breathe a deep-toned spirituality, and ought to be taken as interpreters of all the rest.

Permit me to refer you to No. LXXV.:—

"Heart of Christ, O cup most golden,
Brimming with Salvation's wine,
Million souls have been beholden
Unto thee for life divine;—
. . . . .
"*Pledge of mercy's sure forgiving,*
Powers for a holy living—
These, thou cup of love are thine:
Love, thou art the mightiest wine."

Also let me remind you of No. LVI.:—

"Gracious Spirit, dwell with me—
I myself would gracious be,
And with words that help and heal
Would thy life in mine reveal;
And with actions bold and meek
Would for Christ my Saviour speak.

"Mighty Spirit, dwell with me—
I myself would mighty be,
Mighty so as to prevail
Where unaided man must fail;
Ever by a mighty hope
Pressing on and bearing up.

"Holy Spirit, dwell with me—
I myself would holy be;
Separate from sin, I would
Choose and cherish all things good;
And whatever I can be
Give to Him who gave me Thee."

In the first of these hymns the doctrine of the atonement is set forth, and the blood of Jesus extolled in its twofold efficacy, as the medium of the bestowment both of pardon and purity. In the second, the personality of the Holy Spirit is distinctly recognised, together with the fact, that He is bestowed on us by the Father, and that without His influences "unaided man must fail" in his struggles after

Judge, then, of my astonishment, on reading in the *Morning Advertiser's* first notice of the "Rivulet," that "there is not, from beginning to end, one particle of vital religion or evangelical piety in it. . . . There is not one solitary recognition of the divinity of Christ, of His atoning sacrifice, or of His mediatorial office. Neither is the inherent depravity of man, nor the work of the Spirit, in the work of conversion and sanctification, even indirectly recognised, from the first to the last page of the volume. Nearly the whole might have been written by a Deist."!!!

In No. XV. of the "Rivulet," Mr. Lynch thus speaks of the cold Rationalistic theologian:—

"Ah miserable man,
What feeble taper light
Is this, which casts its spectral gleam
Into the murky night?

"A reasoner without love,
Thy quivering ray forlorn
Can show the strange and fearful night,
But never bring the dawn.

"Lord, in our musing heart,
If Thou reveal thy Son,
Upward the growing twilight strikes,
The morning has begun."

Yet the *Morning Advertiser's* third notice of the "Rivulet" describes it as a volume "which we have proved to be pervaded throughout with the Rationalistic theology of Germany—which is worse than even the lowest kind of Unitarianism, and, in reality, no better than a modified Deism!" The *Eclectic Review*, having given a favourable notice of the "Rivulet," the *Morning Advertiser* says, "All confidence in its criticisms, so far as relates to theology, will be destroyed, and with the loss of confidence, there must needs follow a loss of circulation." The editor of the *Eclectic* is advised to publish "an explicit and decided repudiation of all sympathy with the incriminated article, accompanied with an expression of regret that it should have found its way into the columns of his journal. That is the least he can do, and if it cannot be done gracefully and heartily, we feel assured the *Eclectic Review* will be a heavy sufferer in circulation as well as in character."

In a fifth article, the *Morning Advertiser* says: "We ask the editor of the *Eclectic Review* to *point out one solitary expression in these hymns which gives the slightest countenance to the doctrine of the Atonement or the mediatorial work of Christ.*"

The critic goes on to say that Mr. Lynch "clearly maintains the doctrine of merit in man." In proof of this it is stated, that in the

right have we to be ever bewailing that there is no good thing dwelling in our flesh?'" The impression intended to be conveyed by the reviewer is, that Mr. Lynch considers that man, apart from the purifying operation of God's Spirit, bestowed through Christ, does possess merit, and ought not to bewail that there is no good thing dwelling in him. But what will be thought of the candour of this reviewer, when it is known that Mr. Lynch was speaking not of the unconverted man, but of Christians, who, as the temples of the Holy Ghost, must, if sincere, be every day becoming more and more conformed to Christ? The entire paragraph is as follows:—

"Become better, and you will often bitterly lament that you are not better still, whilst yet, oh how thankful, that you are no worse. But we must not talk as if the one excellency of saints were the confession they are sinners. Confession may be not the sign, but the substitute, of repentance. Alas, for the saint who says to-day and to-morrow that he is a sinner, if it is as true to-day as it was yesterday, and as true to-morrow as it is to-day. What right have we to be ever bewailing that there is 'no good thing dwelling in our flesh?' Has not God given us his Spirit? is there nothing good in our spirit? does not God's Spirit dwell with ours? If it does not, then we are none of his, and have cause to bewail, but still no cause to be complacent over our bewailing."

Surely, while this passage very forcibly insists on the necessity of a growing sanctification in all the people of God, there is no evidence of the charge that Mr. Lynch "clearly maintains the doctrine of merit in man." Was it an illustration of this growing sanctification in the Editor of the *Morning Advertiser*, that he should support a charge of heresy by a single clause detached from a paragraph which, quoted entire, would have been a proof of soundness in the faith? But in a previous number of those very "Letters to the Scattered," published in the preceding June number of the *Christian Spectator*, Mr. Lynch distinctly states the doctrine which the *Morning Advertiser* charges him with denying. Speaking of a man who, "possessed of life through Jesus Christ, has renounced mere nature, to live by the Divine Spirit," Mr. Lynch says: "He does not pass over from a state of demerit in which he was less, to a state of meritoriousness in which he is more, than the commandment requires. Be his love much as it may, it can never be more than is answerable to the Divine love. How much less, indeed, must it be than this! Love pays best when it acknowledges that payment is beyond its means. Thus its meritoriousness is that it claims no merit. It knows, and thanks God for, its own worth; but its boast were its undoing." And yet the *Morning Advertiser*, in support of its attack on the "Rivulet," says that Mr. Lynch, in those very "Letters to the Scattered," "clearly maintains the doctrine of merit in man!"

Such were the critical notices—such were the charges against Mr.

Review, which preceded and evoked our protest. And I venture to ask any candid person, whether there was not abundant reason to condemn such a style of reviewing? He may have his own judgment as to whether it was prudent, or in accordance with literary usage, to *publish a protest*, or whether the opinion of a paper which panders to the lowest taste of its readers by reports of prize-fights,*

* Mr. Grant has complained that he has been unjustly held responsible for the sporting articles in his paper, with which, he says, he has nothing to do. The facts are these. Mr. Grant is chief editor of a paper which does give reports of prize-fights. These reports form part of the attractiveness of his paper; and from the general profits, to which of course such reports have contributed, he draws his income. It is granted that they are not drawn up by himself; but he does not, as editor, write against the wickedness which his paper reports. Yet, while he passes over without reprobation the positive vice to which his own columns give currency, he sets himself up as a censor of theological opinions! Should he not, to be consistent, write articles against prize-fights, &c., which are violations of morality, before he proceeds to attack what he regards violations of orthodoxy? And can he complain if some persons feel disposed to class such a censor with those whom Christ referred to, as straining at a gnat and swallowing a camel, and whom He counselled to cast out the beam from their own eye, *before* they undertook to cast out the mote from their brother's eye? The following is an illustration of the reports referred to :—

"THEOLOGY AND PRIZEFIGHTING.

"*To the Editor of the Nonconformist.*

"MR. EDITOR,—Appended to this note, I send you an extract from a recent number of the *Morning Advertiser*. I should not ask for the insertion in your columns of anything so repulsive as the narrative of a prize-fight, but that there are still Dissenters who require to have their eyes opened to the real character of a journal which the *Record* lauds as 'the champion' of Protestantism, and of 'true religion and social improvement,' (!) and which the *British Banner* aids in the scandalous employment of blackening the theological character of the Dissenting body.

"CLEAN HANDS.

. . ."'He had hitherto been considered a quick and tolerable good fighter, but at the same time not endowed with any extraordinary amount of gameness. In the present match Tyler had the advantage of being a bigger man than his opponent, while on the other hand Robinson had too good "peepers" to his man's one, for Bos, it will be remembered, has lost the sight of his right eye. Arrangements had been made by the backers of the men by which it was imagined the contest would be brought to a satisfactory issue without interruption, but this, *unfortunately*, was found not to be the case, for on reaching Purfleet the police were on the alert, and it was not until after many difficulties that the ring for the second time was formed by the veteran commissary on the Rainham Marshes, Essex. The preliminaries having been arranged in the presence of full two thousand spectators, the men were conducted to the scratch by their seconds, and left to themselves. The odds being two to one on Tyler. The battle gave every promise of being a most exciting one, for the men from the onset fought with considerable spirit, and in a quick and effective manner. Bos, unquestionably from the opening bout gained some considerable advantage over his opponent, and his friends were of opinion that, had the contest been finished, he must have

was worthy of being noticed in such a way; but I cannot think that any impartial person will deny the truth of what we declared—that "if this is suffered to pass current as a specimen of Christian reviewing, then Christian reviewing will soon become an offence unto all good men."

But if strangers to Mr. Lynch are likely to come to this conclusion, it is not to be wondered at that his friends should feel indignant at attacks calculated, if not to injure his reputation and usefulness, yet to wound and grieve his sensitive though manly spirit. When, therefore, it was stated, in support of the reviewer's censures, that, with one exception, none had ventured to vouch for the theology of the "Rivulet," and when it was implied that none of his evangelical brethren recognised him ministerially, we thought it a duty we owed not only to him as our brother, but to Christ as our Master, to declare publicly what we felt respecting him. For if Jesus denounced some of his sternest woes against those who offend any of His little ones, surely we may expect that some portion of his displeasure will fall on us, if through selfish fear, and low calculating views of worldly policy, we hold aloof from any in whom we trace the features of discipleship, when they are thus falsely accused and persecuted.

If Mr. Lynch's assailants believed him to be seriously in error, would they not have been more likely to draw him from it, if, instead of heaping on him harsh and hasty censures, they had explained to him the way of the Lord more perfectly? While I do not pledge myself to all his utterances—while the style in which I publish the Gospel differs greatly from that which he thinks proper to adopt—I repeat my conviction that he is a sincere believer in the fundamental articles of the Christian faith. If I were not so convinced, though I should still have condemned the spirit of his reviewers, I never would have given any sanction to himself as a Christian teacher. But less on his behalf than of that large class of whom so much cannot be said, and yet who are sincerely struggling after truth, I renew our Protest against a style of criticism so little calculated to convince such inquirers of the grandeur and beauty of the evangelical system.

takable superiority; and if Robinson is anything like the game bit of stuff he is represented to be, and from the style in which he fought, *we* think that he does not by any means lack pluck, then it is by no means possible to say how the battle might have concluded. The merits of the men were not, however, on the present occasion, to be fairly tested, for on the conclusion of the fifteenth round, the police again made their appearance, and consequently the battle was stopped, and the combatants taken out of the ring. It being now late, arrangements were made for a second meeting between the men, to take place this day. Robinson, we had nigh forgotten to say, was seconded by Jemmy Welsh and Dan Collins, while Woods and Byrne [illegible] Tom [illegible]

Would our Lord or his Apostles thus have acted towards one who was in error, and yet desired to be right? Would they have endeavoured to prove him as bad as possible, rejecting testimony in his favour, and seeking only evidence to condemn him? Would they have distorted his own words in order to prove him a heretic? Would they have overlooked the best of his utterances, and fastened on those which, torn from their connexion, might be made to appear questionable? It might have been expected that pamphlets professedly written to oppose a Negative Theology would be themselves so radiant with the positive truth and loveliness of the Gospel, as to make those who take them up in the spirit of mere controversialists, lay them down in the spirit of the pure and holy Jesus. But how different is their character! What sceptic is likely to be convinced by them—what sinner to be rendered penitent—what anxious soul to be directed to the Saviour—what Christian's heart to be made more humble, pure, and loving? Who would present these pamphlets for perusal to a dear friend for the purpose of drawing him away from sceptical byepaths, to the superior attractiveness of the king's highway? May not you, Sir, and others with you, some day repent that in a misguided zeal for orthodoxy you have sanctioned a style of writing, and given currency to injurious suspicions against useful ministers, which may do more injury to Evangelical religion, especially in connexion with Nonconformity, than all your future efforts may be able to counteract? It is not by harsh dogmatical censures—it is not by intolerance of the free thoughts and words of others—still less is it by abusive epithets and wilful misrepresentation, that we can recommend a religion of love. The wrath of man worketh not the righteousness of God.

I am one of those who plead for the old theology—of Puritans, of Reformers, of Apostles. The trumpet which I blow has never, that I am aware of, been suspected of giving any uncertain sound. Surprise has been expressed that the author of "Come to Jesus" should have joined in this Protest. I can only say that the theology of that little book is increasingly dear to me, that it is the chief element of my preaching, and that I signed the Protest in the same spirit and with the same design with which I wrote that tract. But I rejoice when I discover, beneath other styles of speech, the same substantial verities. And I insist on truth, candour, and love, as necessary results, and indispensable evidences of having come to Jesus.

The kingdom of God is not meat and drink—not forms and ceremonies—not verbal statements of doctrine and the Shibboleths of even an evangelical party—not doubtful disputations and bitter strife about modes of utterance—but righteousness, and peace, and joy in

I have referred in this letter to the criticisms preceding the Protest. I shall hereafter endeavour to show that those which followed it confirm our justification in publishing it. Meanwhile, be assured that we are not likely to withdraw it, inasmuch as we issued it, not in favour of any negative theology, but in condemnation of a negative morality—not against, but for the Gospel—not as pleasing men, but in the sight of God, and in the name of Christ.

I remain, dear Sir, yours faithfully,

NEWMAN HALL.

St. John's Wood, Nov. 25th, 1856.

LETTER IV.

DEAR SIR,—I have re-entered upon this controversy with great reluctance. During several months, the protesters, employed in diligent endeavours to make known that very Gospel which they have been charged with betraying, kept silence for the sake of peace. But that silence has been so misconstrued, that the cause of peace as well as of truth urged me to follow the example of Mr. White and Mr. Harrison, in explaining and defending the course we have taken.

I need not repeat their statements, but shall simply declare my concurrence with them, and ask that my own letters may be interpreted as supplemented by theirs.

At the risk of wearying you by repetition, I must again repudiate the charge made against the "Fifteen," of endeavouring to introduce any "Negative Theology." Many persons regard this controversy as being waged between the old evangelical religion of our fathers, and a disguised Socinianism. The case is far otherwise. I also contend for the old positive theology, which I reverence too much to endure seeing it associated with unrighteous advocacy. The question is not—*shall we give up the old faith*, but it is—*shall the old faith be held in a spirit of love, freedom, and charity*—or, *shall the profession of its letter be a sufficient excuse for the negation of its spirit?* We protest, not in favour of Negative Theology, but against that Negative Morality which, in our opinion, has been exhibited in the treatment of a certain author and his book. Respecting the "Rivulet," we certainly should not have felt called upon to offer a public statement more than in reference to any other volume of sacred poems which may issue from the press. It was solely the manner in which the book was reviewed which occasioned our Protest.

It may be convenient for those whose conduct is censured to draw public attention away from the point at issue, by the cry of "Theology

Protest, to refer to what, in our judgment, makes that Protest more necessary than ever. Do not, therefore, complain that I dwell on mere personalities. In trying a question of morality, we must take individual acts into consideration. But it is in no spirit of personal animosity I do so. I have quietly borne reproach and misrepresentation during nearly twelve months. I have long ago forgiven my assailants any private wrong they have done me. And I now refer to their conduct simply on public grounds, and to show that, however anxious I am for a righteous peace, there are reasons which forbid my compliance with what you demand as its necessary condition —the withdrawment of the Protest. In my former letter, I referred to the circumstances which preceded it, and justified its being issued. I now call your attention to the criticisms which followed it, and which justify our adherence to it.

The *Morning Advertiser*, in its second article, put the question direct to Mr. Lynch, whether he held the fundamental articles of Evangelical Christianity, adding—"if he is silent, only one inference can be drawn from the fact, namely, that the representations which we have given of his religious views are strictly correct." Mr. Lynch did not choose, by replying to this question, to place himself before the self-constituted court of such a newspaper, on a question of theological belief. And subsequent criticisms, both in that journal and elsewhere, have too clearly proved the correctness of Mr. Lynch's own presentiment, that no statement from himself would be fairly dealt with. But an answer was given by others, which strangers to Mr. Lynch might reasonably have regarded as still more conclusive than any distinct avowal forced from himself by such an assailant. Fifteen ministers, most of whom know Mr. Lynch intimately, declared that they "loved him as a Christian brother," and that he did adhere to "the truth held in common by all Evangelical Churches—the truth as it is in Jesus."

After this explicit testimony, it might have been expected that the *Morning Advertiser* would have at once acknowledged Mr. Lynch as an orthodox believer, however it might have censured the particular volume in question. But instead of this, an attack is made on the reputation of those fifteen ministers, for the purpose of diminishing the value of their testimony. Let me beg you carefully to consider the nature of that attack. The *Morning Advertiser* says:—"One rejects entirely the second chapter of the Second Epistle of Peter?" No name is given, so that the suspicion is allowed to attach itself to every one of the Fifteen in turn. The charge is absolutely without proof, and I hesitate not to say is incapable of proof, and absolutely false. A letter now lying before me from Mr.

to him, and that the charge is grounded on a misrepresentation of what Mr. Binney said of another person some years ago, at his *own table, Mr. Grant being one of his guests;* and that Mr. Grant has justified his reference to the occurrence by saying that the "conversation was not confidential!" Comment would be preposterous.*

Of another of the "Fifteen" it is said, that, when on the continent, he "went duly through the forms of worship in a Popish cathedral, with as much seeming approval of the modes of devotion practised there as if he had been one of the most zealous of Roman Catholics; and since his return he has been suspected, because of his intimate associations with Roman Catholics, of laxity in his Protestant principles." The reference I have reason to believe is to myself. But what will be thought of this charge, when it is borne in mind that, on my return from Italy, I published a book, the "Forum and the Vatican," the pervading object of which is to *expose the corruptions of Popery*, and especially of the mummeries I witnessed in the "Cathedral" of St. Peter's. Instead of conciliating, the publication of this book immediately alienated from me some Roman Catholics whom I had regarded as friends. Yet with this book within reach at my publisher's, Mr. Grant has, during twelve months, persevered in such misrepresentations.

Another of the protesters is held up to suspicion because some of his hearers wear moustaches! It would scarcely be supposed that even the editor of the *Morning Advertiser* would stoop so low in a grave theological discussion, and, therefore, I trouble you with the passage:—"The most manifest fruit of this reverend gentleman's ministerial labours consists, we are assured, of the great number of beards and moustaches to be found among his hearers. In this respect his congregation is described to us as presenting a most picturesque appearance. While the crop of beards and moustaches is most abundant, no one can fail to be struck with the diversified and fantastic forms which the bushy protuberances have been made, in many instances, to assume."

In proof that these statements are made to damage the testimony of the Fifteen, the Editor of the *Morning Advertiser* says, "We shall hereafter give the *names of these gentlemen*, with *the authentication of our statements*, in order that the religious world may know what value ought to be attached to their testimony in favour of the soundness of Mr. Lynch's creed." This promise has never been fulfilled. But the charges, unproved, have been reprinted in a pamphlet, and indus-

* In reference to this matter, the reader is directed to the correspondence in the *Nonconformist*, in which Mr. Binney confirms this statement, and gives the name of the Rev. J. Stoughton as one to whom Mr. Grant had said that his

triously diffused in ten editions! More than this, positive immorality is charged upon the protesters. They had said, "we have read the reviews which have been brought under our notice;" yet the *Morning Advertiser* more than insinuates against the whole generally, and against some by name, that they had *not* done so. "We beg to ask Mr. N. Hall whether *he* has read *all* our articles—whether he has not admitted that he has *not* read *all* our articles on the subject. It is due to his own character to deny the charge if it be groundless. If he cannot deny it, the affair is one of no ordinary gravity. He will find that he has compromised himself to an extent of which we will not speak . . . . We could not imagine a greater moral wrong on the part of any man, but especially on the part of a minister of the Gospel," &c. On reading this paragraph, I called to mind the only occurrence which could have led to the false report of my having made so absurd an admission. As my veracity had never before been questioned, I felt somewhat hurt at the suspicion, and thought it worth while promptly to explain the misconception in the quarter whence it arose and had been communicated to the *Morning Advertiser*. I not only, in this private letter, distinctly asserted, but I gave *positive evidence*, that I could not have made an admission so contrary to fact, that *when I signed the Protest I had not read all the articles to which it referred.* I requested that this statement should be laid before the Editor of the *Morning Advertiser*, not doubting that he would at once withdraw his charge. For this I waited in vain. After nearly three months, I was informed by the individual to whom I had entrusted this statement—a personal friend of the editor of the *Morning Advertiser*, and in connection with whom the erroneous impression had been conveyed—that the contents of my letter had *not* been communicated to the Editor of the *Morning Advertiser*, and that my demand to this effect had been an "utter absurdity." But I restrain myself from enlarging on a question so personal, in a discussion in which I am conscious of being urged by no private resentment, but in which I have taken part solely on public grounds. And I only now refer to it to show that no pains were spared by me to correct, in a private manner, false statements, and thus to prevent the embittering, by unjust personalities, a grave public discussion. As the charge was not withdrawn, I wrote a letter for publication in the *Morning Advertiser*, in which I distinctly denied it. I entered into particulars, stating that I had read three of the articles prior to a meeting of the Colonial Society, and two after; but all five prior to signing the Protest. The *Morning Advertiser*, instead of at once withdrawing and apologising for the false charge, endeavoured to convict me of falsehood, on the ground that four of his articles appeared before and only one

cording to his own statement, did not read *all* that we wrote; while, in the other, he not only read all, but *more* than we had written!" As if, when four articles had been written, I could not have read three! As if, when one article followed, I could not have read both it and the one which had been published previously! And as if this in the least affected my reply to his charge of not having read all five, prior not to *the meetings*, but to *the protest!* Yet the wording of the paragraph is calculated to mislead the superficial reader, into the supposition that I was self-convicted of falsehood! I will not trust myself to characterise such conduct; but I will refer those who care to read more respecting it, to an article by the Editor of the *Saturday Review*, reprinted and published by Messrs. Houlston and Stoneman, Paternoster Row.

Other gentlemen were challenged by name. "We begin with the name of Mr. Allon, and end with that of Mr. White." "We ask Mr. Allon—and we have particular reasons for putting the question—whether he read even the majority of our articles?" "Mr. Allon will not speak affirmatively." I have Mr. Allon's authority for stating that a friend had inadvertently conveyed to Mr. Grant an incorrect representation of something that fell from Mr. Allon in conversation, and which led that friend to suppose that Mr. Allon had not read all the *Advertiser* articles, and that upon Mr. Allon's explanation, he immediately and spontaneously informed Mr. Grant of the error into which he had led him. And yet edition after edition of Mr. Grant's pamphlet has been subsequently issued, repeating, without explanation or apology, the calumnious insinuation; but declaring in the preface, the author's adherence to all his former statements. Mr. White also responded to the challenge by a public letter, which was printed in the *Morning Advertiser;* but which has been *omitted in the pamphlet,* ten editions of which have gone through the country repeating a charge against Mr. White, without Mr. White's refutation, though the pamphlet calls on that gentleman to deny the charge if he can!* Surely such treatment of those who *did* answer to the challenge, shows the superior wisdom, in this matter, of those who treated it with silent contempt. Yet this silence is thus construed by the *Morning Advertiser*:—"It is very awful to think that the ministers of the Gospel, preachers of a religion whose essence is charity and truth, should be capable of employing language like this (of the Protest) in reference to that which they had never read. Yet here, by their silence, fourteen of the 'Pro-

* Mr. Grant, in a letter to the *Nonconformist*, denies this charge. But his denial, as rebutted by Mr. White, makes the case still worse, and too clearly for Mr. Grant's reputation, confirms this charge, thus affording a fresh illustration of

testers' have laid themselves open to that very serious imputation." What shall be said of this species of attack? Those who deny the charge are either misrepresented or their denial is suppressed; and those who remain silent are treated as having admitted the truth! Would any man of the world, who prides himself on his honour, stoop to such conduct towards his worst foe? And is the profession of reliance on the righteousness of Christ to be regarded as absolving us from the practice, I will not say of generosity, but of mere justice, ourselves? Is this attempt to injure the reputation of the Fifteen, an evidence that the critic was animated by a pure zeal for the Gospel? Most of the protesters are constantly and laboriously employed in preaching that Gospel, and in practical efforts to stem the tide of prevailing vice. They unite to bear testimony in favour of an accused brother, and then a writer who professes to be a champion for truth and righteousness, in order to maintain the position he had taken up, does not simply attack their statements, but does all he can to damage their reputation, though he knows that if he succeeds he must at once most seriously diminish their usefulness. In his preface to the last edition of his pamphlet, he says:—"It is lamentable to think to what an extent the character of such men as Mr. Binney and Mr. Newman Hall has suffered from the course they have pursued in connexion with this distressing controversy. It is no secret that the sale of the published works of the few among the 'Fifteen' who are successful authors has very greatly diminished since the evil hour in which they put their hand to the 'Protest;' while it is to be feared that the efficacy of their pulpit ministrations has been correspondingly impaired." Does the writer's conduct bear out his assertion, that such injury to character is "*lamentable?*" If any of the "Fifteen" have suffered, it is from the unjust charges and false representations of him who professes to "lament" the success of his own efforts, and not from their performance of what they regarded as an act of justice. But their *characters* have not suffered. Only wrong-doing can injure a man. Calumny and mistake may for a time deprive him of the approbation of many whom he esteems, but he who has the testimony of a good conscience, and the confidence of the Divine approval, will be a gainer in the end by the brief censures of his fellow-men. No one is in need of pity who is enabled to press along the path of duty, not only when the sun smiles, but when the storm beats against him. He will be the stronger for such endurance, and will have far greater inward enjoyment than if he purchased popularity at the cost of conscience. The weapons of enmity, injustice, untruthfulness, strike those who wield them, not those at whom they are aimed.

controversy, I can bear with patience the blows which have been aimed at my reputation. I am confident that when the whole case is thoroughly understood, our characters will stand higher in the estimation of thinking, truthful, Christ-like men. But should He whom we serve appoint otherwise, He helping us, we shall neither change, nor regret a course of conduct to which we have been summoned by a voice louder and more authoritative than that of human criticism.

The Editor of the *Morning Advertiser*, not content with assailing the "Fifteen," has given currency to opinions respecting Nonconformist churches in general, which have easily found currency in quarters not friendly to dissent. At the close of his pamphlet he says:—"The distinctive features of the gospel are ignored among both the Nonconformist bodies to an extent which it is awful to contemplate. The Cross has become an offence, even with those whose avowed mission it is to preach and proclaim Christ and him crucified.....Even in the sermons of the most noted of the Tractarian clergy, the name and work of Christ are more frequently to be found, than in the pulpit ministrations of *many Dissenting ministers* who have *acquired some reputation* among the bodies to whom they belong.....Who, then, shall wonder that there is so much coldness and lifelessness in our Dissenting churches?.....Their congregations [*i.e.*, of "semi-Neologist preachers"] are getting smaller and smaller, until *Nonconformity, as a cause, seems in danger of perishing entirely.* All is cold, heartless, cheerless." No one can regret more than myself, any case to which these representations apply. All must be "cold, heartless, cheerless," where Christ and him crucified does not form the grand theme of the ministry, and where the converting and sanctifying energies of the Holy Spirit are not constantly depended on and implored. But is this a fair statement of the condition of the Nonconformists of England? If such cases are to be found, are they not rare exceptions? Is it so, that Nonconformity itself is in danger of perishing owing to the prevalence of such errors?

I maintain, on the contrary, that the Baptist and Independent churches of England are, as they have ever been, the stanchest upholders of Evangelical Christianity. This is their very life. Kept together by no complicated ecclesiastical framework, upheld by no strong arm of political power, sustained by no national endowment—love to Christ is the secret of their vitality, and only as that love is fed by the truth and by the Spirit of God, is their existence either to be maintained or desired. It is only their intense attachment to Evangelical religion which has led some of them to give a temporary support to those against whose criticisms we feel it our

faith, thousands, who seemed to slumber, have roused themselves, and stand on the defence. This very fidelity of theirs it is which encourages me in the expectation that when the morning mists of controversy have cleared away, they will see that what they feared as an advancing foe is a faithful friend coming to warn them of a danger as destructive as the one they dreaded, but nearer home, and less suspected. Far, far distant be the day when the cold atmosphere of Negative Theology shall wrap our churches round with its freezing, deadening influence. Equally far distant be the day when the glorious beauty of Evangelical doctrine shall be destroyed by divorcement from practical holiness, when unrighteousness shall be hailed as an ally because clothed in the uniform of orthodoxy, and when Christians shall lend the least sanction to the idea that a religion of truth and love can be defended by any other weapons than those which Christ himself consecrated.

Many may say, "Why dwell so long on such trivial points when a great theological question is at issue?" I reply again, that we are *not* at issue on theology, but on morality. I plead for the same Evangelical system that you contend for. Our Protest was called for by *unrighteous criticism*, and to the evidence of this I must direct those who condemn our course. Let me, then, in conclusion, remind you, that in the preface to the tenth edition of his pamphlet, dated November 10, the Editor of the *Morning Advertiser* says, "To all the statements which the author has made, he not only still adheres, but is more and more confirmed in their truth by the lapse of every succeeding day." Consider those statements respecting "The Rivulet" —respecting the "Fifteen"—respecting the state of Nonconformist churches in general—bear in mind that to some of those statements Mr. Grant has received positive contradiction, which contradiction he suppresses while he reiterates, without proof, his charges—and can it be said that such a method of controversy, illustrating, as it does, the spirit of the criticisms which we condemned, does not justify men, jealous for the honour of the Gospel, in adhering to their protest—that "if this is suffered to pass current as a specimen of Christian reviewing, then Christian reviewing will soon become an offence unto all good men?" And yet these articles of the *Morning Advertiser* have been praised in the highest terms by the Editor of the *British Banner* and others, who, while protesting against what they say are Mr. Lynch's opinions, have had no word of protest to utter against Mr. Grant's conduct.

In my next letter I shall conclude what I have to say in defence of our maintaining the Protest. Meanwhile,

I remain, dear Sir, yours faithfully

LETTER V.

DEAR SIR,—At the risk of wearying you, I must again direct your attention to *facts*. Many persons who desire peace, but who cannot desire it more truly than myself, may regret the course I have taken. But you and others who have perseveringly demanded as the condition of peace and the restoration of confidence, the withdrawal of our Protest, are yourselves responsible for this exposition of that unrighteous conduct which justifies it. We believe that we had ample grounds for issuing it. We believe we have still more ample grounds for renewing it. We protested against an untruthful and bitter, and therefore an unchristian style of reviewing. What has followed proves that there existed greater necessity for our Protest than we supposed. In demanding its withdrawal you imply your approval and endorsement of the style of criticism which it was the main object of that Protest to denounce. I therefore hope I shall not appeal to you in vain, when I ask you to give a patient consideration to statements with which, by this demand, you seem identified. For unless you also protest against them you cannot complain if they are taken as an exponent of your own religious principles, by those who do not know your private character, and the good motives which, no doubt, prompted your questionable letter.

In my former letters I have referred to the Editor of the *Morning Advertiser*. I must now speak of the Editor of the *British Banner*. I do so with unfeigned reluctance. I once regarded him as a friend. He has long held the office of a Christian minister. He is by many years my elder. Fain would I keep silence as I have long done. But you, Sir, by your threat compel me to justify *our* conduct by referring to *his*. He himself, by the newspaper articles and pamphlets, which he has during many months been sending all over this land and our colonies, compels me to expose what I would gladly conceal. Moreover, as the conduct of the Editor of the *British Banner* cannot be dissociated from the character of the Editor of the *Christian Witness*, I feel that the credit of the entire Union is compromised, so long as the style of criticism he has adopted in his newspaper, is passed over without censure, by those who recognise him as their literary representative in the management of their magazines. But while compelled by such considerations, to refer to his conduct in this controversy, I shall endeavour to do it in a spirit of meekness, not rendering railing for railing, avoiding all harsh expressions, and stating the case as briefly as the interests of truth demand. For it is not in a spirit of bitterness, but with grief and shame, that I proceed to illustrate the manner in which one who formerly occupied such a position

1. First, then, he has praised without qualification the articles of the *Morning Advertiser*, and thus appears to adopt all their statements. He speaks of them as characterized by "a force of argument and fervour of eloquence rarely surpassed." And on page 39 of the pamphlet, "Noncomformist Theology," reprinted from the *British Banner*, he says:—"We should be guilty of a gross dereliction of duty were we to suppress our sense of the extraordinary claims of the *Morning Advertiser*, which, on a late occasion, through its prompt, fearless, and *enlightened* discussions on the subject of the New Theology, has laid the Church of God in these lands under an incalculable and a lasting debt of obligation. By the means of its *faithful* manifestoes, it has succeeded in wakening a measure of public attention to this all-important subject, from which the happiest results must necessarily ensue. This journal, in our judgment, is richly entitled to the gratitude and admiration of every section of the Church of Christ, for services such as were never before rendered by the daily press." On one point alone does the *British Banner* contradict the *Morning Advertiser*. "We hesitate not to assert that, at no period of our country's history was the Dissenting pulpit ever more thoroughly, more unequivocally Evangelical than at the present hour. *We* know 'what we say, and whereof we affirm.' Mr. Anderson, the reckless 'accuser of the brethren,' does not." How this statement is consistent with the part taken by the Editor of the *British Banner* in this controversy, is open to question. But it will be seen that while the general character of Nonconformist preaching is vindicated, it is not done in refutation of Mr. James Grant, but of Mr. Anderson. Was not the former, far more than the latter, open to the charge of being a "reckless accuser of the brethren?" Besides his wholesale charges against Noncomformists, did he not "accuse" several of the brethren by *name*? Might not the Editor of the *Banner* have vindicated them against Mr. Grant, as well as against Mr. Anderson? Did he not *know* some of those personal charges to be false? Yet, without reservation, he praises, and thus aids in diffusing a pamphlet containing those charges—although, on the fourth page of his own pamphlet, he says, "For the 'Fifteen' ministerial protesters, we entertain regards more than fraternal, while their reputation is every whit as dear to us as our own!"

2. The style of the *Banner's* own criticism was in accordance with that which it endorsed in the *Morning Advertiser*. Mr. Lynch is a Christian minister, of irreproachable character. He had not then written a word in this controversy. He had not provoked the Editor of the *Banner*. His "Rivulet," to say the very least, though charged with "Negative Theology," cannot be said to contain a word that is

and earnest piety." But the author and the book are thus referred to in the columns of the *Banner*:—"Mr. Lynch, as poet or divine, is not even at the bottom of the scale. He talks as a man who has still to learn even the first principles of the oracles of God. He appears to have the same general unevangelical notion of love as had the old heathen poets, immersed in idolatry. He is wanting alike in light, life, power, and pathos." The "Rivulet" is described as "incomparably the most unscriptural publication of the kind in the English tongue. There is in it scarcely one particle of genuine New Testament experience. It is stamped throughout by a harmonious negation touching the facts of the Gospel. Everywhere an entire absence of evangelical sentiment. Might have been written by a man who had never seen a Bible. The devils themselves may take a place among the 'Rivulet' disciples." Different passages in it are thus described:—"Drivelling doggrel." "Utter childishness is not the worst feature of these doggrel lines." "These lines give the lie to the whole teaching of the Spirit of God." "Nonsense." "Preposterous." "Worse than the quintessence of absurdity, and a perilous perversion of the Truth of God." "The foregoing verses do violence alike to reason, to Scripture, and to the experience of all sane and sanctified men; we look upon them as the very essence of absurdity." "Out upon such impious absurdity." "Preposterous similes, contradictory affirmatives, &c., and a constant though feeble stream of Nature worship—these make up the sum of the mingled muddy matter, which, like the Little Ouse, sluggishly creeps along the channel of the 'Rivulet.'" I simply ask whether such a style of criticism will be adopted by the Congregational Churches, and whether you, sir, and others who bid us withdraw our Protest against it, mean thereby to endorse it?

3. I now proceed to furnish a specimen of the evidence by which particular charges of heterodoxy are supported. In No. 98 of the "Rivulet," the state of man in the present life is compared to the chrysalis, in its dark hovel, preparing to burst forth into the light of summer skies. Then follow these lines:—

"Formed in thine earthly tenement
O man of earth, when thou shalt die,
A heavenly self shall upwards fly,
If thou art wise: then be content.

Believe in God, and soon shalt thou,
Darkly maturing in thy prison,
Follow the good, who, having risen,
Enjoy the resplendent freedom now."

The meaning seems clear enough. St. Paul says, "We that are in

immortality which awaits us, we are now in a dark prison. But believers, while in this state of comparative darkness, are maturing, or being made "meet for the inheritance of the saints in light," and will soon, like the butterfly, soar into "resplendent freedom," following those who already "inherit the promises." Yet the Editor of the *Banner*, quoting *only the last four lines of the poem*, says, "Is this, then, an enunciation of the 'Rivulet' gospel? If so, the offence of the Cross must cease. The devils themselves may take a place among the 'Rivulet' disciples! They *believe*, and their faith is of a character to produce genuine experience. *They tremble.* Not thus did Paul preach to the Philippian jailer; he was not told to 'believe in God,' and then to go on 'darkly maturing in his prison!'" Is this candid Christian reviewing? Mr. Lynch says that believers, while in the prison of the flesh are being matured for the glory of heaven; and the Editor of the *Banner* represents him as teaching, that a sinner, when he trusts in Christ, ought not to rejoice, but to remain in the prison of doubt and fear! I ask again, sir, whether you who demand that we withdraw our Protest, are prepared to sanction the style of reviewing against which it is levelled?

4. Number XXXIX of the "Rivulet" is a poem on "War," beginning thus:—

> "Lord, break the dreadful battle-bow,
> Unfold the glorious bow of peace," &c.

The peace referred to, is peace between the nations of the earth. The last verse is alone quoted by the *British Banner*—

> "Come, thou Redeemer, whom we trust;
> Come, Jesus, gentle, though severe;
> This have we learned—we must be just,
> Then thou wilt make thy peace appear."

The meaning of the writer seems evidently to be that there can be "no peace to the *wicked*;" that in Christ's dealings with men we behold the "Lion of the tribe of Judah," as well as the "Lamb of God;" the Judge as well as the Saviour; the "severity" as well as "the goodness of God,"—(Rom. xi. 22); and that he has ordained that not until nations learn to act righteously can they enjoy the blessings of living peaceably with each other. It is not peace in the soul with God, but peace on earth with men, which is the theme of the poem. But that the author does not look for even this peace without the love of Christ, is evident from the next and closing verse, which the *Banner* has *not* quoted—

> 'Saviour, when thy bright love is shed
> On earth's innumerable tears,
> Mercy's broad bow shall be outspread,
> The [illegible] of sweet millenial years."

The comment of the *Banner* is as follows: "'*Jesus, gentle, though severe!*' Does the writer defame the character of the Son of God for the sake of a rhyme, and that rhyme itself a blunder? '*We must be just,*' and then we shall have '*peace.*' Is this the Gospel of Salvation? According to Paul, 'being *justified by faith*, we have *peace* with God, through our Lord Jesus Christ."!!! Thus it is that the *British Banner* has endeavoured to prove that the "Rivulet," and by implication, the protesters, sanction the doctrine of justification by works! No, sir, we believe that a sinner can be saved only by faith in the justifying righteousness of Christ. We equally believe that "faith, if it have not works, is dead, being alone;" that a tree "is known by its fruits;" and we cannot but look with suspicion on such works and such fruits, as the criticism of which this is a sample.

5. On page 46 of the pamphlet "Negative Theology," reprinted from the *Banner*, the following is given as a quotation from Mr. Lynch: "God and devil.—We cannot wonder at the greatly wrong yet powerful contrast of God and devil, as two ever striving, *nigh co-equal powers* of good and evil, that has risen from the perplexed thought and imagining of the world. A God who does only good, and all the good he can—a devil who does only evil, that mightily, and *sometimes with advantage.*" The Editor of the *Banner* thus comments:—"I hope that the time is still far, far distant when we shall have the Old Serpent in our pulpits, elevated to a level with the Lord God Almighty, and sometimes victorious over him!" But the passage from which the quotation is made, goes on to say that the *Christian* doctrine is far higher and nobler, and that God has in Christ uttered a "voice of mercy for man, which is a voice of doom for evil; he most powerfully controls all evil influences, and will bring on after the night of sorrows a morning so glorious, that powers of heavenly vision must be prepared for an outbreak of heavenly light." And even in the sentences quoted by the *Banner*, Mr. Lynch describes as "greatly wrong" the notion which the *Banner* insinuates is taught by Mr. Lynch himself! Once more I ask if you approve, or with us protest against such reviewing?

6. I shall refer to but one other example. The Editor of the *Banner*, on page 4 of his first pamphlet, says:—"We hold that, on every ground, it behoves every public writer and every public man intermeddling with such matters, to conduct the process of inquiry as in the sight of God, and to form their opinions as men *on their solemn oath!*" He says also:—"We have read the 'Rivulet,' *deeply pondering every line and every word, from the first page to the last.*" On page 23, he says:—"Faith constitutes a chief element in all genuine hymnology; but throughout the 'Rivulet' the mere *term* occurs only *thrice.*" But what will you say of either the

veracity of the critic, when you learn that in one single poem the term occurs four times, and TWENTY-TWO times throughout the volume. This was pointed out by Mr. Lynch in a letter to Dr. Campbell, published two months ago. Yet up to the present time no apology has been given to Mr. Lynch, no retractation has been made! Can any one be surprised that after months of glaring misrepresentation, Mr. Lynch should have employed strong terms in self-vindication? In the preface to "Songs Controversial," he says:—"If the use of the term 'faith' but three times indicates Socinianism, pray what does the use of it TWENTY-TWO times indicate? At least this, that a man may bluster much about Negative Theology, and yet have nothing better to offer us than Positive Falsehood!" Surely those who condemn for its severity the sentence I have quoted are bound to condemn still more sternly the conduct to which it refers. Is such criticism "negative" or "positive" in relation to the command of God—"Thou shalt not bear false witness against thy neighbour?" And do the friends of missions at Bath, who refuse to invite to their platform those who protest against it, wish that Hottentots and Hindoos should be instructed in such morality? I feel certain of their answer.

It is against this method of conducting controversy that we maintain our Protest. I appeal to any Christian man of ordinary candour —I appeal to any gentleman of honour—I appeal to any man of the world who loves fair play, even with an enemy—whether such a style of reviewing is worthy of the praise which you, Sir, and so many others seem, by implication, to confer upon it? We protested against it at the first. We still more emphatically protest against it now. But you ask us to withdraw that Protest, and thus unite with yourself in tacitly approving the conduct condemned! Withdraw the Protest? No, Sir, not so long as we admire truth, and courtesy, and candour! Withdraw the Protest? Not so long as we remain steadfast in the "faith which worketh by love"—and if you approve of that which it was the main object of the Protest to denounce, all we can say is, that "*we* have not so learned Christ."

It is too probable that the course already pursued so diligently will be persevered in. The facts to which we refer as calling for a protest against unrighteous criticism will be passed over, and we shall be reminded of alleged deficiencies in the works of a certain author, and of strong language employed by him in self-vindication. This repeated artifice is my apology for again and again repeating that we have never protested in favour of doctrinal error, but in condemnation of practical unrighteousness. There are men among the Fifteen who yield to none in the whole Christian Church in

satisfied with the substantial orthodoxy of Mr. Lynch. But the "Rivulet" is only the *occasion* of the controversy. Independently of *that book*, the style of criticism we condemn justifies our Protest, that "if this is suffered to pass current as a specimen of Christian reviewing, then Christian reviewing will soon become an offence unto all good men." Nor must we be made responsible for more than the Protest expresses. As no one but myself is answerable for these letters of mine, so none of the "Fifteen" are responsible for the replies of Mr. Lynch. While those replies satisfactorily refute the substantial charges made against him, and breathe throughout a spirit of manly integrity, I do not hesitate to say that I sincerely regret some expressions he has employed. But these do not in the least affect the necessity for our Protest, nor change the character of those assaults of which he has been the victim. But surely any man should be judged leniently, who, after many months of such provocation, speaks in his own defence. Dr. Campbell himself shall be his apologist, for on page 5 of "Negative Theology," reprinted from the *Banner*, he says:—"Warmth, sometimes rising into vehemence, is the etherial stamp by which ingenuous nature attests its innocence. Stoical apathy, under galling wrong, is against nature. Philosophy does not demand it. Inspiration does not permit it. Surely oppression maketh a wise man mad!" Was not Mr. Lynch the victim of "oppression" and of "galling wrong?" But if he is to be censured for violence, having such facts to support his charges, consistency required that his judges should have already protested against the terms in which his assailants wrote of Mr. Lynch, his book, and his friends. At any rate, the first stone cannot be cast at him by one who could presume to speak in the following manner of a Christian minister, so long and deservedly held in high honour, as the Rev. Thomas Binney. Mr. Binney had said of those criticisms on the "Rivulet" to which I have referred:—"There have been violence, unfairness, want of candour, errors in taste, errors in criticism, an apparent determination not to see good, and always to put the worst sense on any quotation." You can judge for yourself, Sir, by the foregoing illustrations, how far this opinion is a correct one. But the Editor of the *Banner*, so commended by many who censure Mr. Lynch for violence, thus speaks of Mr. Binney:—"Anything more reckless, truthless, uncharitable, and, I might say, malicious, than the foregoing assertion concerning the Reviewers, it has seldom been my lot to read. I doubt, whether the man lives who could put more offensive, untrue, and calumnious language into a smaller space."*

* To show how such language strikes on the ears of strangers to the amenities of the *British Banner* to illustrate the fitness of Dr. Campbell to censure

With the foregoing illustrations before them, I ask the members of the Congregational Union whether they feel happy in being represented by such a writer? Would they have their character, as Christian gentlemen, inferred from such criticisms? Will they permit lookers-on to form their opinion of the morality of our literature by such a specimen? Will they present this to the world as a pattern of what a *Christian Witness* should be? Will they not rather thank those, who, by their Protest, have in some measure vindicated the character of their Churches?

But, besides the honour of our literature, our distinctive principles as Congregationalists are at stake. We value our ecclesiastical system because it secures *Liberty* along with Fraternity. But where is our vaunted freedom, if self-constituted authorities are to deal with opinions and with men in the manner I have exposed? First, one Christian brother is most unfairly held up to reproach, and then fifteen others, who in vindicating him protest against injustice, are defamed month after month by the perpetrators of that injustice, until during their silence, such an effect is produced that you, Sir, do not hesitate to publish a letter in a newspaper, intimating that such men as Mr. Binney, Mr. Samuel Martin, and Mr. Joshua Harrison are unworthy to visit Bath to plead for a great and noble institution, and that they ought to be excommunicated from all missionary platforms and pulpits, unless they comply with the demand of the wrong-doers, and withdraw their Protest! Mr. Lynch, in his published letter to the Secretaries of the Union, declares that "he would be most happy to

others for strong language, and to aid Dissenters in determining how long they wish to be represented before the world by such a writer, the following extract is given from "*Punch*:"—

"DISSENTERS AND DISSENSIONS.

"The Roman Catholic priests have long been celebrated for their proficiency in vituperation, and some of the leading clergy of the Anglican church have shown that they also know how to administer abuse at need. It is instructive to see that the Dissenting teachers are determined to assert equal rights to the endowments of Billingsgate. The Congregational Union was to have met at Cheltenham the other day, but the state of feeling among the ministers rendering so combustible a convocation dangerous, the idea was abandoned; and we read that a very distinguished schismatic, the Rev. Dr. Campbell, saw fit to publish concerning that other shining light of dissent, the Rev. Dr. Binney, 'that there was no human being in existence who could say so much that was false, scurrilous, and malicious in the same amount of space.' We have heard that the Bishop of Exeter has written to Dr. Campbell to say, that though the latter, not being a member of the Church, is of course a blinded idiot on his way to perdition, still the Bishop honours a man who endeavours to do his duty in Christian love and sincerity, and should the Doctor be near Exeter the hospitalities of the Palace are at his service. Similar invitations are *en route* from Doctors Cullen and Wiseman. *Mr. Punch* is charmed to see that the Nonconformists, who are celebrated for their laudation of civil and religious liberty, have learned to take

meet any assembly of his brother clergymen, to give them such satisfaction about his views of truth as they might wish to obtain, and he be able to afford." He might, but for principle, go further. He might say, and the Fifteen might say, let an Ecclesiastical Court be convened, before which we may meet our accusers face to face, and let the solemn judgment of our brethren be delivered on ourselves and on our cause. Better this, than that persons to whom no authority has been delegated, and who by the press can issue their anathemas, not once for all, but week by week, should be permitted by false charges to damage the reputation and usefulness of faithful ministers! Congregationalists of England, to what purpose is it that you repudiate the authority of bishops, and presbyteries, and conferences, if you are to sanction the irresponsible authority of newspapers and pamphlets, in determining, in such a manner as I have described, questions of character and of creed? For my own part, with all my love for Congregationalism, I would far sooner submit to the authority of any synod or episcopal bench, than have my character as a Christian minister determined before such a court as that of the *Morning Advertiser* or the *British Banner*. We protest in favour of Congregational liberty. We protest on behalf of our brethren. We protest especially for the protection of those who are less known than others, or who are commencing their ministerial life. Who amongst them is there that might not have his heart broken and his prospects of usefulness blighted, if some of his sermons or publications were placed upon the cruel rack of such a style of criticism? Will you not, then, be cautious how you lend your sanction to a power which might at any time turn upon yourselves to crush you; and which, where it does not strike, may, by terror, do incalculable injury to that freedom of thought, that frankness of utterance, that cordiality of brotherhood, which have hitherto been among the distinguishing features of Congregationalism?

But chiefly we protest against a Negative Religion. Yes, it is *we* who denounce Negation in Theology. The sanction given to the style of criticism we denounce, shows too plainly how greatly we are in danger of a departure from the old, Puritanical, Apostolic Christianity of our fathers. Indeed, there is need of a warning-note from the Gospel trumpet, and this is the blast which must be sounded: "Little children, let no man deceive you: he that doeth righteousness is righteous." How much in danger have Christian men proved themselves to be, of sanctioning, during controversy, unrighteous means for the sake of what seems to them a righteous end! How ample the call for Mr. Binney's faithful words: "There never was a time when it was more necessary than at present to insist on the truth—that 'the

cannot be done with the devil's weapons; that the 'fruits of the Spirit' will not be drawn forth in others, by our acting towards them under the impulses of 'the flesh;' and that the cause of truth, purity, and goodness cannot be advanced or served by falsehood and wrong." We do not simply defend ourselves from the charge of a Negative Religion. We bring that charge against others; but we bring it in love, having solely at heart the glory of our Divine Redeemer, and the good of immortal souls. We hold to the theology of Christ as exhibited by himself and his apostles, but we do *not* profess to adopt the religion of the reviewers as exhibited in their treatment of Mr. Lynch. We protest against the divorcement of Evangelical doctrine from practical righteousness. Because we love the Gospel, we will not without protest see that Gospel dishonoured by an unchristian method of advocacy. No greater injury can be done to the cause of God. Is there danger to theology? Is there reason to fear the subversion of old and tried truths by the introduction of a miserable system of negation? There is danger! Therefore I protest against a style of criticism eminently calculated to increase it! Will those who are really tending towards devious ways be convinced of their mistake by such means? Will they not be drawn further from the true path? Will they not say that a system which needs and accepts such a style of advocacy, must be too weak to last, and too worthless to deserve to last? As I said before, I believe Mr. Lynch sincerely holds the fundamental principles of Evangelical Christianity, such as the Divinity of Christ, justification by faith in his atonement, and sanctification by the Holy Ghost. But, if he did not, it would be still more necessary than it is at present to protest against what is so calculated to confirm in error, rather than to convince of truth. Instead then of asking us to withdraw the Protest, I call on all who love truth, and freedom, and justice, to aid us in maintaining—that the doctrine of atonement by the blood of Christ is not the whole Gospel, but is intimately and vitally associated with the doctrine of sanctification by the Spirit of righteousness; that a profession of the mere letter of Evangelical theory must not be substituted for the practice of Evangelical holiness; that unrighteousness does not cease to be unrighteous, but only becomes more manifestly so when employed ostensibly in the service of the truth; that a barren faith in the doctrine of justification must not usurp the place of a living, loving reliance on Christ the Justifier; and that the admission of spiritual influence into our creed must not lead us to undervalue the "fruits of the Spirit," which are "love, joy, and peace, long-suffering, gentleness, goodness, faith."

a sense of duty, been urged. I have delivered my soul, and have now done with the controversy. If inadvertently I have made any erroneous statement, I shall hasten to correct it. Otherwise, I shall pay no attention to any further censures which may be passed on me for the course I have taken. I will not again be drawn off from those practical efforts to spread the glorious Gospel of Salvation, in which I am actively and happily engaged. Whoever may blame me, I have the testimony of a good conscience. I thank God for the honour he has conferred on me in permitting me to share in the reproach of my brethren, in bearing a faithful testimony for righteousness. I have been asked if such men as Howe, and Baxter, and Bunyan, and Rowland Hill would have done as I have done. I think it most likely. But whether they would or not is of little consequence to me, so long as I can indulge the hope that Jesus has himself stood by me, and has looked with approval on this humble effort to glorify Him. From my heart forgiving any private wrong done me by those whose conduct I have been compelled, on public grounds, to censure—and desiring still to cherish love and confidence towards many, who like yourself, from partial information, but with upright intentions, condemn our conduct,

I remain, dear Sir, yours faithfully,

NEWMAN HALL.

St. John's-wood, Dec. 13, 1856.

LETTER VI.

From the Rev. James Spence, D.D., Minister of the Poultry Chapel.

Clapton Square, 20th December, 1856.

MY DEAR SIR,—I am glad to hear that Mr. Freeman intends to publish your excellent letters, along with those of Messrs. White and Harrison. Enough has been written to show the grounds of our course in the matter of the "Protest," and, I humbly believe, enough to convince the candid and the devout, that we are as jealous of the fulness and glory of the truth as it is in Jesus, as those who have harshly blamed us. Patience in this case, as in others, "will have her perfect work;" and after the storm is over, the atmosphere will be purer and clearer, so that men will see what they have been unable or unwilling to see. Alas! that even good men should seem so ready to take up an ill report. We believe most devoutly with St. Paul, that the sinner can be justified before God only through faith in the atoning work of Christ; but we

believe also with James, that a Christian is justified by works, because faith without works is dead. I fear it will be found that a forgetfulness or disregard of the *latter* truth—a lurking Antinomianism lies at the foundation of much that has been so vehemently said in defence of the "form of sound words." We humbly wish to "hold fast" that form, but we wish also to remember that "the letter killeth, the spirit giveth life." It is gratifying to find such zeal for "the truth," and had it been tempered with more love and discretion, the results to the Church and the world might have been very blessed. As it is, God can make "the wrath of man to praise Him;" and I have no doubt that the "Controversy" (as from the first it has been improperly called) will be made to redound to His glory. I am, my dear Sir,

Yours fraternally and sincerely,

The Rev. Newman Hall, LL.B. JAS. SPENCE.

LETTER VII.

From the Rev. Henry Allon to the Rev. N. Hall.

Dunorlan, Tunbridge Wells, December 19, 1856.

MY DEAR HALL,—I have just read your third letter in the *Nonconformist*. I think them all excellent. You have insisted upon the right thing, and have done it in the right spirit. You must have exercised great self-restraint, in order to repress a stronger utterance of the moral indignation which every man, having an unsophisticated moral sense, must feel at the unscrupulous manner in which statements, both of opinion and of fact, have been dealt with.

So far from withdrawing the Protest, I am more than ever disposed to justify it. I have sometimes doubted its *expediency*, and thought that it would have been better to have let the controversy take its own course—and I am not careful even yet to defend it on this ground against those who may so think—but everything that has since occurred has tended to lessen this doubt in my own mind, and I have come to regard the issue of it with satisfaction, as having revealed and, I believe, done much to discredit the unscrupulous methods of "religious" controvertists—methods that assuredly would be scorned by the secular press. As to its sentiments, I have never had a moment's doubt. It can, I am sure, be abundantly justified on the ground of Mr. Lynch's avowed belief of the great fundamental principles of Evangelical Christianity. Mainly, however, it has been with me a moral question. No dispassionate man can mistake the animus of Mr. Lynch's reviewers. Surely many of our brethren,

have permitted a morbid fear of heresy—and in this case a groundless one—to becloud their moral judgment, when they can permit such flagrant cases of garbled and perverted quotation and of mis-stated fact to pass without loud and indignant outcry. To me, this is the most melancholy aspect of the whole controversy. Yielding to no man in attachment to evangelical truths, I must very loudly, and at any risk of misrepresentation, protest against such irreligious assertion of them. I feel assured that when many of our brethren, who have rashly pronounced against Mr. Lynch without having read his books, and solely on the ground of what his reviewers have said of him, really know what he has written, they will, instead of condemning, commend those who, having read for themselves, have denounced the ignorance, incompetence, or animosity (they may take their choice) of his reviewers. Ministerial reputations may neither be falsely upholden nor falsely assailed.

I have recently looked through Mr. Lynch's books again, beginning with the "Rivulet," and have had a number of extracts made from them, and I am more and more amazed how any man honestly seeking to understand him, and giving him credit for sincerity, can doubt his orthodoxy. There are lines and stanzas constantly occurring in the "Rivulet," which, to say the least, no man morally honest could have written who did not believe in the great fundamental truths of Evangelical Christianity; and this is all that the defence of Mr. Lynch requires. Men may judge as they think fit about the fitness of the "Rivulet," or of any composition in it, for use in congregational worship; the charge against it is that it is worse than the lowest Unitarianism. Is this true, or is it not? If not, which I maintain, what are we to think of the honesty or of the competency of its reviewers.

I have been often moved to attempt what you have so well accomplished, only a reluctance to newspaper strife and treatment—perhaps a cowardly one—has restrained me. I hope that your letters will be reprinted; if they are, I should like in some way to indicate my thorough and entire endorsement of them. If your correspondent, Mr. Thompson, thinks that our silence arises from any misgivings about the opinions expressed in the Protest, or from anything else than quiet confidence in the ultimate victory of truth, he is greatly mistaken. All minor errors connected with the Protest have long been merged in its great moral questions. I am not careful to discuss the former; but I shall have much more satisfaction in the state of things amongst us when our brethren, having judged these as they will, pronounce an unequivocal judgment upon the latter.

I am, my dear Hall, very cordially yours.

LETTER VIII.

To Mr. Freeman.

Sir,—I hear that you are about to publish letters relative to the "Rivulet Controversy," which have appeared from several of "the Fifteen." I am glad to hear that their statements, so adapted to correct various misconceptions and misrepresentations which have found currency, are to be issued in a separate form. I wish to add my testimony to the rest. Most heartily do I renew my adhesion to the Protest. All that has taken place since we signed it, has only served to convince me more than ever of the magnitude of the evil against which we protested, and of the good service done by such public remonstrance. In fact, our language of repudiation should now be extended and intensified, rather than otherwise—so thoroughly bad has been the kind of criticism which has since appeared on the side of the criticism we condemned. We have come forward—and, I am persuaded, not fruitlessly—in a worthy cause. It will be seen in the issue that those are most truly the friends of evangelical truth who are most anxious that discourtesy, injustice, and oppression, should have no share in its advocacy.

I am, Sir, yours faithfully,

Robert Alfred Vaughan.

Westbourne Park, Jan. 3, 1857.

LETTER IX.

To the Rev. Newman Hall.

My Dear Friend,—I thank you very sincerely for your admirable letters on The "Rivulet Controversy." They seem to me everything in spirit and argument that could be desired. I am also glad that they are about to be published, along with others, in the form of a pamphlet. The cause of truth and fairness will be permanently served by their re-issue in this enduring shape. To show you that I have in no degree receded from my original position, as one of the Protesters, I forward to you a brief extract from a sermon which I preached a few weeks ago, and which you are at liberty to use as you may think proper. I have no thought that it will in any way benefit the side of the controversy which you and others have so ably defended, but it will show on what side I am; and where I am I mean, by the help of God, to remain.—And for this reason: I believe the struggle is not between a Negative and a Positive Theology, but between the Gospel of Jesus Christ and a human creed—a scriptural Calvinism and a restricted atonement—a high-toned morality and a

and I dare not cease to be so. Don't let us be blinded, my dear friend, by the cry of "No Negative Theology;" the real subject of dispute is other than this. Had it not been so, the cry that has been raised against us would never have been heard. It is not *we* who are the abettors of a Negative Theology, but our accusers. Our weekly pulpit ministrations and our intelligent congregations can bear ample testimony to this. But I have done. I do not mean to be drawn away from my work by anything that may be said or written by men who seem more at home in pulling down than building up. I am, my dear Hall,

Very affectionately yours,

December, 1856. JAMES FLEMING.

"The next prohibition to which the text invites our attention is *evil speaking*. And what need is there for such a prohibition, and its reiterated and earnest enforcement? How much of evil-speaking is there amongst men! Blame is more frequently upon their lips than praise, and disparagement than commendation. But that is not the worst feature of the matter—the evil is as bad as it is common. It is pregnant with mischief, and has, probably, done more to alienate hearts that were united, engender divisions and strifes, and impede the progress of spiritual religion than anything besides. How often has the fairest reputation been blighted by it—the warmest friendships destroyed, and the truest usefulness retarded! Neither society nor the church has any greater enemy than evil-speaking. You never know where it may stop. There are always thousands who are ready to take up an ill report, and give to it the widest circulation. What you speak in the closet after this fashion, is soon proclaimed from the house-top.

"Look at the instance of evil-speaking, and of evil-writing also, which is now before the public, and has been so for many months, as illustrative of what I have said and mean. I refer to the *Rivulet Controversy*, as it is anomalously called. As you are aware, I have not done so before, nor would I have done so now, were it not that it so strikingly illustrates the evil of the kind of speaking and writing which the text prohibits and condemns.

"The facts of the case, in a few words, are these:—The Rev. T. T. Lynch, whom many of you know, published, some ten months ago, a small volume of hymns. A reviewer of the book, in a morning paper, condemned the publication as utterly opposed, in spirit and teaching, to the Gospel of Jesus Christ, and charged the author with being the propagator of Deistical and Socinian doctrines. This was a serious charge to be preferred against a public teacher of Christianity; but, like all calumnies, it spread with the utmost rapidity, and grew with circulation. Fifteen ministers of this metropolis, as capable of judging of the merits of the book as the reviewer, and much better qualified to speak on the religious sentiments of the author, raised a 'Protest' against the spirit and charges of the critic. They believed Mr. Lynch to be a Christian brother and a gospel minister, and they were not prepared to stand by in silence and allow him, as one whom they so regarded, to be assailed after a manner so unjust to his character and detrimental to his usefulness, and I have ever regarded their act as a righteous and justifiable one. Their 'Protest' was a testimony to the truth, which they believed to be outraged in the person of one of its subjects. And ought not their testimony to the substantial orthodoxy of Mr. Lynch to have sufficed? It was a testimony founded (at least on the part of the greater number of the Protesters) on an intimate personal acquaintance with Mr. Lynch,

system. Ten of us have met him at a monthly ministerial meeting, for prayer and the discussion of religious topics, for upwards of two years, and have heard him express himself, unreservedly and repeatedly, on every fundamental truth of the gospel. We were qualified then, I repeat, to express a judgment on the question of his religious belief—much more so than those who have branded him as a heretic. Ought not such testimony, then, to have prevented the clamour that has since been raised and perpetuated to such a length? Two credible witnesses are deemed sufficient, in any court of law, to secure a conviction or acquittal in any matter of accusation. Then, what but satisfactory, in this case, ought to have been the testimony of fifteen Christian gentlemen, and many of them ministers of long-standing and well-deserved repute among the churches of Christ in this land? The men whom such a testimony fails to convince, when intelligently and calmly considered, are men whom nothing else will convince in the present matter of dispute. Oh, but slander is unreasonable and unbelieving. But, not to continue this train of remark: this, then, I solemnly believe, that on the great doctrines of the Inspiration and Sufficiency of the Holy Scriptures—the Fall and Depravity of Man—the Triunity of the Godhead—the Vicariousness and Efficiency of the Sacrifice of Christ—the Regenerating Agency of the Holy Ghost—the Justification of the Sinner by Faith, and the Sanctification of the Believer by the Truth—my friend is as evangelical as any man amongst us.

"At all events no uncertain sound has been heard within these walls during the past three years, and, by the help of God, none ever will so long as they echo to the voice that now addresses you. I abhor Deism as a systematised blasphemy, Socinianism as a high-armed rebellion against Jehovah in his most glorious manifestation of mercy and love to guilty men, and Rationalism as a daring impertinence; but 'the glorious gospel of the blessed God' I love and prize with increasing delight—that gospel which Jesus himself proclaimed—which Peter announced to his Jewish countrymen—which Paul published to the Gentile world—which Luther trumpeted over the plains of Germany—which Knox sounded forth among his native hills—which our Howes and Owens so elaborately defended—for which the Covenanters suffered and the martyrs bled. This, my brethren, is the gospel which I have endeavoured to preach from Sabbath to Sabbath during the years of my past ministry, and which I purpose to preach, believing, as I most earnestly do, that it alone is 'the power of God unto salvation'—the instrument of life and purification to men."

CORRESPONDENCE BETWEEN MR. JAMES GRANT, AND THE REV. EDWARD WHITE, REFERRED TO ON PAGE 30.

In the *Nonconformist*, of December 17th, a letter appeared from Mr. James Grant, challenging a quotation made by Mr. N. Hall, from a letter of Mr. Binney, respecting himself. Although Mr. Binney asserts the substantial truth of that statement, yet, as it was expressed in a manner capable of a dubious interpretation, and not with a view to publication, it has been omitted from the pamphlet. Consequently, there is no necessity for reprinting Mr. Grant's reply, nor Mr. Binney's rejoinder, which would unnecessarily extend the limits of this pamphlet. In the letter referred to, Mr. James Grant pro-

"Mr. Newman Hall represents me as having done Mr. Edward White an injustice in excluding a letter from my pamphlet, which he addressed to me, stating that he had read all my articles before signing the Protest, and which letter appeared in the *Morning Advertiser*. What will Mr. Newman Hall think, when he finds that the exclusion of Mr. White's letter from my pamphlet was in compliance with Mr. White's own wishes, he having written to me, on its appearance in the *Morning Advertiser*, that he was much annoyed at its publication at all, inasmuch as he only intended it for my own private information? So that, instead of not doing Mr. White justice in the way of publication, I have done him more justice than he wished."

To this letter, the Rev. Edward White thus replied in the *Nonconformist* of December 24th :—

"MR. GRANT AND 'MATTERS OF FACT.'

"*To the Editor of the Nonconformist.*

"Sir,—Mr. James Grant, thinking it 'right to notice two matters of fact' referred to in Mr. Newman Hall's second letter, writes thus to you last week :—'What will Mr. Newman Hall think, when he finds that the exclusion of Mr. White's letter from my pamphlet was in compliance with Mr. White's own wishes, he having written to me, *on its appearance in the Morning Advertiser*, that he was much annoyed at its publication at all, inasmuch as he only intended it for my private information. So that, instead of not doing Mr. White justice in the way of publication, I have done him more justice than he wished.'

"Mr. Grant's statement is not correct. The facts are these. In one of Mr. Grant's articles, he boasted of having received a letter from a Unitarian gentleman, throwing light on the theological character of Mr. Lynch and his friends; which letter he offered to show us if we would come and see it. Led by a laudable curiosity to study modern Church history at the sources, I went to the *Advertiser* office, where, however, there was no Mr. Grant, and no letter. It was four o'clock. Mr. Grant, I thought, ought not to have invited fifteen gentlemen, whose time was valuable, to come and see what was not visible. The letter ought to have been left out for inspection at reasonable hours. Accordingly I left my card, and wrote a short note, in which I remonstrated with him on what appeared the impropriety of his neglect. I added a postcript, in which I said, in reply to his challenge, that I had read all his pieces before signing the Protest. This note was clearly private, although not so marked: and Mr. Grant treated it as private, *for he never printed it*. I had not contemplated the public use of this postscript, any more than of the note itself, and that on principle; because, although I had read all the "Rivulet" articles, and had no objection to say so *privately* to Mr. Grant, I did not assent to his requisition that every gentleman who signed the Protest had been in duty bound to read *all* his compositions on the question, the third, fourth, and fifth being amply sufficient, or indeed any two; and I felt that by *publically* responding to Mr. Grant's challenge, I should perhaps be doing a real injustice to some of the protesters. For aught I knew, they had all read all the articles; but if they had not, they were not justly amenable to Mr. Grant's trifling censures on this head.

"However, the next day there was another article in the *Advertiser* with this footnote :—'Mr. White has written to us to say that he had read all our articles.' Struck with the unfairness of the impression hereby given, that I had written a formal letter on this subject (while Mr. Grant suppressed the main purport of my private note), I wrote a public letter to the *Advertiser* complaining of the publication of 'extracts' from private letters, and explaining the object of my visit to the office, my disappointment, and the real tenor of the note, of whose 'appear-

second letter *was* published, with an insulting comment at the end by the editor. Having been led, contrary to my intention, into publicity, I was obliged to insert in this letter a re-affirmation that I had read all the 'Rivulet' articles. It is in this second letter, of course, to which Mr. Newman Hall refers, and which Mr. Grant pleases to confound with the first private note. He knows very well that I never wrote or spoke one word to him after the appearance of this letter, much less objected to its republication in his pamphlet. On the contrary, having now publicly under my own hand a declaration that I had read all his articles, it then became an injustice in him to reprint them again and again, withholding that declaration. Yet in the pamphlet, even the foot-note is suppressed. A moment's thought must have convinced Mr. Grant that the 'annoyance' which I felt at the publication of an extract from a private note, hurriedly written, and without the proper explanations, could not be felt at the re-publication of a letter containing those explanations, and revealing the real tenor of the first communication.

"Mr. Grant thus takes advantage of my objection to his publishing a scrap of the first letter, for the purpose of excusing his withholding from the pamphlet my second letter, which *was* written for publication. Even had I intended both letters to be private, this could not excuse Mr. Grant in repeating his own charge which those letters refuted. Mr. Grant admits that he received my express denial of a charge, which he, notwithstanding, republished in edition after edition of his pamphlet, calling upon me by name to refute it if it were untrue. This is the point to which Mr. Newman Hall directs attention, and Mr. Grant's 'notice' of it is a mere evasion.

"I am, Sir, yours faithfully,

"Edward White."

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A REPLY

TO

DR. MC. KERROW'S LECTURE

ON THE

"PRINCIPLES, HISTORY, AND AIMS OF PROTESTANT NONCONFORMITY."

BY THE

REV. JAMES BARDSLEY, M.A.,

RECTOR OF ST. ANN'S, MANCHESTER.

MANCHESTER:

THOS. SOWLER AND SONS, ST. ANN'S SQUARE.

LONDON: SEELEY, JACKSON, AND HALLIDAY; AND RIVINGTONS.

REPLY, &c.

"HEAR THE OTHER SIDE." Such is the heading which heralds the delivery of nine Lectures by Dissenting Ministers in this city, in exposition of their system. The incongruity and unmeaningness of such a motto will appear, if we consider for one moment the order of the controversy unhappily raging in Manchester. Most of the Dissenting ministers of this city appear to have been *sleeping* partners of the Liberation Society from its formation, but no public meetings were held in Manchester on its behalf for a succession of years. Churchmen and Dissenters frequently co-operated together to promote the spread of Holy Scripture and other blessed and evangelistic objects, and we seemed to realise, in some measure, that state of things "when Ephraim shall not vex Judah, and Judah shall not vex Ephraim." A meeting was held on behalf of the Liberation Society in the latter part of 1858, but so anxious were Churchmen for peace, that they allowed it to pass unnoticed. A *second* meeting was held in 1859, which necessarily arrested more attention for *two* reasons. The first was that the evidence given before the House of Lords by Dr. Foster and Mr. Morley, had forced upon the public mind the ulterior object of the Liberation Society, the *secularisation* of Church Property. The *second* was, that Mr. Miall had come down to this meeting in Manchester to represent the Parent Society. Mr. Miall's advent for such a purpose was a *premeditated* insult to every Clergyman in Manchester, and a public declaration of an *internecine* war between Churchmen and Dissenters. This is strong language, but unhappily it can be more than justified. Mr. Miall, in his "Nonconformist Sketch Book" says, "the Clergy are men, who, of necessity, are *inimical* to all reform, abettors of every *abuse*, united, organised, and therefore formidable opponents of every

progressive improvement" (Page 72). "They have been invariably the *deadliest* foes of liberty,—civil and religious" (p. 74). "The education of the people owes *nothing* to them." (p. 75). Though I will take leave to say in passing, that more than 80 per cent of children receiving daily instruction are in the schools of the Church of England. Of the Church itself he asks, "Could mechanism be more *fatal* to religion?" (p. 69). Speaking of the Established Church, he says, "as a means of supporting religion, it is destitute of even the *semblance* of fitness (p. 68). "Trace the history of this or any other State Church, and almost every footstep *plashes* in the blood of men" (p. 84). He asserts "As nothing more stupidly unmeaning can be conceived, so nothing more flatly contradictory of Christianity can be devised. After having looked into this ecclesiastical cauldron into which are thrown indiscriminately,—

> Eye of newt, and toe of frog,
> Wool of bat, and tongue of dog,
> Adder's fork, and blind worm's sting,
> Lizard's leg, and owlet's wing,

one is amazed at the blindness of men who could ever have mistaken *this thing* for a Christian Church" (p. 246). I ask Dissenting laymen, whose minds are not blinded by party prejudice, and who are capable of generous sentiments and Christian feelings, if outrage can go beyond this, and if language more abusive and atrocious can possibly be selected? It is some years since Mr. Miall wrote this, but he persistently refuses to retract it. The Liberation Society, I am sorry to say, is circulating tracts in the *rural* districts equally uncharitable and abusive. Such proceedings render union between Churchmen and Dissenters all but impossible. The Apostolic injunction, "Wherefore, laying aside hypocrisies," forbids their co-operation, and were they to meet together, either for devotional exercises or evangelistic labours, it would be "an organised hypocrisy," and would constrain infidels and worldlings not to exclaim "See how these Christians love one another," but "See how they can *cant* and *cheat* one another." If, then, estrangements spring up between Churchmen and Dissenters, and co-operation be made impracticable, let it be distinctly borne in mind that for this

mournful state of things Dissenting Ministers are solely responsible. I know it has been said that they believe that the connection between Church and State is unscriptural and injurious. What, therefore, can they do? I answer, let them go on preaching the Gospel, and diffusing God's truth; and if the connection be as they say, it must as naturally come to an end as the nut, when it ripens, throws off its husk.

The formation of a Society to send out emissaries through the country, to light up the torch of discord in parishes, and to create bad blood between neighbours, must retard the consummation they desire, and not accelerate it. This is not merely my opinion, but if I recollect rightly, Dr. Vaughan, lately of this city, in one of his valuable works, most emphatically asserts the same thing, when referring to the formation of the Anti-State Church Association. Dr. Ash, of Cotham, near Bristol,—who is as distinguished for his Christian spirit, as he is for his high social position among Dissenters—strongly affirms the same opinion, in his pamphlet entitled "Thoughts on the State Church Question, Voluntary Principle, and Liberation Society," which I would respectfully recommend to Dissenting laymen, as he is one of themselves. He says, "That the position of the question at issue between the State Church and Voluntary systems, is not such as to *call for*, or even *justify* an organised association of Christian men (especially of *such as are unconnected* with the national Churches), *for the attainment of the objects just specified; and that* any practical good which the Liberation Society has already effected (or is likely hereafter to effect), would have been (or may be) *as well or even better attained apart from them*" (p. 16). He avers that "it tends to strengthen the very system it was formed to subvert." "Many things combine to show that the Established Church has, at the present moment, a stronger hold on the country generally, than it had twenty or thirty years ago, when Dissenters began to take up that more decidedly aggressive position in regard to its State connection and endowments, of which the Liberation Society afterwards became a prominent result. Other causes have no doubt contributed to the change: but has not this

been one of them? Has it had not the *natural* effect both of stimulating the efforts of earnest Churchmen, and of calling forth among less interested observers, those sympathies which one of the nobler traits of our national character is so often seen to enlist on the side of an *assailed party, and against the assailants?*" (p. 22.) It will be seen that Dr. Ash calls the supporters of the Liberation Society the assailants. If this be generally so, it is especially the case in Manchester, where all parties were working together so amicably, and where there had been no meeting of the Society for some years. Churchmen were slow to accept the challenge thrown down, and were most reluctant to enter into the field of conflict; but now they have done so, they will, I doubt not, bear themselves bravely. They have already dealt out a lusty blow, and with what effect the feeble wail of the opposite party, "Hear the other side," is a tolerable proof. "Hear the other side," they say, as though they had been *assailed*, and were not the *assailants*; as though the *Liberation Society was not older than the Church Defence Committee;* reminding one irresistably, of a certain individual, who being detected in the act of pilfering his neighbour's goods, makes off, raising the well-known cry, to create a diversion in his favour. The attitude of the Church towards Dissent is precisely like that of this country towards a neighbouring state, longing for peace, but prepared for war. Our motto is "Defence, not defiance." Three of the Lectures which were threatened to be so formidable, have come off, and if the Dissenting laity are satisfied with them, I am sure that Churchmen have every reason to be so. It is my intention, very briefly, to examine Dr. Mc. Kerrow's Lecture. We have already had one passage of arms, and I hope the recollection of it is not unpleasant to him. I shall only select a few points for examination, for it is so studded with historical inaccuracies, false analogies, and unscriptural arguments, that it would require a volume adequately to expose it. In page 12, Dr. Mc. Kerrow says, "Multitudes flocked to hear old Miles Coverdale, who with Rogers had assisted Tyndal in making the first English translation of the whole Bible; Wickliffe having only before produced the *New*

Testament, in the old Anglo-Saxon tongue." I heard when I was a schoolboy, that John Wickliffe translated both the *Old* and New Testaments in the Anglo-Saxon tongue, and all my subsequent reading has confirmed the same opinion. If Dr. Mc. Kerrow will consult "Anderson's Annals of the English Bible," who was his own countryman, or "Dr. Vaughan's Life of Wickliffe," our late respected townsman, he will find that he is entirely mistaken. It is a great pity that some one of the great number of Dissenting ministers who must have heard him, should not have been prepared to correct this misstatement. I adduce this as a proof to show that in more trades than one a great business may be done with a small capital.

In page 10, Dr. Mc. Kerrow states, "In the short reign of Edward, the New Church received something like a definite constitution *and was brought under Episcopal government.*" I assure the reader I have neither tampered with this passage nor wrenched it from its connection. I certainly did not know till informed by Dr. Mc. Kerrow, that "Episcopal government" was brought into this country for the first time in the reign of Edward VI. All Church histories which I have read go upon the principle that this was the form of government always existing in this country from the earliest times, and it would be as easy to show a succession of bishops in some of the sees in this kingdom, as a succession of monarchs to our throne. It looks as though Dr. Mc. Kerrow had made a Church history for himself. He perpetrates many other misstatements quite as palpable, and I am sorry to add more pernicious.

In page 8, Dr. Mc. Kerrow gives us to understand that "the Apostles and primitive Christians were Nonconformists in reference to the established systems of Judaism and Heathenism." I wish Dr. Mc. Kerrow had given us some proof that the Apostles were Nonconformists from the Established Church of Judea. There does not occur to my mind a trace, or tittle of evidence to support his *bare* assertion. The Apostles always worshipped in the Temple when at Jerusalem, and in whatever city they sojourned they worshipped in the synagogue; and if the Jews had received Jesus as their Messiah, as

they were exhorted to do, and as it was their duty to do, from anything that appears to the contrary the Jewish Sanhedrim would have become a Christian Synod, and the Established Church of the Jews would have remained to this day. If there be one truth to my mind more patent than another upon the face of the new Testament, it is the reverse of Dr. Mc. Kerrow's statement.

In page 6, wishing to get rid of the argument from the Old Testament in favour of Church Establishments, without answering it, Dr. Mc. Kerrow asserts, "The nature of his religion, and the laws of his kingdom, we find in his own statute book of the Gospels and the Epistles, and it seems to us to be very absurd to go to Exodus or Leviticus for a supplement to them, a supplement which is, after all, contrary to their very nature." No person with a particle of reverence for Holy Scripture can read this passage without the deepest commiseration. God help a congregation placed under such teaching as this, which tells them that the Gospels and Epistles are the statute book of Christ, in direct opposition to an inspired Apostle who calls both the Old and New Testament "The word of Christ." I sincerely hope that Dr. Mc. Kerrow's sermons are sounder than his lectures, and that he does not disparage Holy Scripture on the Sabbath in his chapel, as he does on the week day in the Mechanics' Hall. My object, however, in referring to the passage in question, is to point out the palpable misstatement which it contains. Dr. Mc. Kerrow, it seems, reads his Bible backwards, and if the expression is not below the subject, I should say he "puts the cart before the horse." He says that Exodus and Leviticus are the *supplement* to the Gospels and Epistles, whereas I should have thought the Gospels and Epistles were the *supplement* to Exodus and Leviticus. I can quite understand light at 12 o'clock at noon supplementing the light of the early dawn, but I cannot understand the light of the early morning, supplementing the light of mid-day. The truth is the whole passage is founded on an entire misconception of the relationship which exists between the Old and New Testaments, and ignores the Apostle's assertion that the Gospel was preached to the Old Testament Saints as well as ourselves, and that the blessing of Abraham is come upon the Gentiles through Jesus Christ.

On page 9, Dr. Mc. Kerrow gives us an elaborate and glowing description of the triumphs of the Gospel in primitive times. He says, "So widely had it spread, and so powerful was its influence, notwithstanding all the difficulties with which it had to contend, that in the beginning of the 4th century of its history, the Emperor Constantine, not with the faith and love of the true Christian, but rather with the ambition of a monarch, and the craft of the politician, took it under his royal patronage, and gave it the help of his legislative power. Alas for the day when the imperial purple was thrown around the simple garb of the fisherman and tent maker! *From that time* the *purity of Christian principle began to be corrupted, its strength to be weakened, and its glory to be tarnished. From that time* the ministers of the lowly Jesus hastened to be sycophants, hirelings, and despots. *From that time,* the once free and advancing step of the Gospel was fettered, and the majesty of its mien, hitherto reflecting the light of the eternal world, was exchanged for the sordid look that turned to the golden dust of the earth. *From that time the shadows are seen to gather and deepen,* which ere long spread themselves as a death-pall, and cover the wide extent of benighted christendom, during the long dark ages of her degraded history." I give the whole passage, because Dr. Mc. Kerrow intends it as a piece of fine writing. But while I willingly admit this, candour constrains me to say that it has *one slight defect*; it is not only *devoid* of truth, but directly in the teeth of it. It is like one of those shining bubbles blown by children, which glisten in the sun, but when you touch it, it instantly explodes, and resolves itself into a particle of moisture. Does Dr. Mc. Kerrow know that all corruptions of principle, unsoundness of doctrine, impurities of practice, and sycophancy and self-seeking in ministers, do not date from the conversion of Constantine the Great? Does he know that the Church before that period was torn by the most *grievous* divisions, and infected with the most *deadly* heresies? Does he know that many of the anti-Nicene fathers, not excluding Tertullian, Origen, and Cyprian, gave the most ridiculous interpretations of scripture, and entertained opinions which he himself would regard with the greatest apprehension?

Does he know that almost the first important duty that the Emperor Constantine performed as a Christian man, was to preside at the council of Nice, which drew up the Nicene creed, to correct the deadly heresy of Socinianism, which had deeply eaten into the vital of the Church? Does he know that an authority, no less than Guizot declares, in his second lecture "On European Civilization," that the connection of the Church with the State saved Christianity itself from extinction? Now, if Dr. Mc. Kerrow did not know these simple facts in Church history, we have, at least, a right to expect that he should be familiar with the elementary teachings of the New Testament. When, therefore, Dr. Mc. Kerrow points out the *commencement* of the *fourth* century, as the *origin* of all impurity, corruption, and mal-administration, had he ever pondered upon our Lord's parable, of the tares and the wheat, which shows that both were sown *contemporaneously*, and should grow together until the time of harvest? Had he ever reflected upon the Apostle's statement that the "mystery of iniquity doth already work," teaching us that the lifetime of the great foretold Apostacy should span the whole period between the days of the Apostle, and the second coming of our Lord Jesus Christ? Had he ever reflected upon the flagitious state of the Church at Corinth, as exhibited in New Testament history, showing the great mass of its members, guilty of the wildest disorders, and many of them denying fundamental doctrines? Had he ever pondered upon our Lord's direct message to the seven Churches of Asia, accusing them of just precisely those things which Dr. Mc. Kerrow attributes to the connection of Church and State after the time of Constantine, and for which our Lord threatens to remove their candlestick? If I did not know Dr. Mc. Kerrow, I should have said that he had written the whole passage in utter defiance of Church history, and in studied disregard of Holy Scripture. This, however, I will say—if Dr. Mc. Kerrow had been thinking more of *things* than of *words*—more of masculine *sentiments*, than of fine *sentences*, he never could have perpetrated and paraded such a piece of sheer *verbiage*.

I shall now confine my remaining observations mainly to two

points, which Dr. Mc. Kerrow has made somewhat conspicuous in his lecture, and which I am glad of an opportunity of bringing before the public.

The *first* is the origin of the Church of England. Dr. Mc. Kerrow, five or six times over in his lecture, dates the Church of England from the Reformation. I need not give the quotations, because this is a point in which he glories, and clings to with desperate tenacity. Speaking of the state of Nonconformity in the reign of Henry VIII, he says, "Almost all the old Nonconformists rejected merely the Popish errors and superstitions, dress and usages, which were retained in the Church, to which the *name of the Church of England was given.*" Now, if this mean anything, it means that the name of the Church of England was first given to it at the Reformation. And in order that Dr. Mc. Kerrow may be neither misunderstood nor misrepresented, I refer to the 26th page, where he makes a distinction between the Roman Catholic Church in this country before the Reformation, and the Protestant Church of England after.

Here then, the issue is plainly stated so that a little child can understand it. This is not a matter of *opinion* between Dr. Mc. Kerrow and myself, but a matter of *fact:* not what Dr. Mc. Kerrow asserts and Mr. Bardsley denies, but what *history* teaches. I should have thought that if there be one truth that would have been more familiar to the mind of Dr. Mc. Kerrow than another, it would have been this, that in all our great *national* documents for hundreds of years *before* the Reformation, the Church of this country is never called the *Church of Rome*, but invariably *the Church of England.* Magna Charta is justly regarded as the palladium of English liberty, and the very first clause of it contains a complete disproof of Dr. Mc. Kerrow's statement:—"That *the Church of England* shall be free, and have her whole rights, and her liberties inviolable; and we will have them so observed, that it may appear thence that the freedom of elections, which is reckoned chief and indispensable to the *English Church*, and which we granted and confirmed by our *Church*, and obtained the confirmation of the same from our Lord the Pope Innocent III., before the discord between us and our barons, was

granted of mere free will; which charter we shall observe, and we do will it to be faithfully observed by our heirs for ever."

Here we see in this national document, the Church at that time is twice called the Church of England, and the English Church. On the confirmation of this charter, in the reign of Henry III., the same article is given without even a reference to the pope at all. In "the statute of Rovisors," passed in the 25th year of Henry the Third's reign, there will be found to be the most clear and conclusive evidence of the same kind. The design of that statute was to forbid the pope interfering either in the nomination of bishops, or the appointments of clergymen to livings, and to defend the regality of the crown, and the integrity of the Church, from his impudent and unwarrantable encroachments. If Dr. Mc. Kerrow will give himself the trouble to go to any law library, and ask to be permited to see that statute, he will see that the Church of this country, is called "the Holy Church of England" *four times over*, while the pope is simply styled the bishop of Rome. In the statutes of "mortmain," in the reign of Richard II., in 1389, and of "præmunire," in 1391-2, he will see the same thing repeatedly done, and he will find that those acts are as strongly expressed against the usurpations of the bishops of Rome, with respect both to the prerogatives of the crown, and the privileges of the Church of England, as Lord John Russell's bill against the Papal Aggression, in 1852. This settles the case, as a matter of *fact*, and utterly demolishes Dr. Mc. Kerrow's oft repeated assertion, that the Church was only called the Church of England since the Reformation. Dr. Mc. Kerrow will be aware that the first statute passed by Henry VIII., in 1532, was enacted "to restore to the crown its ancient jurisdiction." The monarchy of England had been invaded by the bishop of Rome, as well as its Church, and the State was in a position of vassalage, as well as her ecclesiastical institutions. It will be seen that in Magna Charta, though a political and legal document, there is a reference to the approbation of the pope. But when the usurpation of the bishop of Rome over the English monarchy was rejected, in the 16th century, it was not a *new monarchy*. When the tyranny which he had exercised over the

State was thrown off, it was not a *new State;* and so when the encroachments which he had stealthily made upon the rights and independence of the English Church were authoritatively rejected by her sons, it was not a *new* Church formed, but an *old* Church reformed; not a new religion invented, but an old religion purified. If a field, when weeded, is not a new field; a house, when repaired, not a new house; a river, when purified, not a new river; so a Church, when reformed by her own rulers, is not a new Church. The meaning of the word Reformation itself teaches this, for a thing must first be *formed* before it can be *reformed.* When Dr. Mc. Kerrow says, as he does in page 19, that "the Church of England was founded by the licentious Henry VIII.," it is a statement which we might expect from some poor Romanist, who knows nothing but what his priest has told him; but not from a Protestant minister of age and standing. Henry VIII. neither commenced, nor carried on to any appreciable extent the Reformation. Wickliffe, as everyone knows, "was the morning star of the Reformation." Such was the effect of his labours, that an historian of his age declares that, "If three persons were found talking together, two of them were sure to be Lollards." It was because the principles he had enunciated, so largely permeated the public mind, that they spread with such rapidity in the sixteenth century. As for Henry, he only broke with the pope for his own lustful purpose, and had he lived long enough, might have made a strong effort to rejoin him. The year after his marriage with Anne Boleyn, he both applied for and obtained a bull from the pope to sanction Cranmer's appointment to Canterbury; and, whatever little improvements he afterwards conceded, they were wrung from him by the saintly and simple-hearted archbishop. Not a single doctrinal error was renounced: transubstantiation, the mass, the invocation of saints, auricular confession, the seven sacraments, purgatory, communion in one kind, and all other popish superstitions, were in full force, and the heaviest penalties denounced against those who should deny them, in the "Six Articles Act," in 1536. In confirmation of all this, I can quote an authority to which Dr. Mc. Kerrow will not object. He

himself says in p. 10, "During the reign of Henry, but little change of doctrine and ceremony was permitted," for "he consigned to the flames—Protestants who objected to any, either of his theological dogmas or ceremonial observances." The Church of England, then, Dr. Mc. Kerrow himself being witness, was not founded by Henry VIII.; for surely it is *doctrine* which constitutes the *essence* of a Church, not *form* of government, whether Papal, Episcopal, Presbyterian, or Congregational. If Dr. Mc. Kerrow deny this, he renounces his own principles, and goes beyond Archbishop Laud, so that, as it was once asked, "Is Saul also amongst the prophets?" we shall have to inquire, "Is Dr. Mc. Kerrow amongst the Tractarians?" If then, the Church of England was founded at the Reformation, it could not have been in "the reign of the licentious Henry VIII.," but must have been in the reign of him whom Dr. Mc. Kerrow calls "the youthful, pious Edward VI." But it is an outrage upon history, analogy, and common sense, to assert that it was founded in the reigns of either one or the other. It is time that such stale, wornout common places as these, should be discarded from this controversy, and that the teachings of history and the truths of our common Protestantism, should be allowed to assert their sway. If Dr.Mc. Kerrow take notice of this, it is clearly expected from him that he will show, from important *national* documents, that the Church in this country before the Reformation, is designated the Church of Rome, and to disprove the overwhelming evidence, which I have adduced to show that it is called the Church of England before the same period.

As Dr. Mc. Kerrow makes Church property somewhat prominent in his lecture, I turn with pleasure to that subject, because it affords an opportunity of dispelling the delusion on the public mind, which Dissenting ministers have laboured so industriously to create. I have before me the opinions of five Dissenting ministers, giving the dates when the State granted tithes to the Church, every one of them different; and if Dr. Mc. Kerrow had got down from his stilts, and given us plain facts and details, I have no doubt he would have made the half-dozen, all contradicting each other. The truth is, they

all adduce Acts which had been passed from time to time to *regulate* the payment of tithes, but not one of them so much as alludes to their *origin*. Strange that Dissenting ministers refer with such facility to the times when Church endowments were originally given, when no less authority than Chief Justice Blackstone says, "We cannot precisely ascertain the time when tithes were first introduced into this country." He does, however, inform us how they arose, that lords of manors, "As Christianity spread itself, began to *build churches* upon their own demesnes or wastes, to accommodate their attendants on one or two adjoining lordships, and in order to have divine service regularly performed therein, *obliged all their tenants to appropriate their tithes to the maintenance of the one officiating minister*, instead of leaving them at liberty to distribute them among the clergy of the diocese in general, and this tract of land, the tithes thereof were so appropriated, formed a distinct parish." (Blackstone, Com., vol. i., p. 114.) This passage in the clearest manner explains the origin of parishes, and accounts at once for their capricious boundaries and unequal sizes, which remain to this day. Ethelstan, one of the Anglo-Saxon kings, encouraged this *voluntary contribution* of tithe by granting the rank of thane, or lord, to such *proprietors as provided churches for their serfs*. (Soames' Anglo-Saxon Church, p. 104.) The proof of this is seen to this day in the fact that the presentations of so many livings are in the hands of *private* individuals. "The Act of Provisors," to which I have before referred, passed in the 14th century, was enacted expressly to defend the descendants of these proprietors in the exercise of their rights, in opposition to the encroachments of the pope. These simple considerations will carry conviction to every unbiased mind respecting the *voluntary* nature of ancient church endowments. It will, however, be interesting to give the statement of two distinguished Dissenters, who are entitled to be heard on this subject. Toulmin Smith, Esq., whose legal acquirements are inferior to none, says, "So far is the State at present from supporting the Church, *that every parish church in England was founded not by the State, but by individual donation in ages past*, while the parson's income is entirely derived partly from

similar sources, and partly from a charge which has been attached like any rent-charge to the ownership of certain classes of property for centuries." ("True Points at Issue," p. 5.) Mr. Horace Mann, whom the Dissenters laud to the skies when he says anything in their favour, declares that "Upon the erection of a church, or the foundation of a religious establishment, it became the custom, probably in imitation of a practice which appears to have prevailed nearly in every age and every country in the world, for the founder to devote the tenth of all his property to purposes of religion and charity. Tithes thus appear to have had their origin *in voluntary payments*, and as such they were doubtless very generally rendered in the early periods of Anglo-Saxon rule, when the payment was considered applicable both to the provision for religious worship, and for relief of the poor" (p. 4, "Religious Census Worship"). Evidence to the same effect might be adduced to fill a volume; but surely this ought to be sufficient to check the flippancy with which persons like Mr. James Sidebottam blindly re-echoing the statements of men like Dr. Mc. Kerrow, assert that this property was originally given by the State. Dr. Mc. Kerrow (in p. 26) asserts that this property "was left under the influence of Roman Catholic principles, for Roman Catholic uses." If Dr. Mc. Kerrow then believe his own statement, what a monstrous injustice for him to advocate that this property should be taken to pay off the national debt, to relieve his own taxation. If it was bequeathed by Roman Catholics, and for Roman Catholic uses, in the name of all that is sacred and just, let it be given back to them, and do not propose to commit *sacrilege* as well as *spoliation*.

One of old exclaimed, "O that my enemy had written a book!" Dr. Mc. Kerrow has not written a book, but, happily for the sake of truth, he wrote a letter last year, in which he asserts that the property in question is "*a patrimony which was left more than a thousand years;*" and therefore this makes it not so much a matter of *argument* as matter of *arithmetic between us*. "*More* than a thousand years" will bring us back to the eighth or ninth century, the time in which it is universally admitted

the parochial system was in *general* operation. Purgatory, which is a leading dogma of the Papal system, was adopted at the Council of Florence in 1437, *six hundred years after this property was bequeathed.* Transubstantiation, which may be regarded as the very heart of the system, was adopted at the great Lateran Council in 1215, *four hundred years* after the period to which he refers; and therefore how this accords with his distinct and deliberate statement, that it was left "under the influence of Roman Catholic principles, and for Roman Catholic uses," I leave the public to determine. That property was left during the ascendancy of superstition in this country, there can be no doubt; but just as the castles of the kingdom date from the reign of Stephen, so the monastic institutions of this country mainly took their rise after the reign of Henry II., and that was the property which Henry VIII. seized, and bestowed upon his unprincipled favourites. One stands amazed that Dr. Mc. Kerrow should again repeat that Church property "was transferred from the Roman Catholic Church to the Protestant Church of England."* If he will give his mind fair play, a moment's reflection will convince him that he asserts an impossibility. The population of this country *before* the Reformation was four millions, and *after* the Reformation it was *four* millions. What became then of the four millions of Papists? and where did the four millions of Protestants spring from? The fact is, that the property never changed hands; it remained with the same persons, and was used for the same purposes. The same persons who had been hoodwinked and coerced by the pope for some time, cast off his usurpation, asserted their original independence, and returned to their original purity. So that it is as notorious as the sun at noon-day that this property remained in the same hands, and is now used for the sustentation of *essentially* the same religious system for which it was bequeathed. Dr. Mc. Kerrow perpetually bewilders himself and his readers, by representing the Reformation as the act of a day, or year, whereas it extended over a period of

* See the Rev. T. T. Eager's little Pamphlet, "Church Property," which deserves to be in the hands of every one.

thirty years, and was *canonically* conducted by "the authorities of the English Church"—the whole body of the people conforming to it, until the pope's bull in the 10th Elizabeth, when only 80 clergymen out of 9,000 obeyed the pope's summons, and formed the inconsiderable sect of English Romanists existing to this day. So that to speak of Church property being "transferred from the Roman Catholic Church to the Protestant Church of England," is the veriest fiction that was ever sought to be imposed upon human credulity. But even supposing, for the sake of argument, that this property was originally given by Roman Catholics, it has been in the hands of the Protestant Church for 300 years; and why are Dissenters to be guaranteed in the possession of their endowments by an act of parliament, if they have even possessed them for 25 years, and yet, a different measure of treatment to be meted out to the Church of England? It will be a very interesting inquiry some day, perhaps, to discuss that question. In the meantime it will afford us some little amusement to see the two instances of legislation which Dr. Mc. Kerrow adduces to justify the secularisation of Church property. The first is the "Tithe Commutation Act" (p. 27). Dr. Mc. Kerrow is peculiarly unfortunate in his analogies. Every one will remember how he justified the transfer of his chapel from Lloyd street to Brunswick street, by saying that Canon M'Grath had gone from St. Ann's to St. Paul's, and Canon Stowell from St. Stephen's to Christ Church. Everybody chuckled at the statement at first sight, at the falseness of the analogy, except our Dissenting friends, and therefore I need not stay to point it out. The same thing is just as self-evident in his adduction of the "Tithe Commutation Act," to justify the confiscation of Church property to secular uses. The Act is intended to do just the very opposite for which Dr. Mc. Kerrow quotes it, namely, *to guarantee the clergy in the possession of their rights without being exposed to annoyance.* The fact is, Dr. Mc. Kerrow will not discriminate between things that differ, and therefore in this case he overlooks the *slight* difference between the *owner* of property and the *trustee.* The next analogy which he gives to justify the secularisation of Church property is one which I will

venture to say no one would even guess who has not read his lecture. I will state the case in his own words. "Have we not practical evidence of the power of the State over these Church revenues in the Tithe Commutation Act, and of the asserted right of the House of Commons *even to secularise them and apply them to unsectarian uses in the motion which was passed regarding the appropriation of a portion of the Irish Bishops?*" Now, if Dr. Mc. Kerrow will make the inquiry from the first Irishman he meets of the least respectability, he will tell him that the salaries which accrue from the extinction of Irish bishops form a fund to *sustain the fabrics of the churches, and to defray the incidental expenses of divine worship.*

I will not at present expose more of the palpable historical blunders with which Dr. Mc. Kerrow's lecture abounds; but I have a friendly proposition to make to him. Dr. Mc. Kerrow asserts that the ancient parochial property of the Church was originally *given* by the *State*, and I deny this. This does not look well, and I therefore wish to bring it to an issue. I will give Dr. Mc. Kerrow, poor as I am, £20. to give to the Infirmary, if he will find out the act by which this property was given to the Church by the State; the act to be submitted to four lawyers, each of us nominating two, and then they choosing their own president; and if three out of the five specify the act and say it says this, I place the money at the disposal of Dr. Mc. Kerrow. I do not propose this by way of bravado, but because the public are interested in the question, and it will bring it to an issue.

I have extended these remarks to a greater length than I first intended, and I have therefore only left myself room to say, I regret very much to see Dr. Mc. Kerrow's lecture disfigured by such sentences as "numerous careless ungodly ministers, who have entered the priests' office, not to perform duties, but to enjoy livings." "Men without piety and adaptation—who enter an office which they have purchased as a mere article of merchandise." I am afraid that we have such men amongst us, but they are, thank God, becoming fewer every day, and the Church is increasing *in efficiency* and *spirituality* continually, the best Nonconformists themselves being

judges. I wish I could say that Dissenters were much better than ourselves in this respect ; but alas! it is not so. John Angell James, Edward Miall, the *Eclectic Review*, and a host of other Dissenting publications being witness. When will Dr. Mc. Kerrow and his brethren learn that it is not *safe*, or *just*, for them to be always pointing out the abuses of the Church? It is very true ours is a "Defence Committee," but we can not only defend ourselves but punish our assailants. Congregationalism has a *fictitious* reputation, and owes much in public estimation to our forbearance. It is the most untenable system in existence, and, if its own friends are to be believed, is rotten at the core. There are no clergymen who know it but must thank God they have nothing to do with it. Still we wish to be better employed than to expose it. Only we do give notice that forbearance has its limits, and we shall deeply regret if we are obliged in self-defence to carry the war into the borders of our opponents. We shall deem ourselves much better employed if we are permitted to labour to make known "the common salvation" to the teeming, neglected population of our city, if we are quietly permitted to hold on our way.

THOS. SOWLER AND SONS, PRINTERS, MANCHESTER.

THE

REVIEWER REVIEWED:

AN ANSWER

TO THE

REV. DR. Mc. KERROW,

BY

THE REV. JAMES BARDSLEY, M.A.,

RECTOR OF ST. ANN'S.

MANCHESTER:

PRINTED BY THOS. SOWLER AND SONS, ST. ANN'S SQUARE.

THE REVIEWER REVIEWED.

Bishop Burnet sagely remarks, when involved in the controversies of his day, "Whatever moderation or charity we owe to men's *persons*, we owe none at all to their *errors*, and to that frame which is built on and supported by them." My reply to Dr. Mc. Kerrow's lecture was penned in the spirit of this remark. I used great plainness of speech, because my pamphlet was intended for the great mass of the people. I wrote earnestly and strongly, but I can truly say without a grain of "malignity." I dealt freely, perhaps too freely, with Dr. Mc. Kerrow's opinions and utterances, but there is not, I confidently affirm, one vituperative epithet or abusive word applied to him *personally* from the commencement to its close. I venture to assert that, had the facts been less telling and the arguments less cogent, there would not have been the least complaint on this ground. There is, therefore, nothing scarcely to palliate, much less to justify, the torrent of abuse which he has poured upon me. When he charges me with "paltry quibbles," "mean misrepresentations," "malicious perversions," and other still more objectionable forms of expression with which I will not stain my pages, I meet his grave accusations with a direct and unqualified denial. My object throughout this controversy, I can conscientiously say, has been *truth* not *triumph*, not to defeat a *man* but to defend the cause of *God*. I shall, therefore, decline to descend with Dr. Mc. Kerrow into the arena of personal strife, and refuse to desecrate a sacred cause by entering into a personal squabble. In this kind of warfare I own myself completely vanquished, and yield up the palm to him to wear undisputed.

Having made these personal explanations, which ought never to have been necessary, I proceed now to discuss dispassionately those great topics which are at issue between us. I begin with that which is most important, where I affirm that his expressions tend to disparage and depreciate the Old Testament. I may be mistaken, but I claim credit for deep personal sincerity. If any one will consult the first page of my lecture on the "Scriptural Connection of Church and State," he will there see that I distinctly express the same views respecting the Old Testament Scriptures; and therefore I need not say my remarks could not arise from any personal feeling towards Dr. Mc. Kerrow.

He had said, "The nature of Christ's religion and the laws of His kingdom we find in His own statute book of the Gospels and Epistles." From the deepest and firmest convictions of my soul I join issue with this declaration. I believe that the Gospels and Epistles are not *alone* the statute book of Christ. The Old Testament, as well as the New, teaches the nature of His religion. There is an interdependence between them, and they form the integral parts of the same grand whole. This view is strikingly confirmed by Dr. Tholuck, whose opinions will exact deference from persons on both sides of the question. He says:—"I am bound to confess that the farther my studies have extended, the more clearly have I seen that the religion of the Old Testament and the Gospel constitute one revelation, and the more deeply impressed am I with the loftiness and depth of the Jewish economy." Dr. Mc. Kerrow, in his letter to me, repeats his statement in a still more *dangerous* form. He says:—"I recognise the whole Bible to be the revelation of the will of God; but I look to the Old Testament, that I may discover the nature and peculiarities of the *ritual* of Moses, and to the New, that I may learn the *doctrines* of Christ regarding the new and spiritual constitution of His Church." St. Paul looked to the Old Testament to learn something more than the ritual of Moses, and tells us that it was even "*profitable for doctrine and instruction in righteousness.*" Our Lord sends us to the Old Testament Scriptures, not because they contain *ritualism*, but because they testify of Him. There is not one doctrine that relates either to Christ or to His kingdom that is not stated in the Old Testament with absolute certainty: the Deity of Christ, the innate corruption of man, the nature of atonement, justification by faith, regeneration by the Holy Ghost, and the real character of true believers. And if doctrines and duties are rendered clearer in the New Testament than the Old, it is because they mutually explain each other. The only difference between believers under the old and new dispensations is this:—They looked to a Saviour that was *concealed*—we to a Saviour that is *revealed;* they to a Saviour that *was* to come—we to a Saviour that *has* come. The light at noon-day is not different from the light of the early morning; it differs only in *degree;* not in *kind.*

When Dr. Mc. Kerrow gives us to understand that we are only to go to the New Testament to discuss matters which relate "to the new and spiritual constitution of His Church," I have only to remind him that he flatly contradicts the invariable practice of St. Paul, who appeals to the Old Testament when referring to the Christian ministry, the mode of its maintenance, the administration of the Lord's Supper, and both to the mode and objects of Baptism. As Dr. Mc. Kerrow has forgotten more than I ever learnt (as he so modestly declares), I must conclude that this is one of the many subjects he has forgotten. Were he himself to discuss with Mr.

Williams, of Accrington, the subject of Infant Baptism, which is a *New Testament ordinance*, he would abandon his own favourite principle, and rightly call in the aid of the Old Testament to confirm him in his views. I wrote *then* strongly upon this point, because I am deeply convinced that the remarks of Dr. Mc. Kerrow, and those who act with him, contain the *germ* of a deadly mischief. They have such a horror of Church Establishments, that they are led, unconsciously to themselves, to make unguarded remarks about the Old Testament, which are calculated to depreciate it in popular estimation, and which I fear are preparing the way for the introduction amongst us of a subtle and plausible scepticism. This is my deep-rooted conviction, and I am bound as an honest man, according to the principles of Dr. Mc. Kerrow, to give it utterance. He appeals to individual responsibility alone to determine what is truth. I take then, his own ground, and illustrate his own principles. "I believed, and therefore have I spoken."

It may be as well here to answer the question Dr. Mc. Kerrow asked me, "why I replied to him, and not to Mr. Thompson?" There were many reasons quite sufficient to guide me in the discharge of a public duty; but it is only now necessary to say that the sole reason why I did not reply to it was, because I considered that both in manner and matter, temper and talent, it did not deserve it. I know that it was announced with a great flourish of trumpets, as an answer to my lecture; but its main features are not even alluded to. I attached great importance to the fact that Jehoshaphat, Josiah, and other pious kings, did much, *without any divine warrant*, to propagate true religion. This is not even alluded to. I attached the greatest importance to the difference between the temple service at *Jerusalem*, which was *typical*, and the synagogue worship which was established throughout the *whole land*, which was *moral* and entirely unceremonial. This distinction touches the very vitals of the question, but it was not alluded to. I drew marked attention to many prophecies of the Old Testament, which by universal consent stretch into the *evangelical* dispensation, and which predict that kings shall do what we only permit them to do. This, though forming an important part of the New Testament argument, was not even alluded to. I adduced a large amount of evidence from the New Testament, which I thought confirmatory of the principle of a Church Establishment. This is not even alluded to. I showed that while *ceremonies* are transient and must pass away, *principles* are unchangeable in their obligation. I therefore asked the question, If a Church Establishment under the law was typical, of what was it the type? No attempt was even made to answer that question, and I take leave to say never will. There must always be an analogy between the type and the antitype. If therefore the connection of Church and State were typical under

the law, it could only prefigure a still closer connection of Church and State under the Gospel. To say that it foreshadowed the separation of the two, is about as logical as to affirm that a monarchy is a type of a republic or marriage of divorce. The truth is, comparing the commencement with the conclusion of Mr. Thompson's lecture, I never knew an instance where one was more forcibly reminded of the Scripture admonition, "Let not him that putteth on the armour, boast as him that taketh it off." My lecture has not yet been answered.

I now come to another important part of Dr. Mc. Kerrow's letter in which he accuses me, "if not of studied misrepresentation, at least of evident quibbling," because I understood him to point out the connection of Church and State under Constantine as the *origin* of all impurity, corruption, and maladministration. But why did he not transcribe his exact language from his Lecture to his Letter, and give his readers the opportunity of judging whether or not I had fairly quoted him? He obliges me to *do* what he *dared* not do. "*From that time* the purity of Christian principle began to be corrupted. . . . . *From that time* the ministers of the lowly Jesus hastened to be sycophants, hirelings, and despots. *From that time* the once free and advancing step of the Gospel was fettered, and the majesty of its mien, hitherto reflecting the light of the eternal world, was exchanged for the sordid look that turned to the golden dust of the earth. *From that time* the shadows are seen to gather and deepen which ere long spread themselves as a death pall and cover the wide extent of benighted christendom, during the long dark ages of her degraded history." Never was there a more pointed, precise, and detailed statement made than this. Every person who either read or heard it would put the same construction upon it that I did, and could honestly do nothing else. Indeed Dr. Mc. Kerrow feels this and says, "*I am not going to contend for the strict accuracy of the phraseology.*" Not going to contend for the strict accuracy of the phraseology! The phraseology was most circumstantial and repeated. How am I to know what Dr. Mc. Kerrow *means*, but by what he *says*. Words are the symbols of thought. The fact is, that Dissenting ministers are incessantly speaking and writing as though the course of the Gospel during the Ante-Nicene age was one uninterrupted march of triumph, and the face of the Church untarnished by the least blot or impurity; than which nothing, I need hardly say, is more remote from the truth. Being driven from one position, he takes refuge in another, equally untenable. He says, p. 12, "*The impurities and evils of former days were comparatively few*, and the Church had within herself the means of free action against them; but the political establishment of religion made her dependent on the opinions and will of princes, and made her ministers ambitious, time-serving, and worldly."

My opponent supplies me with the only clue that enables me to understand how he could make such an astounding statement, and that is, "he has forgotten more than I ever knew." If he had not forgotten the plainest teachings of the New Testament and the simplest facts of Church history, he never could have penned the extraordinary words, "that the impurities and evils of former days were comparatively few." Before the death of St. John, our Lord shows us that the seven Churches of Asia had largely departed from Apostolic doctrine, and were guilty of such flagitious practices as decency forbids me to particularise. There is not an historian with the least reputation would lend his countenance to this assertion. Burton, Waddington, Milner, Mosheim, Browne, Gibbon, and a host of others, all concur in showing that at that period the Church was infested by innumerable sects holding the most pernicious tenets; that the clergy, by their flagrant enormities, had amassed immense revenues; and the most deadly heresies had eaten into its very vitals. When, therefore, page 13, my opponent says, "It cannot be denied, Mr. Bardsley, that the alliance of Church and State was the beginning of a new and ever active source of degradation to the truth, purity, and power of the Christian religion," I take leave to say that I deny it absolutely and *in toto*.

After some reading and reflection, I am strongly persuaded that the corruptions and impurities of the Ante-Nicene age were *hindered* and not *aided* by the connection of Church and State under Constantine. I before gave the name of that distinguished statesman and philosopher Guizot, in his second lecture on "European Civilization," "that it was this connection which, under Providence, preserved Christianity from extinction." A little reflection will show anyone that the Papacy is not the development of the Church and State connection; on the contrary, it is the subversion of national churches and monarchical institutions. It is the legitimate and the logical result of the voluntary principle placed beyond the authority of civil control. My opinions will have little weight with Dissenting ministers, and, therefore, I refer to an "Historical Essay," by Professor Gibson, a minister of the Free Church of Scotland, entitled, "The Principle of Voluntary Churches, and not the Principle of an Establishment, proved to be the real origin of Romish and Priestly Domination." It is, in my judgment, a masterly performance. Its varied information and logical force must have great weight with all thoughtful and unprejudiced minds. I regret that the pamphlet is very rare, but Professor Gibson, in a letter to the Rev. Joseph M'Cartie, permits its republication. If any of our friends who are not so busy would undertake to reprint it, they would render an essential service to the cause of truth, and they would make our Dissenting friends both more calm in their tone and more careful in their statements when referring to the connection

of the Church with the State. I had written this when the lecture of the Rev. M. Miller was put into my hands, in which he is pleased to honor me with a passing notice. He makes me to deny that the Church became corrupt after the time of Constantine, which of course any person who has read will see is not in the least the question. My point is, that the Church was corrupt *before*, and therefore all his authorities are beside the question. It is extraordinary this should be denied. He makes the old, stale, worn-out assertion, "From the day she received State patronage and State pay she sank into lethargy and corruption," which is very much the same as saying that a man whose whole body is full of putrefying sores has become ill. He sets up my statement from Guizot as a man of straw, and then with amazing prowess knocks it down. God will keep His Church, and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it; but he works by means.

We come now to consider the important subject — the *identity* of the Church of England before and after the Reformation. Dr. Mc. Kerrow has made this topic a very prominent one in his letter, and I rejoice that he has done so, as it is one of great interest, but upon which unhappily there is prevalent ignorance. A person not knowing the party, when first reading what he has written upon the subject in his letter, would infer that he was a keen Popish barrister like the late Daniel French, and not a Protestant minister. I grieve to see that party spirit should lead him actually to sneer at the Reformation, and reserve all his censures for the English Reformers. The next thing which arrests attention in his letter on this point, is the large amount of heterogeneous materials thrown together in which there is no principle of cohesion, and which were not so much expected to enlighten and convince, as to bewilder and obscure. But I shall not permit him to effect a retreat under the cloud of dust which he has thrown up, but shall recall his attention to the very simple point at issue. He can hardly have *forgotten* what he wrote in his lecture on February 5th; or if he has done so, happily "*written words remain.*" I know he deprecates "*contending for the strict accuracy of the phraseology;*" but upon this point I must take leave to be inexorable. In this matter I am a staunch voluntary. In page 4, having asserted that "all the old Nonconformists rejected merely the popish errors and superstitions, dress and usages, which were retained in the Church," he quietly adds, "*to which the name of the Church of England was given.*" Now, I ask all my readers, whether old or young, Churchmen or Dissenters, learned or illiterate, whether this language does not either mean that the name of the Church of England was given to it then for the first time, or that the language is utterly unmeaning. When an institution is reconstructed from the materials of an old one, and a distinctive name then given to it, as it is affirmed in this case, it implies that it never bore that

name before, or the thing is absurd. I adduced some notable cases from *Magna Charta* and the *Statutes of Provisors*, to show that it was called before the Reformation—the Church of England. I maintain that it was invariably called so; and I may safely challenge all our opponents to adduce one single instance from any *national* document, during the whole period of our civil and ecclesiastical legislation, where it is ever called the Church of Rome. I asked, in my Reply, for such an instance, but I need not remark that it is not forthcoming. But marvellous to say, my opponent does adduce a document which I will entirely transcribe. "Whereas it is shewed to our sovereign lord the king, on behalf of the prelates and clergy of this realm, that although the catholic faith, builded upon Christ, and by His Apostles and the holy Church, hath been amongst all the realms of the world most devoutly observed; and the *Church of England*, by his noble progenitors and ancestors laudably endowed, yet, nevertheless, diverse, false, and perverse people of a certain new sect of the said faith, of the sacraments of the Church, and the authority of the same, damnably thinking, &c., do perpetrate and commit in subversion of the said catholic faith, and in diminution of the *estate, rights, and liberties of the said Church of England*." I have given this statute in full, though my space could ill afford it. Its author was Henry IV., the first English monarch who burnt persons to death for heresy, and therefore in that sense must be considered rigid in his views. Yet, from its commencement to its conclusion there is not the remotest allusion to the Bishop of Rome, or to his pretended supremacy; but it refers exclusively to an offence committed against the authority of the sovereign, the clergy of the realm, "*the estates, rights, and liberties of the said Church of England*." If a statute had been framed expressly to confirm my views, it could not have been more pertinent or conclusive for the purpose. But I would here give a specimen of the singular manner in which my opponent lays down premises and draws conclusions. He represents me fairly in p. 16, where he says, I "attempt to found a distinction between the Church of England and the Church of Rome on the admitted fact that, Magna Charta claims that the Church of *England shall have her whole rights and liberties inviolable*, and that certain national documents in the reigns of Henry III. and Richard II. protested against the *arrogant encroachments of the Bishop of Rome on these rights and liberties*." When Magna Charta then claims that the rights and liberties of the Church shall be inviolable, and that certain national documents do protest against the arrogant encroachments of the Bishop of Rome on these rights and liberties; what, good reader, is the conclusion you would inevitably draw from these premises? Why, the *nationality* of the Church of England; that whatever interference there was with her from the Bishop of Rome it was

usurped, and whatever deference was rendered to him was forced. But what, good reader, is the conclusion drawn by Dr. Mc. Kerrow on such premises? I will give it in his own words, "But who, except Mr. Bardsley, does not see that the phrase, the Church of England, is merely a designation of locality, and not a declaration of separate ecclesiastical existence, and of entire independence of the spiritual jurisdiction of Rome?" I will venture to make one or two verbal alterations in this conclusion, and I believe it will require no large amount of intellectual acumen in my readers to sanction the change. "But who, except Dr. Mc. Kerrow, does not see that the phrase, the Church of England, is *not* merely a designation of locality, but a declaration of separate ecclesiastical existence, and of *desired* independence of the spiritual jurisdiction of Rome." There is another statement in the same page which will materially illustrate this point. "The fact is, that Popery was always striving to control the civil as well as the religious laws of England, and to encroach on the co-ordinate power, which in some respects the king and parliament of the nation exercised in conjunction with Rome; and hence, resistance was sometimes made to these Papal aggressions on the rights and interests of the kingdom." This short statement brings before us the State, the Monarchy, and the Church, in a state of vassalage to Rome, but which were contemporaneously emancipated at the Reformation. The State was liberated, and asserted its freedom. Was it a *new* State? No, says Dr. Mc. Kerrow, it was the *old* State. An act was passed in 1532 "To restore the monarchy to its ancient jurisdiction." Was it then a *new* monarchy? No, says my opponent, it was the *old* monarchy. The Church at the same time threw off the tyranny against which she had been struggling for centuries. Was she not then an *old* Church? No, says Dr. Mc. Kerrow, she was a *new* one. But why so? Where lies the difference? Why draw such opposite conclusions? I asked those very pointed and pertinent questions before; but Dr. Mc. Kerrow has passed them over in profound silence. I believe my readers will have a very decided opinion, that the reason why he has done this is, he had no wish to break his teeth upon a file. Strange that our opponents should not perceive that an emancipated slave does not *become* a man,—only a *free* man; so the free-born Church of England was sold for a season into slavery, but when she emancipated herself from the vassalage into which she had been involuntarily placed, and asserted her original independence, she simply became what she was before. To deny this, is to ignore the whole ancient legislation of the kingdom.

In the 38th year of Edward III. "an ordinance was passed by the king and his council, and the same was proclaimed in all port towns within the realm, that good and diligent search should be made that no person whatever coming from the court of Rome, &c., do bring

into the realm with him, any bull, instrument, letters patent, or other process . . . . . nor that any person passing out of this realm toward the court of Rome, do carry with him any instrument, process, &c., under pain to be put out of the king's protection, and forfeit his body, goods, and chattels." I could load page after page with extracts of the same kind, asserting the *nationality* of the English Church at that time, manifesting her restlessness under the Papal yoke, and sighing for the opportunity to throw it off.

When our opponents tell us that "none of these disputes affected the doctrines or ceremonies of the Romish Church of England, nor produced any renunciation of the spiritual supremacy of Rome," we appeal from their mere assertion to the unquestionable facts of history. Bradwardine, Bishop Greathead, John Wickliffe, William Sautre, Walter Bruce, and many others of lesser note, not only denounced the pretended supremacy of the Pope as a usurpation, but absolutely denied the leading dogmas of the Romish community. John Wickliffe, as a specimen of this class, declared that the "Church of Rome was not the head of all Churches more than any other Church," nor that Peter hath any more power given of Christ than any other Apostle hath. "That the Pope of Rome hath no more part in the keys of the Church than any other within the order of priesthood." "That the Gospel, as a rule, is sufficient of itself to rule the life of every Christian man here without any other rule." And then he declares that if Churchmen offend *habitually* against these principles, that their temporalities shall be taken away by the lords temporal. The whole design of John Wickliffe's labours was to assert the independence of the English Church and to promote its reformation, and he continued a minister and member of it to his dying day. I would appeal to John Fox the martyrologist, who is claimed as belonging to the Puritan party, whether both he and all the reformers did not speak, and write, and act, under the impression that they were reforming an *old Church*, but it never entered their heads that they were forming a new one. When, therefore, Dr. Mc. Kerrow uses the words, "the Romish Church of England," he has forged the expression, and I believe can find no warrant for it in any legal or ecclesiastical instrument; and it is, therefore, the exercise of his own whim and caprice in direct opposition to the whole history of the Church. We cannot explain why such a notion should be put forth, except from the fear on the part of some, that she should be regarded as the ancient reformed Church of the kingdom, and a desire that she should be placed upon the same level with the numerous sects by which she is surrounded. There are doubtless parties within the Church who idolise her merely because she is old. I am not one of that number. While I revere her because she is *old*, I obey her because she is *true*. No antiquity can change lead into gold; and the hoary hairs of opinion are only honourable

when found in the way of righteousness. A Church may be remote in her origin, and unsound in doctrine; ancient in her descent, but superstitious in her practice. Her own Article teaches, "the Church of Jerusalem and the Church at Antioch hath erred, so also the Church of Rome hath erred, not only in manner of ceremonies, but in matters of faith." We rally round the Church of England, not because either of her remote origin or ancient endowments, but because she is the noblest fortress of sound evangelical doctrine in Christendom.

Out of this subject there naturally arises another—the nature of the Anglo-Saxon Church, which Dr. Mc. Kerrow largely discusses, and in which I gladly follow him. I congratulate him upon the powerful ally he has obtained upon the subject in the person of Mr. Rogers. He is like Goliath of old, one bearing a shield goes before him. I rejoice that he should have the assistance of such able men as Mr. M. Miller and Mr. Rogers; my only regret is, it would seem to indicate on their part that they think my opponent incompetent for the task he has undertaken, and have a misgiving as to the final result. I should not, however, have thought anyone would have made himself so thorough a partizan as Mr. Rogers has done, when he gives us to understand that the Christian religion was swept away by the Saxon invasion, leaving not a "trace behind for Paganism and infidelity." He may with as much truth deny that Austin ever came to this country at all. The great proof that he ever visited our shores, and laboured amongst us is, the protracted and obstinate contest he had with the old British clergy. Everyone has read of the celebrated conference he had with seven of the old British bishops, with the intrepid Dinoth the Abbot of Bangor at their head, at a spot called Augustine's Oak, in Worcestershire, and of the massacre of 1,200 of the clergy, recorded by Bede, 603, and instigated, it is believed, by Austin. I say everybody has read these things, because they are recorded by historians of all parties as unquestionable facts. No doubt, the old British Church was greatly disorganised by the Saxon invasion; but, as when a sovereign is driven from his country by stern necessity, there are vast numbers of his subjects whose hearts still beat true in their allegiance to him, so in this case, though the bishops had been compelled to fly before the face of their Saxon oppressors, there were vast multitudes of private Christians who diffused a savour of their religion in retirement, and who neither took refuge in the mountain fastnesses of Wales, nor the sequestered districts of Cornwall. Fuller, whom Mr. Rogers quotes, says, in his quaint and quiet style, Augustine, on his arrival, "found here a plain religion (simplicity is the badge of antiquity) practised by the Britons; living, some of them in the contempt, and many more in the ignorance of worldly vanities." (Church History, vol. ii., p. 57.) Surely there

Anglo-Saxon Church was largely reconstructed from the materials of the old British Church, and that the edifice of the former was mainly laid on the foundation of the latter. From the writings of Hammond, Stillingfleet, Bingham, Soames, Innett, and many others who might be enumerated of equal authority, we gather there were only two counties north of the Thames, Norfolk and Suffolk, where Austin had anything to do with propagating religion among the pagan Saxons. The inhabitants of Essex, Middlesex, and Hertfordshire, were mainly christianised by St. Chad; while Northumbria and the kingdom of Mercia (including seventeen of the Midland Counties) were evangelised, as Bede himself tells us, by Aidan, Finnan, Colman, Diuma, Ceollach, and Trumhere; so that, as that great authority Soames tells us, page 59, "every other county from London to Edinburgh has the full gratification of pointing to the ancient Church of Britain as its nursing mother in Christ's Holy faith." I will only add upon this point, that it must create a smile on the face of every one who has even only a smattering in ancient lore, to hear Dr. Mc. Kerrow gravely affirm, p. 14, "I coincide with the opinion of those who believe that the British churches must have been supported chiefly, if not altogether, by voluntary contributions, before the period of the Saxon invasion." I am sure, were I to quote Gildas, our oldest British historian, who says that that Church in his day was "both *wealthy* and flourishing," it would not weigh a feather, with a writer who could quote the Protestant Sharon Turner and the Popish Dr. Lingard, to prove a position upon which they take just opposite views. "Read," says my opponent, p. 18, "Sharon Turner and Dr. Lingard." I say, also, read. Alas! we ministers do not always practice what we preach.

But, what now of the doctrine and teaching of the Anglo-Saxon Church? It is a mournful spectacle to see Dr. Mc. Kerrow and Mr. Rogers, speaking of the Papacy as though fully developed in the time of Austin, seeking every opportunity at the expense of authentic history to confirm the poor Romanist in the erroneous belief of the antiquity of his system, and all merely to lower the character and curtail the influence of the Church of England. As I cannot discuss this subject in *detail*, and decline to parade my *assertion* in opposition to theirs, I will mention a few striking and solid facts of history, upon which there is an unanimity of opinion amongst respectable writers. In the first place, then, at the commencement of the *seventh* century, the claims of the Bishop of Rome were *patriarchal* rather than *pontifical*. This appears from the acknowledged fact, that Gregory I, who sent Austin to this country, anathematized John of Constantinople, because he assumed the title of universal bishop. He declared the assumption of any such title to be *new*, *wicked*, and *anti-christian*. That is fact the *first* Antichrist [illegible]

that time begun to assume either *personal* infallibillty for the pope, or *corporate* infallibility for the Church, appears from this fact, that Gregory, answering the third interrogatory of Austin, directs him "to choose what is pious, religious, and right, *in other churches*, for," said he, "things are not to be beloved for the places, but places for the good things in them." This is fact the *second*. (See these epistles in Samme's Britannia, pp. 479—513.) Again, the pope never convened a single *General* Council. The first *seven* General Councils were convoked by the different emperors; and no Council after these could be strictly called General, as the Eastern Church was not represented. This is fact the *third*. Lathbury, on the English Convocation, describes with great clearness and impartiality, the proceedings of *forty-two* provincial and national synods, held in Britain, from the death of Austin, A.D. 604, to the time of Dunstan, A.D. 969, in which there is not a trace or vestige to be found of subjection to the Church of Rome, but the very opposite. This is fact the *fourth*. Bede tells us (lib. iii., c. 28) that when Wilfrid was nominated to the see of York, Wyni, who had just been translated from Winchester to London, was the only *one* in Britain who had been consecrated after the order of the Romish Church. And when Wilfrid went to Rome for that purpose, opposition from those in authority kept him out of his diocese for years. This is fact the *fifth*. Again, in the quarrel that immediately ensued between Theodore and Wilfrid, because the former attempted to subdivide the diocese of York, a national synod deprived Wilfrid of his bishopric for appealing to Rome, declaring that that Church could not interfere with an Anglican Council nor alter its decrees. This is fact the *sixth*. When Dr. Mc. Kerrow says, page 15, "within less than a hundred years of the mission of St. Augustine, his sixth successor, Theodore, brought the ecclesiastical system of this country into complete subjection to the pope," I conclude that as he is too honest a man to invent such a fable, it must have been supplied to him by some well paid, unscrupulous agent of the Liberation Society. Finally, it was not until the year 1172, that the legantine power of Rome was recognised in this country. It is not denied that for some hundreds of years before then, that Rome was looking out for every opportunity to *intrude* into the affairs of all the different independent Churches, and from early times there had been a disposition to pay deference to the Bishop of Rome, not because he was the successor of St. Peter, but because he was the chief pastor of the capital of the empire; just as we see at present amongst ourselves that there is a deference paid to the Bishop of London, because he is the Bishop of London, not because he is in office superior to the other bishops. From this little germ sprang the stupendous fabric of the Papacy. If time and space permitted, I

So far upon the *polity;* now for the *doctrine* of the Anglo-Saxon Church. I quite agree with my opponent, that many persons in the seventh and eighth centuries express themselves ambiguously; and these things serve to indicate the tendency of the times. Opinions floated about in the ecclesiastical hemisphere, in some instances for centuries, before they were incorporated as Articles of Faith. But we are not speaking about the *private* opinions of individuals, but the *dogmatic* belief of the Church. There are many high Tractarians who express themselves in their books in doubtful phraseology, and speak and write about the Lord's Supper in a very mysterious manner; but this in no way affects the public belief of the Church of England. The expressions used by Bede and Alcuin, as quoted by Dr. Mc. Kerrow, are characteristic of those times, but do not for a moment teach transubstantiation. It also seems to be necessary to inform him "that *saul sceat*, or payment to the clergy for the benefit of the soul, common in the eighth century," was paid, not for *masses* for the soul, but done as a good act of *alms* to benefit the soul. But what were the doctrines of the Anglo-Saxon Church? All the gentlemen who have lectured upon Religious Voluntaryism will concur with me when I say that a Church which maintains the all-sufficiency of Holy Scripture cannot go far astray, but is planted upon a rock. All testimony goes to show that the most eminent divines of ancient England were indeed universal *scripturists*. (Soame's Bampton Lectures, page 68.) Bede says that the Church, in his day, in the middle of the eighth century, "teaches and professes the same knowledge of the highest truth and of real sublimity, by meditation of the *Scriptures*, as well in the vulgar tongue of the Saxons, Britons, Irish, and Caledonians, as in the Latin language, common to them all." But read Sharon Turner, says Dr. Mc. Kerrow. Well, what does he say on this subject? (Vol. iii. p. 431.) "In this essential point the Anglo-Saxon Church formed a remarkable contrast to the Roman Catholic hierarchy of the subsequent ages, and to its present conduct. Instead of withholding the *sacred* volumes, the clergy of Anglo-Saxon England earnestly pressed their frequent perusal, and gave the examples in themselves." Read Sharon Turner! Well, what does he say on another point? (Page 433.) "That the Anglo-Saxons were not contented with mere *ceremonial* religion, the lives and works of Aldhelm, Bede, Alcuin, Elfric, and others abundantly show." Read Sharon Turner! Well, what does he say about the Lord's Supper? (Page 432.) "It is certain that the transubstantiation of the Eucharist was not the established or universal belief of the Anglo-Saxons." In a manuscript of Saxon Ecclesiastical Constitutions, it is declared, "the Sacrament is Christ's body, not bodily, but spiritually; not the body in which he suffered, but the body

difficult to close these quotations without saying something severe; but I remember that the wrath of man worketh not the righteousness of God. I supplement this statement of Turner on the Lord's Supper by two most interesting facts which speak volumes. Pascatius appears to have been the first person who, in the ninth century, publicly maintained a change of substance in the outward symbols in the Lord's Supper. A book he published created a great sensation throughout Europe, and called forth a host of learned opponents. Two of these I will mention, because of the deeply interesting facts connected with their names. The first is, the enlightened Bertram, who wrote a treatise on the Lord's Supper, which providentially falling into the hands of the martyred Ridley, so effectually wrought upon his mind, that from a Papist he became a Protestant, and died magnanimously to seal the truth with his blood. The other is Elfrick, Abbot of Malmesbury, who, in his Saxon Homily, advocates the Protestant view of this Sacrament. Yet this Homily, which any one can see at Cheetham's Library, was publicly appointed to be read to the people on every Easter Sunday, before they received the Holy Communion. So that in the *eleventh* century the whole people of England were instructed in those views of the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, which are now incorporated into the formularies of our national Church. These facts need no comment; they speak for themselves. (Usher's Answer to a Jesuit, p. 73.) Facts innumerable of the same kind might be quoted, but space forbids. I therefore gather the whole question into this one point. The Rev. T. G. Fearne has placed the subject in this interesting point of view. He has arranged the doctrines of the Anglo-Saxon Church, the Church of England, and the Church of Rome, in parallel columns; the Church of Rome in *black*, the Church of England *red*, and the Anglo-Saxon *red* when she agrees with the Church of England, and *black* when she agrees with the Church of Rome. He selects his materials from the Thirty-nine Articles, the Decrees of the Council of Trent, and from the Saxon Homilies and other *dogmatic writings*. In *fourteen* closely-printed pages, including every *fundamental* truth—the Trinity, the Incarnation of Christ, the Divinity of the Holy Ghost, the all-sufficiency of Holy Scripture, Justification by Faith, the number of the Sacraments, the nature of the Lord's Supper, the one oblation of Christ—there is the most absolute agreement, and not in one single instance is the Anglo-Saxon statement placed black. This is confirmed by such prodigies of learning as Usher and Stillingfleet, who, in their researches, demonstrate that the Anglo-Saxon Church held the doctrine of the Trinity, but no deification of the Virgin Mary; the atonement of Christ, but no sacrifice of the mass; the mediatorship of Jesus, but no invocation of saints; the doctrine of future rewards and punishments, but no purgatory; justification by faith, but no human merit. In short, the teaching of the Church of England now as entirely

answers to the teaching of the Anglo-Saxon Church as echo answers to sound. As all parties, then, are now agreed that Church property was given in the seventh, eighth, and ninth centuries, I do therefore, in the most pointed and positive form of expression which language can supply, repeat my former statement, "that Church property is being used for the sustentation of essentially the same religious system as that for which it was bequeathed." A child can draw the conclusion—it is plain and irresistible. Of course, when Dr. Mc. Kerrow and Mr. Rogers represent me as stating that the religious system of Henry VII. and that of Elizabeth are essentially the same, and then begin to exclaim with warmth and wonder about its absurdity, it is purely a figment of their own brain, and I can only smile at their transparent artifice, and pity their disingenuousness.

I have been twitted with writing much about Church Property. It is true, I have done so, and am one of the most suitable persons to do it, as I never had any of the endowments of the Church so called, and never expect, or wish to have; no corrupt motives can be fairly attributed to me. I have strongly maintained that the ancient endowments of the Church were not given by the State, and Dr. Mc. Kerrow and his associates have stoutly affirmed that they were. This appeared to me unseemly for ministers thus publicly to contradict each other, and to afford amusement for sceptics. To bring the matter to an issue, I was induced to offer £20 to the Infirmary for the production of the act originally giving these endowments to the Church by the State. I did not offer the money to Dr. Mc. Kerrow — that would have been an insult; nor to the lawyers — it would have been politely declined; but to a public institution. To my joyful surprise, the matter is now settled and no £20 required. He now concedes all for which I have ever contended. To show that I do not trifle with my readers, I will quote his own words. He says, p. 13, "*That tithes in England were originally voluntary offerings, is not disputed;* and the first law to enforce their payment *is said* to have been made in 744, by Offa, king of Mercia, who gave to the Church the tithes of his kingdom, that he might thus expiate the death of Ethelbert, king of the East Angles, whom the year before he had caused to be basely murdered." We will not inquire too closely into the latter part of the statement. We are too rejoiced to see his handsome acknowledgement, that *tithes were originally voluntary offerings. This is disputed* by Dissenting writers. The Rev. W. Thorn, of Winchester, in his tract called "The Church of England Expensive and Ruinous to the Poor," says, p. 4, "Tithes were first granted to the Catholic Church by an act of parliament, in Winchester Cathedral, 855. The Rev. W. H. Parkinson, Rochdale, in his Lecture, says, p. 65, "Offa, king of Mercia, gave to the Church the tithes of his kingdom inatonement for having basely murdered Ethelbert, and Ethelwulf extended this tax over all England, and *strove* to subject to its

obligation—not only the fruits of the earth but the results of all labour." Offa died 794, and therefore Mr. Parkinson's statement kills Mr. Thorn's. Dr. Mc. Kerrow tells Mr. Parkinson that tithes were not a grant from the State at all, but were "originally voluntary offerings." This settles Mr. Parkinson. Would it not be well to take precautions lest the gentleman who is appointed to lecture upon Church Property should, in turn, lay violent hands upon Dr. Mc. Kerrow. I sincerely hope not. What a marvellous conversion! Think of Dr. Mc. Kerrow confessing before the world that it cannot "be disputed that tithes were originally voluntary offerings!" I ought to be abundantly satisfied with my labours.

As my opponent says, "with all frankness I admit the inaccuracy that Wyckliffe only translated the New Testament." I also with equal frankness admit that it would have been as well simply to have pointed out the mistake, and said no more. But the truth is, for reasons which I will not give, I could not resist the temptation of a little pleasantry. I am sure he knows more about Wyckliffe than I do, for he has discovered that Wyckliffe "was a Christian Voluntary," and "too enlightened to hold my opinions about endowments and tithes," whereas I was under the impression that "John, whom the people had counted a prophet indeed," had lived and died Rector of Lutterworth, in receipt of all the tithes and emoluments of the living. When, in page 12, he quotes Wyckliffe as saying, "Soon after his ascension (Christ's), within the four hundredth year they reversed his chief ordinance by endowing his Church, and so did beget Antichrist to the dishonour of his cause," I may be permitted to remind Dr. Mc. Kerrow that the bishops of Rome had invented a deed to show that the sovereignty which the French Emperors had conferred upon them in the *eighth* century had been bequeathed to them by Constantine in the *fourth*. This was received, as truth, throughout Christendom. John Wycliffe lived too early to hear Du Pin and other learned Romish writers denounce this document as the most stupendous forgery the world had ever known. This explains Wycliffe's language. In saying this I am not presuming to inform Dr. Mc. Kerrow of what he did not know, only just reminding him of what he had forgot. He is not so frank in the matter of the Commutation of Tithe Act and the suppression of Irish bishopries. To justify the proposal of the Liberation Society to *secularise* Church property, he adduced in his lecture the Commutation of Tithe Act. The analogy was a vicious one, that act was passed to do no such wickedness, but the reverse. He concedes this in his *letter*, but has not the manliness to confess his mistake. He also mentions the suppression of the Irish bishopries to prove that the State could "*appropriate Church property to unsectarian uses.*" I showed him how the proceeds of those extinguished Bishopries were employed "to sustain the fabrics of churches and to defray the

Mc. Kerrow in his letter, p. 23, "that the fund arising from the extinction of a number of such bishopries is applied to sustain the fabrics of churches and for other *purely Episcopalian objects*." Then why adduce it to prove the very opposite. I would make any allowance for forgetfulness, but it is very inconvenient to conduct a controversy with a gentleman who *says* one thing on the 5th of February, and then *unsays* it on the 11th of March following, without making one word of apology. I would add, in passing, that Dr. Mc. Kerrow cannot even state his own case without serious blundering, and confounding things which are quite distinct. The bill for suppressing Irish bishopries was proposed and carried by Mr. Stanley, now Lord Derby, in 1833, as a member of Lord Grey's government, while "the appropriation clause" of Lord Morpeth was in 1835, and had not the remotest connexion with the Irish Bishopries Bill. The *one* was *proposed* by Mr. Stanley, whereas the *other*, by a singular coincidence, drove him from the ranks of the Whigs into the Conservative camp. Moreover, Dr. Mc. Kerrow speaks about "Lord Morpeth's *bill*." He again forgets himself—there never was *a bill*. There was a motion to affirm an *abstract* principle, to upset Sir Robert Peel's short government of 1835, and it succeeded; but there was no bill, and from that day the Whig government lost influence, and were in 1841 ignominiously driven from office. Is it difficult to perceive what would be the result if any government should be so insane as to give the least countenance to the revolutionary proposal of the Liberation Society. Surely few men ever fell into such palpable blunders in a short controversy. Can he be surprised that an opponent should expose his errors. There were many other inaccuracies overlooked in his Lecture. I acknowledge that without one word of *personal abuse*, I did treat Dr. Mc. Kerrow with great *argumentative* freedom. I thought on many grounds he richly deserved this; but if he thought I had used undue liberty, what an opportunity on his part for the exercise of true magnanimity and Christian forbearance. If he had replied in a calm, courteous, Christian tone, how it must have adorned his profession, heaped coals of fire on my head, and served to remove that general impression there is, whether deserved or not I will not say, that Dr. Mc. Kerrow has never been very amiable and tolerant towards those who have the misfortune to differ from him. He has, I think, thrown away a precious opportunity, which, perhaps, at his time of life, can never recur. I only regret this on his own account. He seems to think his own friends will regret it. As there is nothing more in his letter calling for remark, I may, in conclusion, say that I trust that the collision of mind with mind will evolve the truth. As Churchmen, we feel that our principles are grievously misunderstood. When Dr. Mc. Kerrow talks of acts of parliament interfering "with the Crown rights of Christ," and the Rev. John Kelly asserts, in his address published in the "Congregational Year-Book for 1861," that Dis-

senting principles "*are a renunciation of a government marked by titles and claims which Christ has expressly forbidden*, p. 45, our only answer to this fearful charge is, God forbid. We had thought that the time had come when self-respect would have prevented Dissenting ministers uttering such platitudes. The Thirty-seventh Article most carefully guards this matter. "We give not to our princes the ministering either of God's Word or of the Sacraments, but that only prerogative which we see to have been given always to all godly princes, in Holy Scripture by God himself." Our opponents perpetually confound "*temporal* authority with *spiritual* office. The sovereign performs many duties in reference to the Church, but can never *use* any of its *spiritual* functions." "He may nominate a minister to a benefice, but he cannot confer upon him the ministerial character. Like David, he may divide the priests in their courses, but he may not lay his hands on the ark. To represent, then, the sovereign as the centre of the *spiritual* authority which is exercised within the Church, is to confound acts of *external* government, bearing on *the exercise* of an office, with *spiritual* acts bearing on the creation of an office." If the representation which some Dissenters give of the connexion of Church and State were correct, no earnest enlightened clergyman could remain in her an hour. But the truth is, it is a sheer *caricature*. The State has no more right to compile our creeds, compose our prayers, and interfere with any of our spiritual acts, than they have to do with the proceedings of Dissenting chapels. The design of the connexion between Church and State, said Lord Eldon, "is not to make the Church *political*, but the State *religious*."

"We desire," says Dr. Mc. Kerrow, "that ministers of Christ should be called to their important work of saving souls, by members of Churches in their religious capacity." A thoughtful student of Holy Scripture will inquire, has this popular election of ministers any warrant from God's Word? Mr. John Angell James says, honestly and unequivocally, it has not. "No case occurs in the *inspired history* where it is mentioned that a Church elected its pastor" (Church Members' Guide, p. 12). But how does this system work which is thus confessed to have no sanction from Holy Scripture? Let the same authority declare. "When a minister is removed, the choice of a successor always brings on a crisis in the history of the Church of which he was the pastor. No event that could happen could place the interests of the society in greater peril. It must be admitted that on these occasions our *principles* as Dissenters, and our *practices* as Christians, have not been unfrequently brought into disrepute. We have been accused of wrangling about a teacher of religion till we have lost our religion itself in the affray; and the state of many of our congregations proves that the

crisis," he says, "*secret canvassing*," "*mean petty arts*," "*cabal and intrigue*," "and the most *disgusting* exercise of the most *disgusting* tyranny takes place between opposite parties," page 229. If two parties cannot unite in peace, let them at least *separate* in peace. "*Alas! that this so rarely should be the case.*" This proves the effect which this system has amongst the people; but does it secure what Dr. Mc. Kerrow says is so desirable,—"that the flock of Christ should be tended and fed by pastors fitted to inspect them." Let Mr. Edward Miall be the judge. "We charge the body of Dissenting ministers with unfaithfulness to sacred principles, evasion of a noble mission, and seeming recklessness of all the mighty interests at issue" ("Nonconformist Sketch Book," page 16). "The Dissenters lick the hand which smites them, and crouch and whine at the feet of those who kick them; they are just like poor relations living upon the cold charity of a well-off uncle; half obsequiousness, half irritability, in conduct very *meek*, in disposition very *sly*," p. 195. "We (Dissenters) cannot escape from the feeling that our position is one of *unmixed littleness*—with us *moral heroism* is impossible, and we go about the world with a label on our backs, on which is written nothing more than the word *fool*."—"We look, and speak, and act as though we were ordained to be despised, and had made our calling sure."—There is amongst Dissenters a more *general* and characteristic absence of *manliness* than amongst any other great body of British Christians.—So that it has become a matter of course to designate an act of shuffling as a Presbyterian trick." Whether Mr. Miall has here drawn a true picture or a caricature, it is not for me to determine; I sincerely hope and believe it is the latter. On the other hand, what is the state of the Church of England, Dissenters themselves being the judges? We appeal from the bigotry and littleness of the advocates of the Liberation Society to the large mind and loving heart of the sainted John Angell James, who in his "Earnest Ministry," speaking of the Church of England, says, "Thank God a vivifying wind has swept over the valley of dry bones, and an army not only of living, but of life-giving men, has sprung up." Speaking of parochial visitation, he says: "It is admitted that the clergyman of a parish had advantages for this species of ministerial occupation which *we have not*." "Sincerely and cordially attached to their Church, their labouring in season and out of season . . . . . I know their labours and am astonished at them. Think of a clergyman, and *multitudes* of such there are, who, besides his other labours, spends four or five hours every day in going from house to house, visiting the sick, instructing the ignorant, comforting the distressed. Can we wonder that such men should lay hold on the public mind? Is it not in the natural course of things that it should be so? With the most entire good will towards my brethren in the Church of England, without envy or jealousy, I call upon my other brethren

the witnesses, among the clergy of the Establishment." What a perfect contrast does this form to the temper and language of Dr. Mc. Kerrow, who wrote at the close of the last year that there was "an utter helplessness of good men to accomplish needful reforms in the Church;" overlooking the notorious fact that pluralities are now impossible, that a redistribution of Church revenues has made immense progress, that the carefulness of the bishops in admitting men to the sacred functions of the ministry has greatly increased, and that the general efficiency of the Church is such that leading Dissenters, like Mr. Binney, declare that the Church alone has the machinery to evangelise the masses.

Dr. Mc. Kerrow, lauding the triumphs of the voluntary system, says, "We cannot understand why the willinghood which achieved the marvels of former times should not still be invoked and trusted." We oppose to the high sounding phrases of our voluntary friends, sober, solid, and undeniable facts. Every one knows now how the voluntary system, as maintained by our opponents, operates. It crowds the rich districts and neglects the poor ones. In Liverpool, it gives *seventeen Dissenting* chapels to *ten thousand rich* people, and only *five Protestant Dissenting* chapels to thirty-five thousand human beings who are steeped in poverty and degradation. We can match this state of things in Manchester. Chorlton-upon-Medlock has its *eighteen Dissenting* chapels for its 47,000 well-to-do people; while Ancoats, with its 77,000 of an exclusive operative population, has four Protestant Dissenting chapels, one Roman Catholic, and three preaching rooms, with only *four or five* regular ministers. The Church of England, in its seven churches in Ancoats, supplies fully double this amount of accommodation, and has its *sixteen* clergymen and a large staff of Scripture readers. These statistics have been supplied by clergymen working in their respective districts, and if not accurate in every *minutia*, will be found to be *substantially* correct. Dr. Mc. Kerrow's own conduct furnishes a very significant and singular illustration of the *peculiar* operation of the voluntary system. Within a radius of a quarter of a mile from where Lloyd-street Chapel stood, there are 20,000 or 30,000 people in a state of great poverty and deep moral degradation, emphatically needing spiritual administrations. Yet, when it was found desirable to move Lloyd-street Chapel, which its friends had a perfect right to do, it never entered into their calculations to rebuild it in the midst of poor people, needing pastoral superintendence, but they put it down in Chorlton-upon-Medlock, where Dissenting chapels already jostle each other, but where the inhabitants can afford to *pay*. I make no charge against *persons*, but represent *systems*. These facts have sunk deep into the public mind, and all the bluster and bombast of the Liberation Society cannot obliterate

where coming forward and declaring that their ministers are mere *preachers*, and do nothing in *pastoral* work, as far as the poor are concerned. A Nonconformist layman, in his pamphlet entitled "The Churches, the People, and the Pew System," says:— "Dissenting ministers recognise no care of souls beyond their own congregations, which contain even a smaller proportion of the *working classes* than the churches of the Establishment. In fact, the regular *pastoral* visitation of their own people is, in our large towns, the *exception* and not the rule. So that the bulk of the working classes, with the exception of the Roman Catholics, are thrown for pastoral visitation, succour, and consolation, upon the Church of England, which does, at least, recognise and attempt to discharge this function." Another Nonconformist layman, in Manchester, of education and position, says, in his published lecture, "The Dissenting congregations make no provision for the performance by their clergy of *pastoral* duties, either among the populations surrounding their chapels or elsewhere, beyond themselves. So that really the great mass of the people, except the Roman Catholics, are thrown upon *the Church of England for every good office that an active pastoral clergy can render* to a population more and more cut off from all kindly intercourse and contact with the higher classes, and for the means and opportunities of religious worship; and in fact, while Dissenting chapels and Sunday schools are closed one after another in districts abandoned by the higher classes, and where they are most wanted, and removed to localities more easily reached by the congregations, and while their clergy live comfortably at a distance, and are never seen among the crowded populations of those deserted districts; the fact being that the *pastoral visitation* of even their *own poorer members is very much neglected by the Dissenting clergy*, and that the Church of England clergy are constantly applied to by them for pastoral aid and consolation. The Church of England has been planting new churches in the very worst and poorest localities, settling her clergy, by the dozen, in Bethnal, Whitechapel, and such like localities, in the very midst of the poor people, the pastoral care of whom is assigned to them, and who show their appreciation of the vigorous efforts the clergy are making to minister to their religious wants by crowding the churches in many cases and contributing liberally for their means to the suppport of public worship." I ventured to recommend in my late reply to the perusal of Dissenting laymen, the pamphlet of Dr. Ash, who is one of themselves, written against the movements of the Liberation Society. I am glad to see that that pamphlet has been republished by a Nonconformist layman in this city, who is alike distinguished for his catholic spirit and his princely munificence. Dr. Ash says, page 18, "There is something in the fundamental idea, in the theory and intent of that parochial

of what mankind needs at the hands of religion, and of what Christianity was designed to supply, that we wonder not at the powerful hold which it took on such a mind as that of Chalmers. And far as it too often is from realising in practice what it proposes in theory, no candid Nonconformist, who looks at its working through the length and breadth of our land, will hesitate to admit that it is, at this moment, in *thousands of localities*, the instrument of incalculable good, social, moral, and spiritual, to the population of our country, and especially to the *labouring and poorer classes of the community.*" The people see and feel that all this is true, and therefore the tide of popular feeling has strongly set in, in favour of the Church, and all the efforts put forth by the Liberation Society will not be able to arrest it. The means employed by that Society to do so I am not careful to designate, but we may infer their character from the following circumstances:—Mr. Miall, who is its Mercurius, asserts "that the education of the people owes nothing to the clergy." He knows this to be untrue, and that 86 per cent of children in this country receiving daily instruction are in Church of England Schools. He says that the "clergy have been invariably the deadliest foes of liberty, civil and religious." He knows that this is not true, and that it is owing to the stand made by the clergy in the reign of James II., that we are now in possession of our civil and religious liberties. He knows that in the reign of Mary five bishops and a vast number of clergymen calmly walked to the stake rather than submit to ecclesiastical *tyranny*. When he says, of the Church of England, "one is amazed at the blindness of men who could ever have mistaken *this thing for a Christian Church*," Mr. Miall knows that there is more Scripture introduced every Sabbath day into the service of the Church of England than is ordinarily read in a Dissenting chapel every three months; that the Bible from which he preached when a minister was furnished to him by the Church of England, and the privilege to read and expound it was purchased by the blood of illustrious Churchmen. Mr. Miall has used language which it is surprising any Christian man should be found to palliate. I am happy to know that he is in private life all that his friends assert; but with this we have nothing to do, we only know him as the mouthpiece of the Liberation Society, and deal with his statements accordingly. In a printed correspondence which I have now before me, between Mr. Kingsley and myself, in the beginning of 1849, when curate of Burnley, understanding that Mr. Kingsley, as the representative of the Anti-State Church Association had challenged me to a public discussion, I felt called upon, without going out of my way, to ask him this amongst other questions:—Did you assert that the revenues of the Church are ten millions; if so, how do you reconcile this statement with the one

twelve millions? He passed by this question in entire silence. I introduce this solely to show the unrighteous means which these ecclesiastical agitators have always employed to carry on their movement, and to create prejudice against the Church. Though a vast addition has been made to the property of the Church since then, it does not amount at the present moment to *five* millions.

Once more. In a meeting held in Huddersfield in the course of last year, under the presidency of the town constable, to promote "voluntary religious education," the Rev. J. Thomas, B.A., London, Inspector of Voluntary Schools, amongst other remarks, made the following: "He learnt *last May, in a town which he visited,* that either on Christmas eve or Christmas day the dignitaries of the Church caused a stable to be built inside the sacred edifice, fixed up a manger, and strewed the floor with straw, and after having fetched a heifer from the nearest meadow and placed it in the stall, they placed a cradle in the manger, and borrowed a child to place in it, for the purpose of representing the birth of our Saviour. After all these preparations had been completed, the babe was taken out of the cradle and carried round the church, and all the people were expected to make their obeisance. This, he would remind them, had happened in this country. Then, again, on Palm Sunday, they decorated the churches with branches of trees, and the clergyman having obtained a donkey — (laughter) — placed himself astride on the creature's back and rode all round the church, personating the entry of our Saviour into Jerusalem." The Rev. Abraham Smith, a clergyman in Huddersfield, demanded from Mr. Thomas his authority for these extraordinary narrations. After innumerable windings and shiftings, the statement turns out to be a pure fabrication from beginning to end, the patrons of the Liberation Society having supplied both the weft and warp. God will not prosper such means as these, and the people of this country are too intelligent to be imposed upon by them.

I now close my answer to Dr. Mc. Kerrow; and if I may venture to compare very small things with great ones, I say to him what the holy and judicious Hooker said to Cartwright in his day: "Your arguments consist of railing and of reasons; to your railing I say nothing, to your reasons" I have now given my answer. I make no pretence to be the representative of the clergy of Manchester and its neighbourhood, but I know their minds, that, as they were slow to take offence, so they are ready to cease hostilities. If Dissenting ministers are willing to sheathe their swords, the clergy will lay aside their shields; if they will cease their assaults, we shall be glad to be spared the necessity of defence; and, while building the walls of Zion, we shall rejoice not to do it in the old fashioned way, with one of our hands engaged in the work and with the other holding a weapon.

CHURCH PRINCIPLES,

TRACT 1.

TITHE AND CHURCH-RATE:

BEING

A SERIES OF TRACTS, SHEWING THE SCRIPTURAL AND PRIMITIVE AUTHORITY FOR THE TENETS OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND.

[FOR PAROCHIAL DISTRIBUTION.]

BATH:

PRINTED BY S. HAYWARD, "EXPRESS" OFFICE, GREEN STREET.

1862.

TITHE AND CHURCH-RATE:

THE ONE BEING FOR THE SUPPORT OF THE MINISTER, THE OTHER FOR KEEPING THE FABRIC OF THE CHURCH IN REPAIR;

ATTESTED BY SCRIPTURE, ANTIQUITY, AND BRITISH LEGISLATURE:

1st.—From the Old Testament.

2nd.—From the New.

3rd.—Recognised as such in History from the earliest times to the present, obtaining also the sanction of British laws.

The first mention we have of Tithe is in Gen. xiv. 20, where Abraham, when he met Melchisedek, "gave him tithes of all," because he was "Priest of the most High God." The origin of this custom is not stated, but it is clear that it existed before, as an institution; for it is not spoken of here as if it had occurred for the first time only. It is on this passage that St. Paul, in Heb. vii. 2—4, founds an argument to shew how much greater Christ must be than the Levites and Jewish Priests, if Abram, in whose loins Levi then was, gave tithes to Melchisedek, who was in many respects a type of Christ his superior.

Here we have the great antiquity of Tithe proved, and its sacred use and obligation acknowledged, about 1913 years before Christ, as paid by Abraham, long before the time of the ceremonial law; and which cannot therefore be said to be only a Jewish, or Levitical right. So do we find Jacob vowing (Gen. xxviii. 22), "Of all that thou shalt give me, will I surely give the tenth unto thee." When the law was instituted, tithe became enacted, under a statute, in Levit. xvvii. 30–2. "And all the tithe of the land, whether of the seed of the land, or of the fruit of the tree, is the Lord's: it is holy unto the Lord. And if a man will at all redeem aught of his tithes, he shall add thereto the fifth part thereof. And concerning the tithe of the

herd, or of the flock, even of whatsoever passeth under the rod, the tenth shall be holy unto the Lord." So that the Patriarchs before the law, the Jews under the law, as well as Christians under the Gospel, have all dedicated this portion of all they had unto God. It had undoubtedly this meaning:—that as the seventh part of our time was given to God and his service from the beginning, so should the tenth part of our goods and estates be also devoted to him, inasmuch as he is the proprietor of both our time and our possessions. Tithes were, then, paid to God as a sign of honour and gratitude to him. For when Abraham gave tithes to Melchisedek, he did so as an acknowledgment he owned his victory and success were from God. Therefore, while we find God complaining in Mal. iii. 8, he was "robbed" when tithes were kept back from his Priests; so in Prov. iii. 9, to pay them to God, is considered as honouring him. In fact, as soon as Ecclesiastical laws were established, the law of Tithe takes its place among them. That the maintenance of a ministry might not be left to casual benefactions, or the *voluntary* system, as soon as Israel becomes settled in the promised land, we read, in the Book of Numbers, that the same arrangements for the support of the Jewish Priesthood were appointed, that now exist, for the Clergy of the Church of England. In the Book of Numbers, we read they had tithes, forty-eight cities set apart for them, and houses to live in; and even glebe lands, 1000 cubits beyond the walls of these cities for their peculiar use. All these passages speak of tithe as a gift devoted to God, inalienable, and due from all as a sacred duty.

So far, then, it is clear that the minister's endowment of tithe was of Divine appointment, the ordinance enforced, and that it was not withheld, or denied, on any ground whatever.

But, as modern enemies to such provision for the support of the clergy are accustomed to say that Old Testament usages have not equal sanction under the Gospel, we have only to turn to passages which are equally clear to the same effect. In Luke xi. 42, our Lord, while upbraiding the Pharisees, yet sanctions this right: "Woe unto you, Pharisees! For ye tithe mint and rue, and all manner of herbs, and pass over judgment and the love of God; these ought ye to have done, and *not to leave the other undone.*" And at a time when his disciples could not receive tithes as a national endowment, owing to the Jewish service being still in existence, he yet ordains that his disciples shall have a provision for their support, when he sent them forth to preach the Gospel, telling them, in Matt. x. 10, "not to provide money in their purse, nor clothes," "for the workman is worthy of his hire." And that such provision was considered just, and not opposed to the principles of the Gospel, is abundantly shown

by the Epistles, where St. Paul (Gal. vi. 6) says, "Let him that is taught in the word, communicate unto him that teacheth in all good things;" that "they that wait at the altar should live by the altar;" that, as under the law God appointed a maintenance for his ministers, so "they that preach the Gospel should not labour with his hands," but "should live of the Gospel."

In short, so reasonable was the duty considered of paying tithes and taxes to the support of religion, that even the barbarous nations of Greece and Rome did so to their gods. Laertius asserted that at Athens "every one there pays the tithe of his goods for the offering of sacrifices to the gods." Pliny, the historian, states that "the Arabian merchants who traded in spices durst not sell any, till they had paid tithe to their God Sabis." And Plutarch mentions the custom of the Romans to "offer to Hercules the tithe of what they took from their enemies." We may ask, what state has ever existed in power and greatness, in which every ceremony and triumph they held was not consecrated by religion? Far from the separation of religion from the State being considered a proof the State was advancing in morals or liberty, an indignant patriot, lamenting over the past glories of ancient Rome, said, "When your fathers were wise, free, and virtuous, they lived in modest habitations, and spent their wealth in decorating the temples of their gods; but you who have grown corrupt and contemptible, live in luxury and riot, and refuse to maintain the edifices consecrated to religion." This is strictly according to God's commandment in Deut. xiv. 22, "Thou shalt truly tithe all the increase of thy seed that the field bringeth forth, year by year."

It is clear, then, that the clergy have a right to expect a competent maintenance from the people committed to their charge. "If they have sown unto you spiritual things, is it a great thing if they reap your carnal things?" If God has appointed an order of men to attend continually on his worship and service, he doubtless requires sufficient worldly substance to be set apart for their support, so as to devote themselves to their duties, without being distracted by worldly cares. Our Lord, with the body of his disciples, were maintained by charitable contributions; for we read, "many ministered unto him of their substance." And St. Paul reminds the Thessalonians how he had maintained himself, yet; at the same time, he asserts his right to require subsistence from them: "*not*," says he, "*because we have not power.*"—2 Thess. iii. 9. And as the privileges of the Gospel are certainly not less than those of the law, the maintenance of ministers of the Gospel ought not to be less in proportion than what the Jewish Priests enjoyed.

Next in order, before we bring forward the testimonies of history to both Tithe and Church-rate, from the Apostle's time to the present, we must notice,

2ndly.—Church-rate, or the appointment of old of the Sanctuary half-shekel.

As tithe was for the support of *the men* that served God, so was there a piece of money to be given by each individual for keeping up *the place* in which they ministered.

A New Testament passage will best refer us to the custom of paying this in our Lord's time, according to a very ancient practice. In Matt. xvii. 24–7, we have a practical example of our Lord's "rendering to Cæsar the things that be Cæsar's, and to God the things that be God's." "And when they were come to Capernaum, they that received the tribute money came to Peter and said, Doth not your master pay tribute? He saith, Yes." Now observe what was the piece of money required to be given as tribute? It was the half-shekel, in value 15d. of our money, that was paid by each person for the support of the Jewish Sanctuary. The law compelling it is Exodus, xxx. 11–16: "The Lord spake unto Moses, saying, when thou takest the sum of the children of Israel, then shall they give every man a ransom for his soul unto the Lord: this they shall give: an half-shekel shall be the offering of the Lord. Every one—from twenty years old and above, shall give an offering unto the Lord. The rich shall not give more, and the poor shall not give less, than half a shekel. And thou shalt take the atonement money of the children of Israel, and shalt appoint it for the service of the tabernacle of the congregation."

This exactly answered to our Church-rate. Like that, it was for the purpose of maintaining the service of the sanctuary. It was to be an acknowledgment to God that their lives, which were forfeited by sin, were spared, of His sovereign mercy alone. No more was to be paid by the rich than the poor, to shew that all souls were of equal value in God's sight; and that there is one ransom price for all; and it was applied to the due support of the Tabernacle, or Temple service, in which all were alike concerned.

That our Lord recognised this gift to be a duty for maintaining public worship, mark his reasoning, Matt. xvii. 25, 26, "When he was come into the house, Jesus prevented him, saying, What thinkest thou, Simon? Of whom do the kings of the earth take custom, or tribute? of their own children, or of strangers? Peter saith unto him, Of strangers. Jesus saith unto him, Then are the children free." He, a

Son of God, and heir of all things, was certainly not liable to the tax; and yet he paid it, "lest he should offend them," as he says. Observe, how unlike He was to those who refuse Church-rates in the present day. Though he was poor, and had not where to lay his head, yet he even works a miracle to obtain the means of payment—verse 27. "Notwithstanding, lest we offend them, go thou to the sea and cast an hook, and take up the fish that first cometh up; and when thou hast opened his mouth, thou shalt find a piece of money; that take, and give unto them for me and thee." How different was his conduct to many in our day! He, to avoid strife, paid a tax which was not really due from him, because he was Lord of all; whereas now, the opponents of the Church use every mean artifice to evade a tax that is scripturally and legally due. And, *for what Temple* was this tax to support? The Jewish, the ministers of which, in those very times, our Lord had charged with having "by their traditions made void the commandments of God," and with forgetting "the weightier matters of the law—mercy, justice, and truth;" while they paid tithe of anise and cummin; "which things they *ought to have done*, and not to leave the other undone."

But what I especially call your attention to here, is, the dishonesty of Dissent. The two great dissenting commentators on the Bible are Matthew Henry and Dr. Gill. Now listen to the explanation Matthew Henry gives in his comment upon this passage. He says, "He (Christ) did this to set an example of rendering to all their dues, tribute to whom tribute is due (Rom. xiii. 7); of contributing to the support of the public worship of God in the places where they are. If we reap spiritual things, it is fit we should return carnal things. The Temple was now made a den of thieves, and the Temple worship a pretence for the opposition which the Chief Priests gave to Christ and his doctrine; and yet Christ paid this tribute. *Note—Church duties, legally imposed, are to be paid, notwithstanding Church corruptions.* We must take heed of using our liberty as a cloke of covetousness or maliciousness. —1 Pet. ii. 16. If Christ pay tribute, who can pretend to an exemption?" Now what have Dissenters done with respect to this passage? Because it gives this direct statement of the duty of paying Church-rate and in favour of Dissenters paying Church-rates. In three editions that have come out of his Commentary in the last five years, this passage is *wholly suppressed, and left out altogether!!*

So far, then, as regards Scriptural statements, all of which appear to advocate the duty of paying to all their dues; and that, as endowments alone can perpetuate religious instruction, so only can religion and its services be continued in any nation.

The institution of tithe and Church-rates may indeed be traced from

the earliest times in this country. In the Apostolic age, before Christianity became the established religion, and while its professors were exposed to persecution, it was impossible that endowments could exist. After Constantine became Emperor in the year 313, and the Christian faith became recognised as the true faith, we find, towards the end of the fourth century, traces of tithe being paid to the clergy. Pious persons began to do this sometimes voluntarily, at other times as a standing endowment for a minister. Some gave lands, some tithes, making their property for ever liable to pay a tenth of its produce to support the worship of the Church. The Saxon Dooms and Acts of Parliament did not create these laws, but only treated of them as already existing. If any one afterwards rented the land, the rent was of course one-tenth less than it would have been without the tithe, so that the tithe, though paid by the tenant, actually came out of the pocket of the lord of the manor. So that if such charge on property were to be abolished—while the Church would be the loser, the landowner would be the gainer; for he would, in the same proportion, raise his rent to the tenant. While the lord of the manor retained the right of presenting the clergyman, he built the Church for the benefit of his family and dependents, and not for the parson alone.

We have the opinions of four eminent Lawyers to this effect—Dr. Lushington, in his evidence before the Parliamentary Committee, "was of opinion that Church-rates might be traced back to Saxon times; and they levied and collected by means of a common law right." Mr. Whiteside "contended that Church-rates had taken their root in the common law of England, and were capable of being enforced by the principles of common law. The right of Parishioners to raise to raise a Church-rate had not been created by any special enactment, or by the ordinance of the King, or of any Parliament, or even of any Bishop; but it owed its existence to, and sprung from the common law of England, which law was the result of feelings, wishes, hopes, and desires, and deep convictions of the people."* Chief Justice Tyndal, delivering the judgment of the Court of Exchequer on the Braintree case, observed, "In England" (quoting from the Legislative Constitution of Othabon, anno 1268), by the common law of England, the repair of the nave of the Church in which the lay parishioners sit, falls upon the parishioners themselves; but the repairs of the chancel falls upon the Rector." "The year-book, whilst it established the fact that Church-rates were made by the parishioners at so early a period as the year 1370, does at the same time speak of a custom from time immemorial to levy the amount of the rate on each parishioner by distress, necessarily

* See also Jacob's Law Dictionary—Parish. Blackstone's Commentaries, pp. 112-115. Vol 2, pp. 20, 21, shews tithes were given about A.D. 650.

carrying back, beyond the time of legal memory, the obligation of the parishioners to make a rate upon themselves for the reparation of the Parish Church, and such a custom existing beyond the time of legal memory, is no other than the common law of England." "Such, then, being the law of the land, it follows that the repair of the fabric of the Church is a duty which the parishioners are compellable to perform, not a mere *voluntary act*, which they may perform or decline at their own discretion; that the law is imperative upon them, absolutely, that they do repair the Church, not binding upon them in a qualified or limited sense only, that they may repair, or not, as they think fit; and that where it so happens that the fabric of the Church stands in need of repair, the only question upon which the parishioners, when convened to make a rate, can, by law, deliberate and determine, is, not whether they will repair the Church or not (for upon that point they are concluded by law), but how, and in what manner, the common law obligation so binding on them, may be best, and most effectually carried into effect. The parishioners have no more power to throw off the repair of the Church than that of the bridges and highways. A Church-rate is laid to provide against a common danger, and to secure a common good." Sir John Coleridge said, "we have had the question of Church-rates before the judges of the law again and again, and what has been the result? The result has been that in the Court of Queen's Bench, in the Exchequer Court, and in the House of Lords, without a single dissentient voice, even when they have decided against the maintenance of a *particular* rate, not one judge has been found who has not laid it down that, by the common law of England, the burden of repairing the nave of the Church lay with the parishioners. It is legal beyond a doubt. It is sound. It is ancient."

In the year 630 parishes were first formed. Church-rates began first to be officially mentioned about the year 552, owners of property voluntary consenting that their lands should become chargeable to both these payments, on condition that the services of the Church should be *free to all*, as well as that the buildings should be maintained by the parishioners. One thing is certain, that tithes were paid to the Church long before any civil laws were made respecting them. We have evidence of this fact from the year 669 to 690. The laws, also, of Edward the Confessor, in 1060, refer to such tithes as having been claimed in the year 600, by Augustin, and conceded to him by Edward. The first *civil* law that was passed was in 777, by Offa, King of Mercia, and again in 855 we find the same law was confirmed; and this has been handed down, undisputed, to the present time. Above all, this birth-right of Englishmen was secured to them by the Act of Magna Charta—"The Church of England shall be

free, and shall have all her whole rights and liberties inviolable." To prevent the Church being further endowed by gifts of private persons, which had suffered abuse, the law of Mortmain was passed in the year 1225, 9th of Henry III., c. 36—"It shall not be lawful from henceforth to any to give his lands to any religious house." Why was this statute passed excepting that *men had actually before, and frequently given*, their lands to religious purpose, proving beyond doubt that individuals endowed the Church, and not the State or the Parliament, as against those who say that the State endowed the Church, and can, therefore, disendow it by depriving it of its possessions. In 1340, in Edward III.'s time, reference is made to this endowment by Magna Charta. Again, in Statute A.D. 1350, Edward III.—"Whereas the holy Church of England was founded in the estate of Prelacy, by the said Grandfather (that is, Edward I., in 1307,) and his *progenitors*, and the earls, barons, and nobles of the said realm, *and their ancestors*, to inform them and their people, certain possessions, lands, rents, and advowsons were assigned by the said founders." In these cases Parliament interferes to protect Church property; and far from stating the property to belong to *the State*, it declares it belongs to *the Church*, and *never assisted* in the Legislature. In addition, the fact that no two churches are alike, nor their endowments alike, shew they were endowed according to the wealth and inclination of the individuals that bestowed on them their property. Whereas, if Parliament endowed the establishment nationally, an equality would have been observed in the distribution of property to Churches. Church property, not having been given by the State, can no more be taken away from the Church by the State, without its committing a robbery, than can the goods of a farmer or shop-keeper be confiscated by it. Though a Trustee, it has not irresponsible power over the property of which it is a Guardian. Therefore if our legislators were to become dishonest Trustees, it would shake public confidence in the security of all property. Any man who has any thing to bequeath to his wife and family, may then tremble for its security. The Queen having, by her Coronation Oath, sworn to maintain all the rights and privileges belonging to the Church, dare not therefore sign an Act that shall shall abolish any of the Church's endowments.

Such was then the origin of our Churches, Parsonages and Glebe, our Tithes, and Church-rates, even *individual* and *voluntary* benefactions, and *not state* gifts. But notwithstanding that such charges are a national and civil encumbrance on every house, and piece of land, which every man buying freehold property knows it is subject to, and that they purchase it at a reduced value on account of being so liable, an objection has been set up against such payments on the

score of its being contrary to a Dissenter's conscience, and that no man should pay what conscience disapproves. If this is any valid objection, it would be a fair argument against the payment of anything; and surely the Dissenter's conscience, which is so piously sensitive, ought to have thought of this at the proper time—the time when he buys property so subject. The law of the land secured to the Parish Church the right to be supported by the parishioners long before dissent ever existed, therefore by no pretence of justice can it be deprived of that right in the present day. As to its being derogatory to the Church to be obliged to employ force to compel payment of a Church-rate, it is no more so than in the state to enforce taxes; and, in fact, would be the same against paying Police, Highway, and Poor-rates. Observe what such sophistry brings us to :— a member of the Peace Society, if it is a matter really against conscience, might just as well attempt to excuse himself from paying state taxes because part of them go to pay for war; or a bed-ridden man might refuse to pay for road rates because he does not use them, as a Dissenter refuse to pay Church-rates, especially as it is a rate, not on himself, but on the property he holds, and thereforre is divested of a personal character. Such persons assume the opinion, (for it is no matter of conscience at all) that the support of religion should be left to voluntary benevolence. But if this is right, then the relief of the poor should be left to voluntary support. The State, however, has tried this; and having found that the relief of the poor cannot be left to christian charity alone, has enacted laws to compel payment of Poor-rate. Yet it has been said that while it is not safe to leave provision for the *physcial* wants of the poor, to the voluntary system, it *is safe* to leave their *spiritual* necessities to voluntary support, though, in the former case the poor are aware of their wants, while in religion they are sadly unconscious of their spiritual wants. Therefore if the State has found it to be wise to establish Poor-rates, it has also, to establish the poor man's Church. So much for the gross inconsistency of this objection.

But while Dissenters in the present day deny the liberty to Church people to tax themselves to pay Church-rates, we find objection to this rate is a novelty never heard of except at this time. At the Rebellion, the Presbyterians and Puritans, who ejected the Church Clergy out of their livings, never objected to the Church being established. So far from it, they claimed tithe, insisted on endowments, and *passed a law to enforce Church-rates.* It is really worth knowing what is the amount of tithe paid in this country, and what proportion Dissenters contribute. It amounts to three millions and fifty-five thousand pounds, from tithe and other sources. Now, the agricultural produce of the land of the kingdom is computed at 150

millions; consequently as tithe means a 10th of the produce, the income of the Church from Tithe ought to be *fifteen millions*, instead of three millions; or, in other words, it is only *one-fifth* of what it ought to be. Whereas if the Church had been in possession of its whole proper income, it would have amply provided for the spiritual wants of the increasing population.

Again, a great effort has been most unfairly made to lead people to believe that a great majority of the people of England are opposed to Church-rates, whereas from the returns of 9,672 parishes where Church-rates were imposed, only 498 parishes refused the rates, or only 5 per cent. of the number of parishes, while 2 per cent. only of the population are really opposed to this necessary and legal charge. Church-rates amount to £300,000 a-year, of which sum Dissenters contribute only one tenth, nine tenths being paid by Church people. Yet when a law was lately proposed to exempt Dissenters, in order to settle these disputes, they refused to be exempt, unless Churchmen were deprived of the legal power to rate themselves also.

Observe, also, what is the *number* of this party who wish to change the ancient laws of England. It has been computed (by Mr. Horace Mann) that the thirty-five bodies of Nonconformists, including Roman Catholics and Unitarians, do not exceed 33 per cent. of the whole population, of which Wesleyans, who are not opposed to an Establishment or Church-rates, and who are more numerous than both Independents and Baptists, amount to 12 out of this 33 per cent. Consequently the balance of all opposers of the rate put together amount to only *one-fifth* of the whole population, and who are not found to contribute a tenth part of the taxes of the country. Is it right, then, or reasonable that a factious political portion of these sects, which compose but 20 per cent., should be allowed to dictate to the whole population whether we shall any longer have an Established Church, and our families have the rights of religion secured to them—the religious observance of the Sunday receive the sanction and protection of the law!!

But we are told that it goes against conscience with Dissenters to receive State pay; and that the Church ought not to receive it upon the same grounds. What is the fact here upon this point? During the last 36 years the Clergy of the Church of England have not received a farthing from Parliament, nor for building churches, with the exception of providing for two professorships at the University. But does Dissent receive nothing? What is the Regium Donum? It was an annual sum given by George III. out of his hereditary income as a charity to poor dissenting ministers and their widows,

and it was afterwards changed into a fixed yearly sum, and *became a parliamentary grant* from that time. It amounts to about £27,000 per annum, though in 1860 it was £31,200. The following are the returns recently printed by the House of Commons :—

GOVERNMENT GRANTS TO PROTESTANT DISSENTERS.

	£	s.	d.
Amount issued for England from 1801 to 1834	124,384	14	6
Amount paid by Paymaster of Civil Services, 1834 to 1842	16,526	10	3
Amount issued in Ireland, 1801 to 1842	864,568	6	8
Royal Bounty to Dissenting Ministers in Ireland	14,168	2	6
Total	1,019,647	13	11

In the face of this, might not Churchmen refuse, on the same plea. to pay Government taxes, because these payments come out of the taxes of the country, more reasonably than Dissenters refuse to pay Church-rates? Nonconformist schools also receive £4,000 out of £16,000 a-year, the reported cost of these schools, from Government, which also, in greater part, comes out of the pockets of Episcopalians, To *plead conscience*, therefore, when called on to *pay* a legal demand, and to *forget conscience* when called upon to *receive*, places that plea in a dishonourable and dishonest light. And even supposing this to be a valid excuse, it proves as much for Churchmen against paying the Regium Donum, as for Dissenters against Church-rates. That Dissenters receive this endowment, therefore, only places them in a ridiculous light, when they pocket it without its disagreeing with their conscience, but when they have to pay it, conscience calls them into court.

We fearlessly assert that Scripture, reason, and we may add justice, undeniably prove it to be the duty of the supreme power in our land to preserve in all its integrity the endowments bequeathed and entailed upon our Church by the pious munificence of our ancestors. We do not believe that the highest duty of Christian rulers is only that of being avengers of crime, but that their first care should be to secure, by endowed instructors, the moral well-being of the people of our land. We would ask the misled advocates of the voluntary system in religion to be *consistent*. You authorise the State to provide for the relief of the poor, for education, for the cultivation of art, science, giving grants of public money to libraries, museums, and picture galleries, to improve the tastes of the people. And are all these things to have State support, and yet *that* is to be withdrawn from the greatest science of all that teaches man his immortality, his accountability, and the one thing needful! Are these sciences to be endowed and places of public amusement, and yet religion to be thought unworthy of any aid from a Christian State?

We believe that this great nation is a wise and understanding nation, and that she regards the souls of her people as of infinite preciousness. And that however advantageous and useful commerce and art may be, yet that it is of more importance, in her estimation, to teach her children that "righteousness exalteth a nation, but sin is a reproach to any people."

But if our God should permit her sanctuaries to be robbed, and her endowments to be perverted to worldly purposes—when this happens to England, then may "Ichabod," the glory is departed from her, be written upon her walls. And the New Zealander musing over her ruin may, while inquiring into the cause of this, then say, "This once was a great and mighty nation that prospered in arts, commerce, and arms. While it served God and acknowledged Him in all its ways, He was with it. But when it forsook Him, He gave it up to the spoiler. And such will ever be the end of those that forget Him."

PRINTED AT THE "EXPRESS" OFFICE, GREEN STREET, BATH.

THE LIBERATION SOCIETY

ADVERSE TO

CIVIL AND RELIGIOUS LIBERTY.

A LETTER

TO

SIR S. MORTON PETO, BART., M.P.,

FROM

I. E. N. MOLESWORTH, D.D.,

VICAR OF ROCHDALE.

PRICE ONE PENNY.

LONDON:

RIVINGTONS, WATERLOO PLACE;
SEELY, JACKSON, AND HUNT, FLEET STREET.

MANCHESTER: THOS. SOWLER & SONS; AND HALE & ROWARTH.

PASSAGES FROM "THOUGHTS ON THE CHURCH AND STATE QUESTION," &c., BY "A PROTESTANT NONCONFORMIST," CORROBORATING SIR S. MORTON PETO'S TESTIMONY.

"MANY things combine to show that the Established Church has, at present, a stronger hold on the country generally than it had twenty or thirty years ago, when Dissenters began to take up that more decidedly aggressive position in regard to its State connexion and endowments, of which the Liberation Society afterwards became a prominent result."

"Then, what has been the effect of their aggressive position and efforts upon Dissenters themselves? Many of their own body believe that these have tended to injure their spiritual character, and thus lessened their power to advance the cause of true religion in the land." Page 23.

"The Liberation Society has already been, and must necessarily continue to be, the occasion of much practical evil." Page 22.

POSTSCRIPT TO THE SECOND EDITION.

"Nearly a year has now passed since the foregoing pages were written; but further reflection has only served to strengthen my conviction, that the nature and circumstances of the State Church Question do not justify the existence and aims of the Liberation Society. Further experience, too, has more fully shown the practical evils, to which such an association must give rise."

The whole tract,* from which the above are quoted, is strongly commended to the perusal of all thoughtful Christians.

* Wertheim, Macintosh, and Hunt. Price 2d.

LETTER TO SIR S. MORTON PETO, BART., M.P.

"He could assure the House that, although a Nonconformist, he had never taken part in their agitations against the Church; but, on the contrary, he very much deplored that they had ever taken place. He was decidedly opposed to the course taken by the Liberation Society, believing that it had thrown back the progress of civil and religious liberty for many years; and, on the other hand, he was of opinion that the Church Defence Society was doing quite as much harm to the Church of England."—*Speech of Sir S. M. Peto, Reported in the "Manchester Examiner and Times."*

"He did not move this matter at the suggestion of the Church Liberation Society; he was not a member of that body; and, although a Nonconformist, he had never taken an active part in any agitation against the Church, which had made progress and deserved to do so, as she had exerted herself largely for the benefit of the people."—*Speech of Sir S. M. Peto, Reported in the "Times."*

My Dear Sir,

I am sure you know me well enough to believe, without hesitation, my discla imer f personal disrespect or hostility, when I make reported Parliamentary observations of yours the basis of a public letter. With respect to the passages quoted above, we have no difference of any importance.

We each desire the "progress of civil and religious liberty;" we agree that the "*Liberation Society has thrown back*" that progress; we may differ somewhat as to the extent to which the "Church Defence Society" has done "harm to the Church;" but we both concur in your generous testimony that the Church has "*made progress, and deserved to do so, as she has exerted herself largely for the benefit of the people.*"

I lay no stress upon any opinions you may have formerly entertained; but I acknowledge your present statements with honour, not with controversial purposes. I use your authority and testimony to bring the subject before the public, and *especially* before the many intelligent and pious Nonconformists who silently, and in some cases openly, entertain Christian, just, and liberal sentiments, similar to those which you have expressed.

But I doubt whether they generally, or even you, fully apprehend the *extent* to which the designs and doings of the Liberation Society are contrary to the principles, not only of civil and religious liberty but also of true religion and true liberty in general.

That obstructiveness to civil and religious liberty meets you on the very threshold of your bill, respecting Dissenters' burials. You deny (no doubt truly) that you bring in your bill at the suggestion of the Liberation Society. But, had that bill been even less objectionable in itself, it could hardly have obtained consideration on its own merits. Whatsoever the intention of the mover, its tendency cannot, in the general consideration of it, be separated from the destructive and insidious tactics of the Liberation conspiracy. The proceedings and principles of that conspiracy bar the consideration of any measure of conciliation, upon its own merits. They forbid its being contemplated with that Christian concern, which should be common to both Churchmen and Dissenters, and which should direct their common efforts, though in separate lines, to one terminus—to the *staying of the plague of ungodliness*, among our teeming population.

No such question, and especially no abolition of Church Rates, can be discussed as an isolated question. It cannot be discussed as unconnected with the *ulterior* designs, of confiscation and "shattering" the Church, openly avowed by the Liberation Society and its leading advocates.

These ulterior designs—their *equity* or *iniquity*—are the *immediate issue* to be decided by honest and religious men of all denominations. The end, I affirm, is evil, and the means are evil. Even if the end were good, Protestants have not adopted the Jesuitical tenet that the end could sanctify the means. The *equity* or *iniquity* of both the *end* and the *means* are, I repeat, the *true* and *immediate* issue. To that issue I will now address myself in distinct charges, and in statements of notorious facts, to confirm those charges.

I charge the designs and doings of the Liberation Society, and its abettors, with being—

UNJUST—UNCHRISTIAN—INTOLERANT—REVOLUTIONARY.

These charges I proceed to test, by specimens of their avowed designs, and notorious deeds, and declarations.

I will first give these Liberators the advantage of taking their demand, of "unconditional abolition of Church Rates," in its most favourable aspect, as unconnected with their avowed design of making it a *step* to confiscation and destruction. Even in this point of view it involves the following unjust and tyrannical principles :—

1. That those who refuse to support churches shall retain power to use them and to interfere with their management.

2. That men who exercise the right of self-government in vestry, and thus exempt themselves by a majority voting against a rate, are to wrest the same privilege from a majority who may be willing to vote for a rate.

3. That the parishes which exercise freely their right of local self-government in refusing rates are a very small minority, but nevertheless claim to take from the great majority of parishes their right of local self-government for granting rates.

4. That, if the parishes which have refused rates should change their mind, abolition denies them the power of benefiting by experience and reconsideration.

5. That this intolerant suppression of the ancient common law,* right of parochial self-government by a majority in vestry, is to take effect only against the parish church, and not upon other parish institutions, which may be as objectionable to the consciences of Churchmen, as the Church is alleged to be to the consciences of Dissenters.

6. That the resistance of exemption from Church Rates to relieve conscientious scruples, is a virtual casting off of the threadbare cloak of conscience.†

7. That the liability of property to a charge for national purposes, which existed before Dissenters became possessed of that property, is to be given up as a premium on Dissent.

Such is the pretended liberty, toleration, and justice of Church Rate Abolition itself. Take it next as the avowed *step* to confiscation and "shattering" the Established Church, and observe the purposes and principles which it comprehends.

* See "The True Points at Issue in the Church Rate Question." By Toulmin Smith, Esq. Price 1d., or 5s. per 100. Manchester: Thos. Sowler and Sons, St. Ann's-square.

† See "A Dissenter on Church Rates." Price 1d., or 1s. 6d. per 100. Manchester: Thos. Sowler and Sons, St. Ann's-square.

There is a new creed propounded, which is to distinguish a *true Dissenter*. The old Nonconformists acknowledged, in common with the Church, the fundamental doctrines of atonement and of the triune Godhead—but claimed the liberty of worshipping and associating according to their own views of discipline and doctrine—and of teaching others to do likewise. But they did not feel it an essential of their creed to deprive the Established Church of the same liberty. The new creed by which "true Dissenters" are to be distinguished is union, not in teaching Christian truths, but in hostility against a Christian Church. Holding the faith in unity of spirit—in the bond of peace—which bond is love and not hatred—are the Gospel distinctive marks of Christian communion. The new creed is disunion in everything but hostility to the Church,—union, not in love of their fellow Christians, but in strife, confiscation, and destruction. It is summed up in the words of Mr. Miall "as the *sacred mission of Dissenting Ministers to shatter the Established Church and give the dust of it to the four winds of heaven!*" This creed is further explained by some particulars, established by recorded testimony of its supporters, both in *published declarations*, and in *evidence* before the Committee of the Lords on Church Rates.

I give the following specimens, now notorious :—

1. A Christian State is not only to repudiate its ancient (and surely blessed) policy of encouraging Christianity and saving the people from heathenism, and from the social crimes and injuries which must result from ungodliness; but is also to adopt the opposite and unhallowed policy, of plundering the existing and time-consecrated Christian endowments.

2. For this unchristian purpose, the State is to be false to the just principles, which ought to direct the legislation of any nation, whether Christian or heathen; and is to invade those rights and securities of property which it is both its duty and its interest* to protect.

3. One class of citizens (especially Christian citizens) is held up as the proper prey of another.

4. Confiscation, in defiance of repeated and solemn adjudication, is to be a rule of legislation.

5. Parliament is thus to be the subverter of the decisions of

courts of justice, and the instrument of destroying those securities of property, which it is bound by every principle of justice and true policy to guard.

6. Endowments are to be confiscated, *because* their pious donors had devoted them to the national institutions for the *service* of *Almighty God;* and even property restored by those, who had diverted it from that holy purpose, is to be sacrilegiously re-confiscated.* And lest the people should shrink from this sacrilege, their avarice is addressed with the tempting counsels of the French revolutionists, to *diminish their taxes* by robbing the church.

7. Trusts established by the prescription of *centuries* of *lawful* possession are to be annulled at the call of a club of theorists.

8. The legislature is to establish a prescriptive title by twenty-five years of (even *unlawful*) possession for Dissenting endowments, and trample upon centuries of *lawful* possession, when pleaded as a prescription for Church endowments.

9. To accomplish this confiscation, our Queen is to be compelled to violate her coronation† OATH—that she would "preserve unto the bishops and clergy of England and Ireland, and to the churches there committed to their charge, *all* such *rights* and *privileges*, as by law *do* or *shall* appertain to them or any of them."

10. Her Majesty's government and the legislature is to be overawed by an organization analogous to that of the Jacobin clubs, to abandon a cause of which they have acknowledged the rectitude, and which they surrender, not to justice, but to outward pressure.

11. That if Englishmen presume to oppose the designs of this Jacobinical association, which would dictate the coercion of the majority of parishes by the minority, then they are to be bullied into submission by threats of litigation and strife in every parish.

These are the purposes and principles openly avowed by the witnesses or the advocates of the Liberation Society, and set forth under a professed intention to *liberate* the Church. Why, the very name of "Liberation," so applied to the Church, is a mockery and an imposture. It represents principles utterly inconsistent with

* See the evidence of Dr. Forster and Mr. Morley.

† There are those who will attempt to explain away the obligations of this oath. Such refinements and reservations may be sanctioned by either superstition or infidelity, but religious men will see in the violation of such an oath nothing but PERJURY.

the purposes and proceedings of those who combine under that name. Are plundering and "shattering" Liberation? When have the body of Churchmen invited these men to meddle with their interests or vindicate their cause? What real Liberation have the self-constituted Liberators of the Church promoted? Where have been the Liberators' efforts while the Church has been patiently winning its way to synodical action? They have sided with the oppressors. Where were they when Churchmen manfully challenged a fair trial of the fraudulent Census? They were hard at work, spending large sums, promoting street corner petitions, and intimidating government to suppress the honest touchstone question—"What is your religious profession?"

Those Dissenters, of whose truth and creed those purposes and proceedings of the Liberation Society are the articles, might well shrink from an honest answer to that question. But will the religious Dissenters of England acknowledge and embrace it as their creed, that their religion, their Christianity, their *sacred mission*, is to shatter the Established Church and plunder its property? Is that principle consistent with either civil or religious liberty? Is it true Liberation? Is it even tolerance? Is it evangelic religion? Is it the spirit in which Jesus replied to the Disciples when they wished him to forbid one that followed not with them, but cast out devils in His name?—"Forbid him not, for he that is not against us is for us." And when are professed Christians invited to adopt that bond as their distinguishing creed? When the plague of ungodliness and atheism is raging amongst the people, and when the Church has arisen with unrivalled love and power to stay the plague! If the injury and weakening of that Church at that time, and under those circumstances, be the distinguishing creed of true Dissent, it is a creed which, in the days of Israel's plague, would have imposed upon its believers a "sacred mission" to fetter the limbs, and snatch away the censer of Aaron, when he was rushing forth, in holy zeal and self-devotion, to stay the plague and stand between the dead and the living. If this creed of Liberators is to be the bond and creed of "true Dissenters," Christians will do well to search the Bible for the

principles of such a creed, rather than for arguments against the sacred mission of the Church to stay the present plague among our people, of which the signs and effects are too evident to be overlooked, and too terrible to be disregarded. Surely such a creed, such principles, and the arts of calumny and false representation with which they have been urged—are not undeserving of the epithets which have been applied to them. There are those who would pervert this application into personal imputations, or into condemnation of the private worth, or the conscientious belief of the agents. But I have ever disclaimed such imputations. My argument needs no judgment of men's secret *motives*. I deal with the logical consequences of *principles* and *proceedings*. If principles or proceedings be evil, they are not the less so because the agent is under the delusion of *believing* them to be righteous.

The denunciation and opposition of such principles and proceedings is the duty of all right-minded men, who believe them to be evil. To bring to light, and defeat a dangerous plot is a public duty, without reference to any judgment upon the character of individuals in matters foreign to that plot. If we denounce (and would, had we lived in those days, have endeavoured to defeat) the plot of Guy Fawkes and his fellow-conspirators, who contrived the wholesale murders of Kings, Lords, and Commons, for the special purpose of destroying the Protestant Church of England, and restoring Popery; does it follow from this, that we are to deny to those men the credit of being honourable in private life, and even kind-hearted in matters unconnected with the miserable delusion, in which their own fanatical theory, combined with the counsels of Jesuits, had involved them? May we not even allow that those very Jesuits, who made them believe that the most diabolical means were sanctified by the end, had persuaded themselves, as well as their dupes, that it was a principle of true religion; or, as Mr. Miall calls it, "Their *sacred mission*, to shatter the *Protestant Church*, and give its dust to the four winds of heaven?" With the same qualifications as to private character and personal conscientiousness, I denounce and resist the plot of the Liberation Society. I maintain that the end is the

same,—the destruction of the Protestant Established Church of England. I maintain that the means, though not so flagrantly evil, are subversive of the first principles of order, security, justice, and Christianity. And I further maintain that the conception of such a plot, and the approval of such means, could never be adopted by truly religious-minded men, but under a perversion of judgment and conscience similar to that, which deluded the more respectable of the Popish conspirators to become parties to the notorious Gunpowder Plot. The plot of the Liberators, though carried on by different means, tends to the same end as that which Guy Fawkes and his fellow-conspirators were taught by the Jesuits to regard as their "sacred mission"—*the ruin of the great bulwark of the Reformation*—the casting down this barrier against superstition, as well as against ungodliness, infidelity, and fanaticism. I do not affirm that the Jesuits are the contrivers or the instigators of the Liberation movement. But I do affirm that, if they were, they could not have devised machinery or agents more suited to their interest and their *ends;* which are to *weaken and undermine the Established Church* in the estimation of the people, and in its means and appliances for maintaining amongst the people the fundamental truths of religion. It is to oppose these designs and doings, not to judge private character or motives, that I desire to rouse the people of England.

I would also awaken you, and other members of Parliament, to the real character of that conspiracy, which has compelled or deceived legislators to forward the preliminary movements of tyranny, intolerance, and revolution, under the mask of advocating civil and religious liberty.

If the ends be evil, are the means notoriously used to accomplish them less evil? Scurrilities, misrepresentations, and slanders of both the Church and clergy, notoriously abound. For samples I beg to refer you to the facts set forth in two well-known and well-authenticated publications; the one by the Rev. J. B. Clifford,* and the

* Twelve copies by post for 12 postage stamps, sent to Rev. J. B. Clifford, No. 1, Highbury Place, Kingsdown, Bristol.

other, containing a correspondence between the Rev. Abraham Smith* and an itinerant agent employed to decry the schools superintended by the Church, and to deprive them of Government support. The nature of such means is self-evident; but I must briefly touch upon some allegations and arguments, of which the fallacies are very commonly overlooked.

Lecturers and the press are employed not only to propagate false representations, but to obscure the real issue, by raising discussions on representations which, if true, would not justify the conclusions founded upon them. For example,

1. In the 19th century the modern sects (and especially the last self-constituted *true Dissent*, with its "*sacred mission*") exalt themselves as exclusively scriptural, and call upon the Church to argue over and over again her repeatedly vindicated Apostolic origin and constitution.

2. In disregard of the noble monuments of the reformation of the Church, of its literary and theological treasures, of the glorious testimony of foreign Churches, of the honourable acknowledgments of the most learned and pious of English Nonconformists, in defiance of its history and succession from the days of the Apostles, we are to believe it to be a corrupt and useless novelty, younger than the youngest of the hydra-heads which belong to the newly-discovered "true dissent."

3. The State support of the Church is to be condemned as unlawful, in defiance of God's own particular ordinances in the Jewish state, because under heathen rulers that support, being *impossible*, was not claimed by Christians. This foolish objection is maintained against the actual ordinances of State support by God Himself, when the State was such as made it both lawful and practicable to provide for its religion. To get rid of this sanction, it has been urged that the Jewish laws were not necessarily to be *imitated* by Christians. Churchmen do not argue for *imitation*. All they contend for is that God Himself sanctioned the *lawfulness*, and in *practice* established

* "The Blasphemy and Superstition of the Clergy, &c., Disproved. By the Rev. A. Smith, M.A." London: Longmans, Green, & Co. Manchester: Thos. Sowler and Sons. Price 3d.

the duty, of State support of religion; that neither Jesus nor His Apostles revoked that sanction, nor neglected that duty to the Jewish Church; and that, as soon as the Christian Church *had the choice*, the practice was adopted, and continued without a question of its lawfulness.

4. The protection which the law extends to Church property, in common with *all* other property, Secular and Dissenting, as well as Church property, is falsely represented as an unfair and partial protection given to the Church by the State, and as dependence of the Church on the State in religious doctrines. The national provision for maintaining the means of Christian worship, which was in existence centuries before the present sects of Dissent, is miscalled a taxation of Dissenters by a dominant Church. The stale fiction, stolen from Popish invention, that the Church when it reformed itself was not the same Church, is revived; and it is falsely pretended that possession of its endowments is to be dated only from that period, some *two hundred years* back, and *therefore*, may be confiscated. A strange and not very honest conclusion, by the way (even if the premises were as true as they are in reality false) for Dissenters to draw, while *they* secure a prescriptive title for their own endowments by only *twenty-five years* possession.

5. The usefulness of the Church is denied in the face of its national religious means and ministrations. Its endowed independence is represented as inferior to the unendowed dependence of Congregationalism; its parochial order to the undefined pastoral functions of Dissenting ministrations; its fixity of religious provision for the poor as well as rich districts, to the migratory licence of private caprice or speculation. In short, various assertions, unproved and contrary to obvious facts, are put forth to justify the designs of *plundering* and *shattering* the Church.

But, if these fallacies were even well founded, *how* do they support the right of *plundering* and "*shattering*" a Christian Church? If alleged as premises for such a conclusion, they then become at once, not arguments for religious or civil liberty, or for the relief of conscience; but simply the utterance of inward feelings

of hostility to the Church, and the weapons of intolerance, injustice, and persecution.

I can understand something like reasoning in a Dissenter saying: "Voluntaryism is in my opinion very good, and the Church is very bad; *therefore* I shall *follow my opinion* and be a Dissenter." My answer would be: "I am sorry you are so mistaken in that opinion, but of course I offer no obstacle to your following your opinion. I am of the opposite opinion; I prefer the Church; and I claim the same right, as I concede to you, to follow my opinion unmolested." If this Voluntary, this civil and religious liberator, goes beyond this, and says to me: "You shall not follow your opinion, nor remain an unmolested member of the Established Church, but you must submit to be plundered and shattered under the *sacred mission* "of true Dissent,"—then I see no difference (unless in the want of power) between the conclusion of this asserter of new-fangled "civil and religious liberty," and that of the Inquisitors, who professed a "sacred mission" to take away property, liberty, and even life, from those who held opposite opinions. That the designs of such theorists should be upheld in any stage by men who call themselves (*par excellence*, if not exclusively) "Liberals," is a specimen of "modest assurance" not unworthy of even our times of political delusion. Light, however, has appeared—the waning majorities show that not only moderate and independent men, but even their "thick and thin" political serfs, are becoming ashamed of the servitude exacted by these arrogant task masters, and disgusted with their outrages against the plainest principles of reason and justice as well as of civil and religious liberty.

Before I conclude I will advert to your opinion, that Church Defence Societies "do harm" to the Established Church. I admit this, to a certain extent, to be true. The Established Church does share the evils of this unchristian assault. In the estimation of the reflecting and the pious, it must be regarded as a great evil that Christians should be placed in antagonism against Christians — that mutual hostility should be excited and kept alive by criminations and recriminations — that the depreciation of the Church and exaltation

of Dissent should compel counter representations of the superiority of the Church and of the inferiority of Dissent — and that the leading combatants in this warfare should be those ministers whose office is Gospel truth, and whose desire should be unity of spirit, in the bond of peace. More grievous also it is, that the warfare should be forced upon us, and these champions engaged and engrossed in it, at a time when their common enemies (ungodliness, infidelity, and atheism) are in force (we may say in triumph) among the almost miraculously increasing masses of our population; whose dangers and necessities would be insufficiently provided for by the whole appliances and the unimpeded efforts of all Christians, whether Churchmen or Dissenters. With whatsoever indifference or satisfaction other Christians may regard these evils, it is to me an evil of the greatest magnitude, that I should be compelled to take part in such an unchristian warfare. In my case the evil is aggravated by the weight and responsibilities of my duties in the Church, and by the violation of that peace which ought to be the privilege of a clergyman, and in which advancing years invest him with a stronger claim and a more solemn interest.

But on whom does the responsibility for these evils rest — on the *assailants*, or on the *defenders?* To answer this question I refer you to the truly Christian remarks of Dr. Ash, a Nonconformist of Bristol, whose pamphlet* has been reprinted by a highly respected Nonconformist of Manchester.

Is it reasonable to expect Church defenders to remain apathetic, when officers of State were yielding their *convictions* to the assailants — when majorities of the House of Commons were voting for the introduction of that which was avowed to be the grand step to shattering the Church and confiscating its endowments? Were they to slumber when the Committee of the House of Lords (like the spear of Ithuriel touching the disguised tempter at the ear of the unconscious sleeper in Paradise) had caused the plot to start up before the unwary people as the undisguised and formidable enemy of the Church?

* Thoughts on the State Church Question and Liberation Society. By a Protestant Nonconformist. Price 2d. London: Wertheim, Macintosh, and Hunt.

To have permitted this plot to proceed further unopposed would have been a dereliction of duty. No dangers, no injuries nor inconveniences, could justify such desertion. And grievous as at present are the consequences of the struggle, I believe that ultimately great benefit will arise to the Church.

Churchmen shrink from agitation—the machinery of the Church is not easily or quickly set into motion. Her cause has been neglected—the scandalous falsehoods and misrepresentations spread abroad, through the organization and the monied means, of the Liberation Society have remained too long uncontradicted. The people once deceived, and left for a long time under the delusion, till it has taken possession of their imagination, and become a rooted prejudice, are slow in recovering from it, and disinclined to receive facts and arguments which demonstrate their error. Intelligent Churchmen were incredulous as to the possibility of the legislature, and especially Her Majesty's ministers, giving countenance to the *unjust, intolerant, revolutionary*, and unchristian designs to which the abolition of Church Rates is avowed and intended to subserve. The Church has awakened to the danger. She may move slowly, but she will move in power, in spite of the galvanized efforts of the Liberation Society.

I venture to look for the day when not only Churchmen of all opinions will be organized in a league of defence, but Nonconformists like yourself will cease to tolerate the principles of the Liberation, and will feel that true patriotism and true piety will call on you to "stand by the Church"* for the sake of our common country, and our common Christianity. I do not expect that Dissenters will renounce their differences, nor that Churchmen will compromise their principles; but there is no reason why we may not, in our separate lines, labour to promote piety and godliness—without envying each other's success or trying to destroy each other's means of usefulness. May the prophet's words be realized here: "The envy also of Ephraim shall depart, and the adversaries of Judah shall be cut off;

* See the speeches of the Revs. S. H. Hall, Gervase Smith, Jackson and Osborne (Wesleyans), quoted in my Lecture on "The Necessity and Design of Church Defence Associations." Manchester: Thos. Sowler and Sons. Price 1d.

Ephraim shall not envy Judah, and Judah shall not vex Ephraim."—Isaiah xi. 13.

But be that as it may, the faithfulness of the Church, which you so candidly acknowledged, will, I trust, secure to her the continuance of His protection, who can call forth light from darkness and good from evil. Even now I trace for the Church the dawn of a brighter day arising out of the very cloud of this sad controversy. I see in all parts of the country, able polemics* arising to refute our assailants. The truths of the Church and the fallacies of Liberation are better understood. I find myself shoulder to shoulder with good and worthy clergymen of all parties, sinking their minor differences, and becoming by contact better acquainted with each other's Christian rectitude in fundamental questions. I receive from the operative classes communications of their awakened sense of the truth and justice of our cause, and of their association to defend it. The laity have acknowledged, and acted upon, their responsibility as members of the Church. Their joint action with the clergy has been more developed and organized. The Committee of Laymen, with their devoted and efficient secretary, first mustered in orderly phalanx at the point of assault, and sounded an alarm through the kingdom. The Church Institution is now organizing the parochial and ruridecanal array, and will, I trust, soon evoke in every parish such a spirit as will resent, and provide such means of union and defence, as will effectually resist, the threatened attempt to bully Englishmen, by fomented litigation and strife, into betrayal of their civil and religious liberties to the unreasonable and unjust demands of an association assuming the pretence of liberation.

I remain,

Yours faithfully,

I. E. N. MOLESWORTH.

* I name, in my own neighbourhood, Stowell, Bardsley, O'Connor, Parr, Eagar, Hume, Beechey. Others there are who have not come forward as lecturers, but have devoted their energies to the cause with the greatest success, not only in Manchester but other great manufacturing towns.

THOS. SOWLER AND SONS, PRINTERS, MANCHESTER.

DIALOGUES

ON

NATIONAL CHURCH

AND

NATIONAL CHURCH RATE.

BY

FRANCIS WHALEY HARPER, M.A.,

RURAL DEAN, MINISTER OF THE PARISH OF SELBY, AND LATE FELLOW OF ST. JOHN'S COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE.

"Look not every man on his own things, but every man also on the things of others."

LONDON

WERTHEIM, MACINTOSH, AND HUNT.

24, PATERNOSTER ROW,

AND 23, HOLLES STREET, CAVENDISH SQUARE.

1861.

The following Dialogues were intended for a local newspaper, and are now published at the request of a few of its readers.

DIALOGUES, &c.

PART I.

Between Parson Fairfax, of Fakenham, and Mr. William Oxley, Merchant and Dealer, one of his Parishioners.

(Exton road, a little out of Fakenham.)

Parson.—Good morning, Mr. Oxley. One doesn't often overtake you going out into the country.

Mr. Oxley.—Good morning, Sir, good morning.

P. Why you seem quite discomposed. Nothing the matter, I hope?

O. No, Sir, no. Why there *is* something, but perhaps you wouldn't like to hear about it.

P. Well, I won't quite say, with an old author, "I'm a man, and I like to hear about what concerns another man." But the Parson likes to hear about what concerns his parishioners. At any rate, *I* like to hear about what concerns *you*.

O. Nay, for the matter of that, it's no particular concern of mine, personally. In fact, *you* are concerned in it, Sir, more than I am, and that was why I didn't know whether to speak of it.

P. Concerns *me*, does it? Now you may be sure I want to hear about it.

O. I didn't mean you personally. However, to cut short—it's these Church Rates, Sir, I've been quite vexed about them, and I do wish we were well rid of them.

P. "*Well* rid"—it would be very *ill* rid. But what d'ye mean? What has been the matter?

O. Why it makes everybody cry shame of us. They've been to

Fox the Quaker's, the Churchwardens have, and he wouldn't pay; and so they've distressed upon him, seized ever-so-much bacon, and I don't know what besides, and they've just sold it at the market-cross—all to get Mr. Fox's thirteen and fourpence that his rate came to. Such a rabble! and all crying shame on the churchwardens.

P. A very unthinking rabble, then, I'm afraid. Why should they cry shame on the wardens? Didn't the wardens, when they entered office, pledge themselves by a solemn declaration to the faithful discharge of the duties of their office?

O. At the Visitation, you mean. Yes, I was a witness to that myself, for I happened to be at Newington, and went with them.

P. And isn't the collecting and enforcing of Church Rate part of the duties of their office?

O. Well, of course it is.

P. A very unpleasant part, too, in such a case as this of Mr. Fox.

O. Unpleasant enough, no doubt.

P. So, in fact, the churchwardens were faithfully discharging a very unpleasant duty?

O. That's true, certainly.

P. Then, if the rabble cried shame on them for that, must it not have been a very unthinking rabble?

O. It isn't only rabble, Sir. I'm sure I crossed to the other side of the street myself just afterwards, that I mightn't meet Mr. Fox. I felt quite ashamed to look him in the face after what we'd been doing to him.

P. Did you? I don't think you the wiser man for it. Now, if *I* had met Mr. Fox, I should have looked him most especially in the face. I'm very sure he has more reason to look ashamed than I have. Why, Mr. Oxley, how is it possible that a man of sense like you doesn't see that all the trouble and all the scandal are caused by Mr. Fox himself and his refusing to pay. If there is to be a complaint, the wardens have far better right to complain of him than he of them. Why, now, suppose I were to refuse to pay my Poor Rate; suppose I were to declare it to be my conscientious conviction that, of all things in the world, charity to Christ's poor ought to be free and voluntary, not legal and compulsory. Wouldn't the collector, after I had given him a shameful deal of trouble, wouldn't he be forced to distress upon something of mine and sell it? And wouldn't that be a great scandal, the goods of the parson of the parish to be sold for Poor Rate at the market-cross? But whose fault would it be? Wouldn't it be the parson's own? And what would you think if I were to begin to cry shame upon the collector and to wish we were well rid of the law which caused such disgraces? Wouldn't you say I ought to cry shame upon myself and my own refusal to pay, and that the parish would be well rid—not of the Poor Law, but of the parson. Isn't it so in every case? In our

schools, when a boy has to be whipped, that makes a deal of trouble and disgrace, and often there's a horrible roaring; but we cry shame upon the bad boy who has broken the school-law, and not upon the law, nor yet upon the master, whose very unpleasant duty it is to give the flogging. And so you and the rabble you spoke of ought to cry shame upon Mr. Fox, who breaks the law, and not upon the law nor upon the wardens.

O. Well, Sir, I'm surprised to hear you talk so. The boy in the school knows very well he's been doing wrong and deserves it. But Mr. Fox conscientiously objects to pay Church Rate, and he is a sufferer for conscience sake.

P. You say Mr. Fox's conscience compels him to resist the law, and to refuse his rate, and to cause all this trouble and disturbance?

O. He says so himself, and of course he has a right to be believed.

P. Of course. And pray havn't the churchwardens consciences as well as Mr. Fox?

O. It's to be hoped so, Sir, though some folks say these distressings upon the Quaker's bacon don't look much like it.

P. Don't you think a churchwarden's conscience may compel him to demand the rate, just as much as a Quaker's conscience may compel him to refuse it? And if the Quaker has a right to be believed when he says that he is conscientiously compelled to break the law, has not the churchwarden at least as good a right to be believed when he says that he is conscientiously compelled to keep the law and to enforce it? The law is, that the Quaker shall pay. The law is, also, that the warden shall compel him to pay. Are the Quakers to be the only men in the world that are allowed to have consciences? There's a good old proverb, Mr. Oxley, says, "What is sauce for the goose is sauce for the gander."

O. Well, Sir, I don't know, but it seems hard a man should have his goods seized for acting according to his conscience.

P. And it seems hard, Mr. Oxley, and it *is* hard, that a man should be cried shame upon for acting according to his conscience, and doing his plain duty in enforcing the law, which he has solemnly declared he will enforce. And, after all, Mr. Fox isn't in such poor circumstances as to make the loss of a few pounds of bacon every spring any great "suffering for conscience sake." Besides, when Mr. Fox took his house, or bought it, all the rates were considered, and the rent, or the purchase money, was fixed accordingly. So that, first, he has an allowance made him in the rent, or purchase money, on account of the rate, and then his conscience won't permit him to hand over the money which was allowed him for no other reason than because he would have to hand it over. And when it is taken from him, that he calls his "sufferings." The vendor who had to sell him the property for so much less may seem to have suffered something. The landlord who has to take so much lower rent may

seem to suffer something. But what has *he* lost or suffered, except that his bacon may be worth a trifle more than the thirteen and fourpence which it sells for?

O. It isn't the mere value of the bacon, Sir; it's the insult of having a parish officer come into your house and take it from you in that way.

P. Nay, but the goose has a right to feel insulted as well as the gander. And here the gander is the aggressor, and begins first. I say Mr. Fox offers the first insult. When a respectable gentleman like any one of our wardens goes civilly to Mr. Fox's house, and says courteously, "Sir, in the discharge of our official duty, we have called upon you for your Church Rate, thirteen and fourpence," that is no insult. But isn't it very insulting to be told in reply—"I'll have nothing to do with you. You and your Church are no better than spoilers and persecutors; and you may go, like other spoilers, and take what you can lay your hands upon." Isn't that very insulting?

O. Why they know, before they go, what the Quakers will say to them.

P. That is to say, they know before they go that Quakers make it their custom to insult churchwardens. I don't see that mends the matter much. The Quaker, too, knows beforehand that the wardens will have to distress upon him. However, the real truth is that, properly considered, there is no insult on either side. The churchwarden has no right to feel insulted by the Quaker's conscientiously refusing to pay the rate, nor has the Quaker any right to feel insulted by the churchwarden's conscientiously enforcing it, and taking in kind what he cannot get in money. The taking of the bacon is no insult, and but a very paltry loss; and I confess I think the Quaker's lamentation about his "sufferings," deserves nothing but to be well laughed at.

O. Well, Sir, notwithstanding all you say, I cannot help feeling somehow that a man ought not to be punished for doing what his conscience bids him.

P. Don't you know, my good friend, that there's such a thing as a mistaken, ill-informed conscience? Did you never hear of conscientious delusions? When Jonathan Martin set fire to York Minster, there's no doubt he was acting conscientiously.

O. Well, and even he had the benefit of it. They didn't hang him.

P. No, but they shut him up in Bedlam for the rest of his life as a crazy and dangerous fanatic. They did not lay down the principle that all who felt themselves bound in conscience to set cathedrals on fire should be allowed to do so with impunity. Our Lord tells his apostles that a time would come when those who killed them would think themselves doing God service. Those killers killed conscien-

tiously, but a wise government would conscientiously have restrained them, pretty severely too.

O. Isn't there a difference between restraining men from conscientiously injuring others, and forcing them to act against their conscience themselves?

P. I think the Quaker *is* injuring others, when, in effect, he is making them pay his share of the rate as well as their own. But what I meant to show you was that the conscience of the individual must sometimes be restrained by the conscience of the state.

O. Then what's to be done? Must not people act according to their consciences?

P. And conscientiously break the law, and set fire to the Minster? Well, yes, I suppose they must. But then, on the other side, you see law must also be conscientiously enforced. If the Quaker requires me not to blame him for conscientiously breaking the law, surely I may require him not to blame me for conscientiously enforcing it. And so we come back to the old point.

O. Well, Sir, but *is* the Quaker's conscience so ill-informed in resisting the Church Rate.

P. Nay, as to a Quaker's conscientiousness, I don't wish to question it, but I must fairly say I hardly know how to set about explaining it. What should *you* say was his reason for refusing to pay his Church Rate?

O. Because he thinks a church establishment unscriptural and wrong.

P. Well, but he thinks an army wrong too. Why does he pay the Queen's taxes, when so large a part of them goes to pay for the Army and Navy?

O. Yes, but the taxes are all lumped together and go in a mass to support the government, which he does not think wrong; and so he pays the whole without knowing which particular part is for the army. A lawful tax is a debt. He does not refuse to pay his debt because it may have something unlawful mixed up with it.

P. You mean, he pays to the Queen's government as a whole, and asks no questions as to what unlawful parts there may exist in it.

O. Yes, the purpose is lawful upon the whole, and he pays in the lump. If the collector said to him, this five shillings is for the army, then the Quaker would refuse to pay that five shillings.

P. Do you mean that if the Quaker pays a whole sovereign to the tax-collector, some of which (he does not choose to calculate how much) is to go for soldiers, and of which five shillings does in fact go for soldiers, then the Quaker's conscience is not wounded; but if he got the sovereign changed into four crown-pieces, and then if he said, "here are three crown-pieces for the other taxes, and this fourth crown-piece is for the red coats and drums," that would burden the Quaker's conscience sorely?

O. Well, I suppose so.

P. Not very clever in him I think. But "there's no disputing tastes," and I suppose we must add, "there's no disputing consciences." At any rate, it seems to make Church Rate quite easy.

O. How so?

P. Because if the Church Rate were to be paid along with some other tax, say the Poor Rate, all lumped together, as you say, instead of being collected separately, then, I suppose, the Quaker would pay it without further objection.

O. Well, no Sir, I don't think he would.

P. No! Why not?

O. Why, Sir, I think he would know what proportion the Church part bore to the whole rate, and he would calculate, and pay so much short.

P. He is cleverer than I thought, after all. But, Mr. Oxley, why isn't he equally clever about the army and navy rate? He might get to know, surely, pretty nearly, what proportion of the whole taxes is for the army and navy, how many shillings in the pound. Why doesn't he pay all his taxes so many shillings short in every pound?

O. Well, Sir, I'm sure I don't know. He might do that certainly.

P. Ought he not to do it? Does not his "conscientiousness" require it of him?

O. I can't say but I think it does.

P. And then, another thing. A few years ago a Property Tax was laid on expressly and avowedly for the purpose of war. Why did not Mr. Fox, and his brethren refuse to pay that? What became then of their "conscientiousness" and their "sufferings."

O. I don't know how that was I confess.

P. I never met with any one who did. And now, Mr. Oxley, let me ask you as a man of sense, can you think the Quaker or any body else justified in breaking the law, merely because he does not himself agree with it?

O. Why, Sir, we are told to obey God rather than man. If the law of man is opposed to the law of God, surely there can be no doubt which I am to obey.

P. Very true; but is it not God's law that constituted authority shall be obeyed within its own sphere?

O. Yes, Sir, but not if that authority requires anything contrary to the law of God.

P. But who is to decide whether it *is* contrary to the law of God,—the authority which God has bidden to command, or the subject whom, within that sphere, He has bidden to obey?

O. Is there then, within the sphere of an authority, no such thing as obeying God rather than man?

P. Certainly, if the authority requires anything *admitted* to be contrary to God's law,—to tell a lie, for instance.

O. Go on, please.

P. I mean, as long as the authority, within its own sphere, says "In my opinion and conscientious conviction, this is according to God's law, therefore do it"—the subject is not to reply "In *my* conscientious conviction, it is against God's law, therefore I will not do it." The question is not which of two fallible convictions is right, but which of them is to be obeyed and acted upon; and the answer is, Obey and act upon the conviction of those to whom *within this sphere* God has given authority to command.

O. And how does this apply to Church Rate?

P. Thus. The Nation and the National Legislature are the authorities ordained of God to determine what national institutions there shall be. Within that sphere, therefore, theirs is the opinion to be acted upon. And all National Institutions, when established, have a right to be maintained out of the national purse. Now, in England, God's national authorities have determined that there shall be a National Church, and that it shall be supported by a National Church-rate. Individual subjects have no right to resist this determination. In the matter of national institutions and their maintenance by national payments, Mr. Fox ought to submit to the English nation, and not the English nation to Mr. Fox.

O. Well, Sir, I can't think the nation has any right to make Mr. Fox do what he believes to be wrong. Let the law be enforced upon those who don't think it wrong, but not upon Mr. Fox, who cannot pay without hurting his conscience. And though I do think that in those other matters you named he is inconsistent and doesn't keep to his own principles, still that is no reason why the nation should force his conscience and make it harder for him to do what he thinks right. Your sermons don't teach us to be hard upon one another, Sir.

P. Then would you excuse him on the same ground from all that portion of the national taxation which goes towards war? And in war time would you exempt him from all Property Tax laid on by reason of the war?

O. Well, if war is against his conscience, I don't see but what he ought to be excused from war taxes too.

P. Then there is the interest of the National Debt. A very large portion of the taxes goes to pay it, and it is almost all a war debt. Is he to be excused here too? You will have to go rather far.

O. I must say what I did before.

P. But even that isn't all. Every kind of pomp and pageantry, as he would call it, is against his conscience, and you know a good share of the taxes goes to support the Queen's state and palaces and the like, which is all abomination to a Quaker.

O. Well, Sir, I should say in general, that so far as the objects

of the taxes really go against a Quaker's conscience, so far he should be excused from paying them.

P. Why he will scarcely pay any taxes at all. And I'm afraid there will be other people besides him. Other people, as well as Quakers, may have their "conscientious objections," some to one part of the national expenditure, some to another part.

O. How do you mean?

P. Take the instance I mentioned before—the Poor Rate. When our collector goes his round for that, suppose some spontaneous and voluntary man says to him—"Mr. Cressingham, what I give is given freely. I can find nothing in the Bible about being charitable by Act of Parliament. I find there, 'Every man *according as he purposeth in his heart*, so let him give; not grudgingly or of necessity, for God loveth a cheerful giver.' You know best how far the Poor Rate collector promotes cheerfulness of giving. I find in my Bible that he who feeds his brother when hungry, and, when he is athirst, gives him drink, is counted to have done it to their common Lord—'forasmuch as ye did it unto the least of these my brethren, ye did it unto Me.' Giving is, therefore, with me a part of my religion, a part especially between God and my own conscience. 'Let not thy left-hand know what thy right-hand doeth.' I will never consent to degrade this blessed privilege into a legal and compulsory payment made into the parish bag, fixed by the parish book, under the sanction of two Justices of the peace, with threat of enforcement by distress warrants and a sale at the Market-cross. Like the poor widow, I 'do what I can.' I give what I can to Christ's poor, and I hope my offering will be accepted. The poor Christians, in the Acts of the Apostles, were relieved by voluntaryism, not by a legal rate. So, to you and your parish Poor Rate, I can only say that it is a plain matter of conscience with me. If those who employ you, choose to set at nought my conscientious conviction and to use violence, I cannot resist. I must suffer, and try to take the spoiling of my goods as patiently as I can." What will be Mr. Cressingham's reply?

O. I don't quite see, just at the instant.

P. There will be plenty more too, you know. Some may conscientiously object to wasting money upon educational grants, others to sanitary rates, others to a rural police force, and so on. We shall want a new schedule of claims to exemption—the "Conscience Schedule." And who is to make up all the deficiencies?

O. Well, Sir, I don't quite see my way; but it does seem that a man's conscience should be respected.

P. To be sure it should, *in all which belongs to the man's own province.* But it is the State's province, not his, to determine the objects to which the rates and taxes are to be applied. And when

the State has determined upon any particular object as right, godly, and conscientious, the man you spoke of is not at liberty to refuse to contribute his share because he may differ from the State's judgment. Of course he has a full right to form his own opinions and to believe in them, and to do all that in him lies to make the State believe in them. But so long as he has not succeeded in this; so long as the State remains convinced that the particular object, be it what it may, ought to be provided for from the public purse, so long it is his duty to pay his share. If he refuses, he is disobeying the power which God has ordained, within the province for which He has ordained it. The choice is not between the law of God and the law of man, but between two opinions, both human, as to what the law of God is; one of them being the mere private view of an individual, while the other is the solemn recorded sentence of the constituted authorities ordained of God to give judgment in that behalf. Somewhat as if on some point of the law of England, an individual, or a few individuals, were to insist upon their own private opinion in opposition to the solemn decision of the Courts at Westminster, and of the House of Lords.

O. The State is not infallible.

P. Assuredly not. But then still less is the individual infallible. For the most part he is very much farther off from infallibility. The State is as much bound to act upon its conscientious convictions as the individual is upon his,—each severally within its own province. It is the State's province to make laws, to impose taxes, and to require obedience. The individual, say Mr. Fox, must not disobey the State, but reason with it. If he has indeed truth on his side, let him have full confidence that in the end truth will prevail. In the meantime, remembering that he too is quite fallible, let him wait and set an example of obedience.

O. But surely there are some limits to the State's power over the individual, and to this duty of modesty and obedience.

P. I have said all along, that the State is to be obeyed *within the limits* for which God has ordained and empowered it.

O. Mayn't it be difficult in some cases to determine what those limits are?

P. In *some* cases, very likely. But there is no difficulty in our present case.

O. How so?

P. Because there is no difficulty in seeing that it is within the nation's limits to determine what national institutions there shall be, and how they shall be supported out of the national purse. You observe I have been insisting upon the state's power, not over the individual's person but over the public purse and the individual's contribution to it.

O. I don't think I fully understand this difference between the state's power over the purse and its power over the person.

P. Take an illustration. If the state thought fit to establish fever hospitals at the public expense, it has a right to do so. It has a right also to determine the general system of the treatment—say homœopathy or allopathy. And it has a right to require all taxpayers alike to open their purses and pay their share of the hospital tax, whether or not they themselves approve of the system. This is power over the purse. But the state has not any right to proceed further and compel an individual sick man to be treated, in his own person, on a system which he is convinced is injurious; neither has it a right to compel an individual doctor to treat his patients on any system of which he does not himself conscientiously approve. This would be tyranny over the person. In the same way the nation has a right to establish a national institution for the worship of God, and to call upon all ratepayers alike to open their purses, and pay the tax or rate for its support. But the nation has no right to compel them in their own persons to make use of that institution either as ministers or as laymen.

O. Well, Sir, but if I grant all this, and admit that it is the Quaker's duty to pay the rate while the law stands; still that does not prove the law to be a good one, such as ought to stand and continue.

P. Of course not. That is quite a different question, and one which I have not time to enter upon to-day, though I should be most glad and ready to discuss it with you. But we are back at the town again and I have an engagement. All I have now been establishing is that *laying and paying Church Rate while the law requires it to be laid and paid, is simply obeying the powers that be, in a matter belonging to their province and jurisdiction. It is obedience to God in the person of His authorised representatives.* If you will think over what we have been saying, I feel persuaded you will agree with me. And now I must bid you good morning.

O. Good morning, Sir. I will think it over. One single word more, though. You added, a moment since, that it is a duty to *lay* the rate. I thought the parish could please itself whether it laid the rate or not.

P. Everybody can please himself whether he obeys any law or not. But to disobey is to do wrong. *The law is just as clear that the parish should lay the rate when it is needed, as that the individual should pay it when it is laid.*

O. Then how is it that the parish can't be compelled to lay it?

P. Because, owing to a defect in the law, the parish can escape punishment for its disobedience. So I leave you with this question, Mr. Oxley,—Ought we to obey law because it *is* law, or because if we don't we shall be punished?

PART II.

(On board the Steamer from Fakenham to Floyd.)

Parson. Well met again, Mr. Oxley. I hope we're going some distance together.

Mr. Oxley. As far as the boat's passage, Sir—at least on my part. I'm for Floyd.

P. Very glad to hear it. I'm for Floyd too.

O. We've a beautiful morning for it, however,—likely to continue too.

P. How well the river looks, that left bank especially.

O. Very, Sir. I wish we may find plenty of water though farther down. They're no joke, those sandbanks under Clifton-Roberts.

P. Don't want our voyage lengthening in that way, certainly. But I'm very glad to have a long morning with you too. I've been wishing to see you all this week. You can guess why?

O. Not unless it's about the Church Rate, Sir; and to see whether you've made a convert of me.

P. Just so. I want to know whether you've thought about our conversation, and to see where you stand now.

O. Yes, Sir, I've thought about it; talked about it too. But I'm afraid you won't be over well satisfied; for, on the main point, I stand pretty much where I did.

P. Stand where you did! That doesn't satisfy me, certainly. But what do you mean by the "main point?"

O. The main point is, Rate or no Rate; and I think I must say "No Rate" still.

P. Come, it mayn't be so bad after all. You say you stand where you did, Mr. Oxley, but perhaps you don't stand on as many legs.

O. How do you mean, Sir?

P. Why that Quaker leg that you were putting the best foot foremost with in such style on the Exton road last Thursday. Does your "No Rate" stand on that leg as firmly as ever?

O. I understand you now, Sir. Why I confess you did pretty well knock that leg from under me before we got back. But an opinion stands on more legs, sometimes, than a man does, or a horse either.

P. It's something done, though, to have got rid of one of them.

O. I don't know that, Sir. To be rid of a weak or rotten support is sometimes rather an advantage than not. An army would be all the stronger for having its cowards drummed out.

P. True enough that, Mr. Oxley. You remind me of some lines I once read about a great captain in circumstances of extreme danger, when they told him his forces were falling off, and his answer was—

> "The more faint hearts fall off, the better, Sir,
> So fear shall purge us to a sound condition."

However, for all that, I'm very glad you've found out that your "No Church Rate" halted considerably on its Quaker leg. And now show me the leg it goes strongest on. I should very much much like to have a view of that.

O. Well, Sir, instead of me, I wish you'd hear what John Topham says. He's a rank Radical to be sure; but those are the men we laymen have to hear talk, and to act with too, and we shall never get into comfortable action all round till these Church Rates are done away.

P. "Comfortable all round!" Yes, that's what over many of you church laymen seem to be always hankering after, at least in church matters, to be "comfortable all round;" with your comfortable pews and comfortable cushions in church itself to begin with. Somebody in the *Cornhill Magazine*, the other day, says truly enough, "Any doctrine is now given up if it seems either uncomfortable or likely to make a disturbance." But it's an old story. A couple of hundred years ago, a great statesman was writing about the Church of England, and how her enemies would stick at nothing to pull her down, and her friends would endure hardly anything to keep her up; and he expresses it thus, "Those that hated the Church," says he, "hated it worse than they hated the devil, and those that loved it did not love it so well as they loved their own dinners." And well might the same thing be said still. "Comfortable all round!" it's a right motto for multitudes of you church laity. I tell you, Mr. Oxley, a Christian man in his Christian warfare has no more to do with being "comfortable all round" than a soldier has when he is making a campaign. What should you think of the "comfortable all round regiment," the corps that must insist upon abandoning any post, however important, as soon as they found they really couldn't be "comfortable all round" if they had to go on maintaining it. A creditable corps to belong to that would be, wouldn't it?

O. Well, Sir, really I meant no harm. You seem very much moved, almost as discomposed, if you'll forgive my saying so, as you told me I was myself on the Exton road last week. But, indeed, this Church Rate is a very discomposing subject both to clergy and laity, and that is why moderate, quietly disposed men like myself would rather make some sacrifice and have done with it. At present it keeps us all hot; and I think I've heard you say in the pulpit, "the more heat the less light."

P. Those sacrifices you say you would "rather make," you and your friends, pray are they sacrifices of your cause to yourself, or of yourself to your cause? As for the "light and heat," it is a very good adage in its proper place and application, and when you take other good and true things along with it. But an isolated bit and fragment of truth misapplied is often the most mischievous sort of falsehood. There's such a thing, Mr. Oxley, as *lukewarmness*, and there's such a text as, "So, then, because thou art lukewarm, and neither cold nor hot, I will spue thee out of my mouth."

O. By your leave, Sir, texts have their proper applications too, and I take the liberty of submitting that, in my opinion, the text you have just been pleased to favour me with has no proper application either on the present occasion or to the present company.

P. Come, come, my good friend, I fear we are both of us getting to want the "heat and light" adage you just quoted. I'm very sorry if I annoyed you. You're well aware it is the last thing I should have wished to do. But if there is one assurance which I have with certainty of conviction, it is that the cause of the church is the cause of the Lord, and that everything really good (or, at any rate, everything really best) in this world is bound up with it. And therefore I love that cause as earnestly as I am capable of loving anything. And therefore I cannot help feeling bitterly grieved (and you must forgive me if I say ashamed as well) for men like you, who ought to be among that cause's stoutest and most enduring defenders, when I find you ready to shrink from it as soon as it has become troublesome to you, and when I hear you assign your reasons in such words as comfortable and uncomfortable, as though it were a new boot you were talking about, or a particular kind of easy chair, instead of the nursing mother of your fathers and fore-elders, God's Holy Catholic Church, by God's providence established as the National Church, and with the sacred and solemn sanctions of the National Law of this our ancient and famous realm and country of England.

O. Well, Sir, you know we don't feel all this in the strong way you do. At least, I tell you honestly *I* don't. I like the church and all that very well, in fact, more than very well; and I should be very sorry to see it pulled down, or to do anything against it. As

to "comfortable," I happened to let the word slip, and you caught it up at my mouth, but really I did not mean anything by it, or lay any stress upon it. However, I don't say I am prepared to sacrifice as much for the church as you may think I ought. And what's more to the purpose, I don't believe that sacrificing the Church Rate is sacrificing the church. If the church had nothing more or better in it than Church Rate, or anything that goes with Church Rate, I say frankly I shouldn't think it worth while to make any sacrifice for it at all. And it's my belief that the church would be better and stronger without the rate than with it. It strikes me this rate is like a large double-tooth in a man's jaw, that has been useful enough in its time, but now, with years, it has got quite hollow, and has begun to be always aching. It does the man no good, but is continually worrying him, hindering him from using the teeth which are sound, and interrupting all his other work by its racking pains. He doesn't like to part with it, and so he tries all sorts of drugs and palliatives, and has more than enough trouble and expense in having it stopped by the dentist. All does no good, and at last the annoyance becomes intolerable. So he makes up his mind to have the tooth out, and then he is just sorry for his loss, and afterwards thinks no more about it, but rejoices to find himself able to use his other teeth in quiet and comfort, and to go about his business again as usual. Now that seems to me, Sir, to be just like our case with Church Rate. It belongs, we'll say, to the church as much as an old grinder does to a man's jaw, and in its time it has perhaps done as good service. But for ever-so-many years past, it has been hopelessly decayed. We've had nothing from it but ache and annoyance. We've tried remedies of all sorts. We've been to doctors, dentists, druggists, without end, and they've all failed to do any good. The time is come now for us to make up our minds to have one sharp pang, and so make an end of it. Let us have the tooth extracted as skilfully as possible, before its rottenness spreads further, and perhaps causes disease in the hitherto sound bone in which it is imbedded. That is my view, Sir, as a sincere friend to the church, though perhaps you may not think me a sufficiently warm one.

P. I wish, Mr. Oxley, you hadn't hit upon that illustration.

O. Why so, Sir? I like it well enough.

P. Which is just why I wish you hadn't thought of it. A man's sometimes almost as fond of his newborn illustration as a woman is of her newborn child, and likes as little to be made to see any defect in it.

O. I can't speak about mothers and newborn children, but I've known fathers who would sooner be shewn a fault in their own lads than in another's, because when a fault's shewn it's seen, and when it's seen it may be mended.

P. I'm afraid such fathers are rare. However, I hope you will now prove to be one of them. You say a wise man would choose to part with his bad tooth?

O. Yes, if he couldn't get it cured. Better out than always aching.

P. Instead of its being an aching tooth the wise man was suffering from, suppose it were a ravenous beast snapping at one of his limbs. Would he shew his wisdom by letting the beast have it, even if it had already got scratched and torn a little, so as to be sharply painful.

O. But why should you take that illustration instead of mine?

P. Because you see the Church Rate trouble isn't like the bad tooth, which is a disease in one's own self; but rather it is an attack from without, like that of the beast of prey ravening for the limb. Should the wise man let the beast have it?

O. Yes, if doing so will enable him to escape and save his life.

P. Doubtless. To save life it would be good to lose even a useful limb. It might give time, as you say, for running away and escaping. But in the Church Rate contest, you know, there is no such escaping and running away. You must, therefore, suppose the man and beast to be within a certain enclosure, and the man's only chance to be that of either soothing the beast or subduing it. Otherwise, when it has disposed of one limb, it will certainly come with whetted appetite for another, until, at length, it has eaten up all. In such a case, would not the wise man desire to retain all his limbs, and to have the best use he could of them all in soothing the beast, if that were possible, or if not, in subduing it?

O. If you have no objection, Sir, we'll give up both my toothache and your beast, and come back again to the Church Rate contest itself.

P. By all means. And, now, why do you still say, "No Church Rate?"

O. Because, Sir, I do think, in religious matters, we want peace and quietness, and Christian love; and I am convinced we shall never have them while this contest goes on.

P. And how would you put an end to it?

O. By giving up the rate.

P. You mean by one of the two contending parties giving up, completely and entirely, to the other?

O. Yes, Sir.

P. The Churchmen to the Dissenters?

O. Yes, Sir.

P. The Churchmen giving up all, and the Dissenters giving up nothing?

O. Yes, Sir, if you choose to put it in that way.

P. Nay, I desire merely to put it in the way which is according

to the fact, and to your actual meaning. But wouldn't the strife be ended just as completely if the Dissenters were to give up entirely to the church?

O. Yes, but then we know they won't.

P. Why not?

O. They're determined to have the rate abolished.

P. Determined to have their own way?

O. Yes.

P. Entirely and completely?

O. No doubt of it.

P. What makes them so determined?

O. I'm sure I can't tell, Sir. They've set their minds upon it, I suppose.

P. Doesn't the contest give them a great deal of trouble and vexation?

O. It must be a great deal of trouble to them, of course. I don't think it's much vexation.

P. How's that?

O. Well, I don't know. It doesn't seem to be.

P. Of course, they exert themselves very much?

O. You may say that, Sir. They leave no stone unturned.

P. Probably they think it a very important matter, and are determined to do their very utmost, and persevere to the last, at any cost of pains and trouble.

O. It looks like it, Sir.

P. And why don't Churchmen think it equally important, and why are not they equally determined to take pains and trouble about it?

O. I can't say, Sir.

P. But surely you ought to be able to say. You yourself—why arn't you as determined as the Dissenters?

O. Well, Sir, I've partly told you. I do think all this contention so unchristian, so unco— so harassing, I mean. Yes, I see your face, Sir; it isn't only that; it isn't only the uncomfortableness. But I don't think the Dissenters, even the best of them, are often either as enlightened or as Christian as the better sort of church people are, and I think we ought to have a regard for them, even for what may be wrong and weak among them; and, if we can remove a great stumbling-block and hindrance to Christian peace and love merely by giving up a money payment, such as Church Rate, I do think we ought to do it, and try to live in peace and quietness again.

P. But wouldn't the strife and contest be equally brought to an end if churchmen, instead of giving up all, were to make up their minds that they would retain all. I mean, if they were to spare no pains, time, or trouble, to muster their strength so thoroughly as to carry

the rate and its improvement by such majorities, both in parish and in Parliament, as would deprive the Dissenters of all hope of abolishing it and of all power of resisting it?

O. Such a plan, Sir—I'll only say it's perfectly unpractical. It could not succeed, and no one could persuade people to try it.

P. Not Fakenham people, I'm afraid. That the thing both might be done, and ought to be done, I am thoroughly convinced.

O. Perhaps so, Sir. But I do not think the clergy, many of them, at least, are fully aware of what the general state of public feeling really is.

PART III.

Parson. Well but, Mr. Oxley, your own plan then,—this one of total concession, like the Irishman's reciprocity, all on one side—do you really think it would put an end to the strife?

Mr. Oxley. Why, what would there be left to strive about?

P. Just what there was in my wild beast case. When you had made a total concession of a finger, and the beast had eaten it, you would find a demand, with whetted appetite, for a further total concession, say of the left-hand. Next would come the arm up to the elbow; and so on; the beast's appetite ever returning, its strength and imperious confidence ever increasing, till you were eaten up entirely, and "died of concession and right served" might be your epitaph; only you would'nt want a grave.

O. Your meaning, please.

P. When the one finger, Church Rate, is devoured, another finger, Easter Offerings, will be seized; witness already Accrington and the Vicar of Whalley. Then the right arm, Tithes. After that Bishops' seats in the House of Lords; private patronage; glebe lands; all remaining endowments; in short everything which now constitutes the great Church of England a National Establishment, and gives to the Ministers, to the House, to the Services of Almighty God, that place and position which they ought to hold and occupy amidst the homes and institutions of men.

O. Church Rate abolition then, in your view, is the commencement of strife and conflict rather than their conclusion?

P. To be sure it is.

O. Well really, sir, I cannot but hope that you may prove very far mistaken. Why should we think so hardly of our dissenting brethren as to suppose that such would be the consequences of our kind and conciliatory concession. Let us remove what has been felt by them a long-standing grievance and occasion of extreme irri-

tation. And let us trust to their good-feeling for the issue. As to the amount and money value of Church Rate, that really is not worth contending about. A paltry average of two-pence in the pound!

P. A "paltry two-pence," which brings in more than £250,000 a year, and, if legitimately worked out, might easily bring more than £500,000,—an amount exceeding what any three together of the great Voluntary Missionary Societies can clear with all their meetings, deputations and begging-boxes. And this great sum is, in fact, so much out of the produce of the land, withdrawn from the private property of the landowners and reserved for the public benefit of the nation at large, and especially of the national poor. A sum so large in amount and so light in pressure, and yet so laborious to be made up for, if we were to lose it. But let that pass. At any rate let me beg of you a careful answer to this next question. *If the amount of Church Rate is not worth contending about, why do the dissenters contend about it?*

O. Well, really, I am hardly able at once to give that question the careful answer which you have asked for.

P. You said before, if you recollect, that the Dissenters are acting in this contest with an earnestness, determination, and persistency, such as there can scarcely be any possibility of exceeding, or any hope of successfully resisting. Did you not?

O. I did, and I am convinced that it is so.

P. And just now you said, that this same rate against which they contend thus earnestly is a very paltry matter, scarcely worth mentioning, as to its amount at least?

O. I did.

P. Quite a paltry and contemptible affair?

O. Yes, in comparison with the public strife and contention and uncharitableness which it occasions.

P. And it is this paltry and contemptible matter which you say the Dissenters are determined to contend about with all their heart and soul and strength, at any cost of pains, trouble, discomfort and uncharitableness, until they have gotten their own will and way concerning it utterly and entirely, without concession and without abatement? This is what you said, is it not?

O. Yes, it is, certainly.

P. Then, do you see, Mr. Oxley, what a strange account you give of the Dissenters. Would they themselves thank you for the position in which you place them? Do they profess to be so unchristian and unreasonable as to contend thus furiously for a matter of no moment?

O. But are not we on our side equally open to the same charge?

P. You forget that the *Dissenters are the aggressors.* The rate had been paid quietly from time immemorial. They deliberately broke the peace of ages by attacking it. "Who hit the first blow?"

is an important question in every battle. Then again, as they all buy or rent their lands for so much less on account of Church Rate, they *lose* nothing by it, so they must have stirred the strife merely for the sake of *adding* this "paltry twopence" to their *gains*. But besides all this, "two blacks" you know, "don't make a white." If it were eversomuch proved that Churchmen were no less unchristian, uncharitable, and unreasonable than Dissenters, that would not make the Dissenters any better. Do you really think they would accept this advocacy of yours?

O. Well, Sir, I suppose there must be something else in it; they must be contending for something else besides the two-pence in the pound.

P. I suppose so too. And that "something else in it" must be the real cause of their aggression, determination, and perseverance. Their attack, so determined and resolute, does it not require for its justification a cause and ground not paltry and contemptible, but in a high degree weighty and important?

O. I am not sure that I quite understand you.

P. You said that the Dissenters were quite determined to use their utmost efforts for the abolition of Church-rates, whatever might be the cost in trouble, strife, or even uncharitableness.

O. I did.

P. Does not such a vehemency of determination, at such a risk and cost, require a vastly important ground and cause to justify it?

O. Undeniably it does.

P. And did you not also say that the mere money part of Ch uch Rate, the average two-pence, is regarded by Dissenters not as vastly important but as quite paltry?

O. Why certainly, that is the way in which they always speak about it when they are inveighing against Churchmen for maintaining it.

P. Then of course it is not the paltry average two-pence which they really are contending for, but the vastly important "something else in it" which they see to be involved.

O. No doubt.

P. And that "something else" they consider will be a vastly important gain to them?

O. I suppose so.

P. If then it be such a vastly important thing for them to gain, *must it not in likelihood be equally important for us to lose?*—but, however, first of all, this vastly important "something else," what is it?

O. No doubt it is a matter of principle.

P. Very important principle too, at least so the Dissenters must consider it.

O. No doubt.

P. The Dissenters then, you say, consider that the Church Rate contest involves a very important matter of principle?

O. They do.

P. So important as to justify them for all the vehement and indeed bitter contention which they have stirred up by entering upon this contest?

O. Yes.

P. And they require us to believe that it is entirely for the sake of this important matter of principle they have stirred the strife, and not for that other paltry matter of pocket.

O. Assuredly.

P. Listen then once more, Mr. Oxley, for I do desire you to listen. This principle, important enough to justify the Dissenter in his attack, is it not important enough to justify the Churchman in his defence? And if the Dissenter in his aggression claims to be accounted zealous, not for pocket, but for principle, has not the Churchman in his resistance an equal claim to be believed, when he says that he too fights for principle rather than for pocket?

O. I cannot gainsay that, Sir.

P. Can anything be more monstrous than saying that in this Church Rate contest Dissenters care only for principle, and the Church cares only for pocket? Is it consistent, I will not say with Christian charity, but with common fairness, or almost with public decency?

O. You speak strongly, but it would be better, perhaps, if the Dissenters thought a little oftener of that proverb about the goose and the gander. Yes, sir, I admit that what you have now said is substantially no more than just.

P. You may well do so. And, now, Mr. Oxley, in the next place, what is this important principle? And consider well before you give your answer.

O. I have considered, sir, and I do not see what other principle it can be, except that Church Rate ought to be not compulsory, but voluntary; paid, not by everybody, but only by those who choose.

P. And of course in such amount too as they choose. Those who do pay should be allowed to pay as much or as little as they choose?

O. Yes, voluntary altogether, both as to who pays and how much he pays.

P. In fact it would not be a rate at all, but a mere voluntary contribution, just as if it were to a Missionary Society.

O. Yes, just so.

P. You know, of course, what in the main the things are which are provided for by Church Rate?

O. Yes, the bread and wine for the communion, the books and vestments, the fabric of the church, and such like.

P. The Dissenters' principle must therefore be that these things should be provided not by National Law, compulsory upon all, but by voluntary contribution as every individual may choose?

O. Yes, sir.

P. Now, Mr. Oxley, *will not the same principle apply equally to Tithe?* Church Rate maintains the service. Tithe maintains the minister who officiates in that service. Will not the principle which forbids the service to be maintained under the law of the land by a compulsory Church Rate,—will it not equally forbid the minister to be maintained under the law of the land by a compulsory Tithe?

O. I cannot say, but I think it will.

P. You admit then that this principle which has application to Church Rate has also an equal application to Tithe?

O. I don't see how I can help admitting it.

P. And which is its more important application, that to Church Rate or that to Tithe?

O. Why, I suppose the money value of Tithe is more than twenty times that of Church Rate.

P. In fact the money value of Tithe is so great that it cannot possibly be considered otherwise than as very important?

O. I grant it.

P. Then once again, Mr. Oxley, consider seriously and answer. These Dissenters who, you say, are bound by their consciences to be so vehement, nay, violent for their principle in its less important application, will they be less vehement and violent for the same principle in its twenty-fold more important application?

O. I confess I do not see how they can.

P. Then if they are vehement and violent, resolute and determined now against the Church Rate, must we not of course expect them to be even far more vehement and violent, far more resolute and determined hereafter against Tithe?

O. It seems to follow, certainly, from the argument.

P. And what becomes of the peace and quiet you spoke of a while ago? Where is the tranquillity and Christian charity which were to be attained by our "kind and conciliatory concession" of Church Rate?

PART IV.

Mr. Oxley.—It is a grievous prospect, Sir, and I am very unwilling to acquiesce in it.

Parson.—Now then is the time for us all to bestir ourselves, and by God's blessing we shall prevent its being realised.

O. Couldn't there be some compromise?

P. Didn't you say yourself the Dissenters were determined to have none? And if they are zealous for a principle, of course they would accept no compromise which did not concede the principle.

O. There's a compromise of the Bishop of Exeter's.

P. To have a rate for the fabric, and voluntaryism for the service. If I were a determined voluntary, I would accept that with both hands.

O. Why so?

P. When I had got it, I should turn round and say to the Bishop, "My lord, you have required the whole nation to maintain the fabric, on the ground, I presume, that the churches are national buildings?" Would not the Bishop assent?

O. I suppose so.

P. "And, as you do not require the nation to maintain your service, I presume you do not venture to require us to consider your service as a national use?"

O. I think he must agree again.

P. "Then, my lord, I claim that these national buildings shall be put to some national use. Let the rich Episcopalians do what the poorest sect does, provide their own private buildings for their own private service." No, Mr. Oxley, the Bishop's compromise will never do for us; and the Dissenters would not accept it if we were to offer it. We must make up our minds otherwise.

O. I'm afraid you'll think me very lukewarm. But you have not brought forward any evidence to show that the Dissenters do really intend to go such lengths.

P. Why, one doesn't carry documents with one on the steamer down to Floyd. But you've heard of the Church Liberation Society and of the answers of its leading members before the Parliamentary Committee.

O. I can't say I know much about them.

P. Nor of the Manchester lectures against the Church, which have been delivering, for some months back, every Tuesday?

O. Not much, I think.

P. I wish we were in my study for ten minutes. At Manchester, Church Rates have been practically abolished for more than a quarter of a century. Has the consequence been peace? No, but a bitter invasion by Mr. Miall and the Liberation Society, which compelled the forming of the Manchester Church Defence Association. That, again, has been met by the delivery of these weekly lectures. The Dissenters declare distinctly that they will be content with nothing short of the complete overthrow of the Church of England.

O. Is that really what they say?

P. I assure you nothing can be more explicit. I only wish I had the papers here. Stay, I have one in my pocket; perhaps, upon the whole, the best I could have too. Here's the *Times* with the last

great debate on Church Rate, on the second reading of Sir J. Trelawny's bill. Now, see here, let me read you what Mr. Bright says. No one can be a better authority as to the real designs of the Non-conformists. "*I perceive,*" says he, "*in these debates that hon. gentlemen opposite, not themselves connected with the Non-conformists, are not aware of the exact state of feeling of their members on this question..I will tell the House what the Dissenters object to, and what they feel on the subject. They feel that it is a struggle for supremacy. I have nothing to conceal in this matter....Dissenters do not regard this as a mere matter of two-pence in the pound....It is really a question of supremacy, and of supremacy too on the part of a great establishment, which is as much political as religious,* AGAINST WHICH THEIR FOREFATHERS HAVE FOUGHT, AND AGAINST WHICH THEY ARE STILL INEVITABLY OBLIGED TO CONTEND..*Anything which binds them to subjugation to your church, gives it a supremacy, or enables it especially to exact money from them, is a thing to which it is impossible for them in any shape to assent.*" And the rest of Mr. Bright's long speech consists mainly of attacks upon the whole system of the Church of England, attacks quite irrelevant to Church Rate abolition regarded as a conclusion, but most relevant if it be taken as one step only towards the overthrow of the National Church. Just take the paper, Mr. Oxley, and glance over the speech yourself.

O. Here's a slip of paper tumbling out which seems to have been folded in with it.

P. O, thank you; yes, I'll show you that too when you have read the other.

O. I've read it, Sir.

P. And now this other, it is from the *Manchester Guardian*, hear this:

"RELIGIOUS VOLUNTARYISM.—The fifth lecture was delivered last evening in the Mechanics' Institute, David-street, by the Rev. J. G. Rogers, B.A., the topic being, 'The Established Church, as it was and as it is.'—Mr. Hugh Mason presided, and in introducing the lecturer, congratulated the audience on the great victory which was achieved on their behalf, in the House of Commons, on the previous Wednesday, in the great Church Rate struggle. The opposition of the friends of Church Rate abolition stood prouder then than it had ever done before during the agitation of the question. He did not disguise the fact that many of the majority could not be relied upon in the carrying out of what had been termed 'ulterior views.' As a political dissenter and a man of 'ulterior views,' he heartily thanked the gentlemen who had accompanied him to the abolition milestone, but there he would shake hands and bid them 'good bye,' for his motto was 'Onward,' 'Excelsior.' Until the last badge of inferiority had been wiped out, they would not say they had no 'ulterior views.'"

You hear, Mr. Oxley.

O. A lecture by Mr. Rogers, did you say? Why I believe somebody sent me a copy of that by this very morning's post. Yes, here it is.

P. Ah, you havn't read it. I'll show you— No, it isn't Mr. Rogers', but another of the series,—Mr. Thomson's. Look here— "What more do we want? I'll tell you what more we want..... We want, as citizens of this great and noble realm, to roll off from it the incubus of a corrupt ecclesiastical corporation, which stands amidst our reformed institutions a glaring anomaly.....This is what we want; this is what we must have; less than this will never content us; this is what we will not despair to win, though we should encounter a world in arms." I need not read any more, I think.

O. One does feel such a great reluctance to religious warfare. Strife seems so much more unnatural there than in the world.

P. Ah, my friend, is it not partly that we are so much less ready to sacrifice our own ease and comfort for the sake of religion than for the sake of the world? You know we are bidden to *contend earnestly* for the faith once delivered to the saints.

O. But surely Church Rate is not part of the faith. Dissenters would say that, at best, it could be but the merest husk or shell.

P. Dissenters would do well to remember that he who would defend the growing walnut must defend the husk and shell, even as the nut itself. And if Church Rate is not an article of faith, the church is. Every time you repeat the Creed, you declare your faith, not only in the Holy Ghost, but also in the Holy Church. But, of course, I meant merely to point out to you that, in religion also, strivings and contentions are oftentimes unavoidable.

O. Then, again, Sir, how one dislikes to hear of the Dissenters,—our brethren, surely, and fellow-countrymen,—as "our opponents" and as "the enemy."

P. No true Churchman, Mr. Oxley, ever does deliberately speak of the Dissenters as "the enemy," except indeed by a sort of figure of speech. Our opponents, of course they are, for they do in fact oppose us. But the true Churchman regards them as made in baptism members, equally with himself, of Christ's one body. He grieves for their separation as his loss and their own alike. He would fain have them back with him. He does not say, "they are one set, we are another; let them go their way and we will go ours." He loves them, and grieves for them as members of the church. He would sacrifice anything for their sake, except the church itself.

O. How strange and sad it seems to be expressing such sentiments, and yet, at the same time, to be preparing for a bitter strife about a two-penny rate.

P. You are doing, my good friend, what arguers very often do. You are coming back to your old position, just as though you had never been forced to abandon it.

O. You are right, Sir; I was forgetting, strangely enough, that we have just seen that the contest is not really for the two-pence, but for a principle recognized by both Churchmen and Dissenters as one of vast importance.

P. True. And now, Mr. Oxley, I trust I may consider you as agreeing with me that the law of Church Rate must be vigorously defended. The next thing, therefore, is to consider what is to be said in its defence.

O. And, Sir, we cannot see that satisfactorily without seeing, also, what can be said against it.

P. Most true. I am most willing to listen to all which you have to say on that side.

O. Yes, Sir; but as I said before, I wish you would listen to Mr. Topham instead. You, see, Sir, if you'll excuse my saying so, when I hear you talk, and when I know how people are talking about these things elsewhere, you seem to me to be in a sort of dream about the whole matter. You identify somehow, first of all, Church Rate with the Church of England, and then the Church of England with the Church Catholic; which again you speak of as the body or bride of Christ, the one Holy Body, even as the Holy Ghost is the One Holy Spirit, the Bride which, alike with the Spirit, says Come. It all seems, somehow, I won't say confused in your statements, but mingled up together, till a sort of sacredness appears to attach in your mind to the very collector whom the wardens have to collect the rate for them, if any wardens will not be at the trouble of it themselves; and I could almost fancy you associating Church Rate valuations with hymns and hallelujahs, and a Church Rate victory in the vestry with any other of the hard-won triumphs of Christ's "Church Militant in earth."

P. Remember last Thursday, my good friend, and how you yourself were exalting the Quaker's loss of his bacon into a suffering for conscience sake. However, I won't ask you what you meant exactly by what you have just said, but content myself with replying "and what then?"

O. Why then, Sir, when I think of John Topham, and others like him, ranting away there at our dinners at the Blacksmith's Arms, at Ilverton, and how they talk as if Church Rate meant nothing more nor less than one set of men putting their hands in another set of men's breeches-pocket and plundering them (as Mr. Bright says) of two-pence in the pound, and how they scout the notion of religion and spirituality having anything to do with the strong arm of the law and the magistrates' distress warrants,—when I think of a great deal more of this sort, which I should not like myself to repeat to you, I cannot help feeling that your views and the views of a large part of the public are, as it were, not in the same language, but require an interpreter. And I should like you to hear for yourself

what is said, and to meet it. Besides, in these "uncomfortable" matters, I think the clergy should be the captains and shew us laymen how to bear the brunt.

P. I hardly quite understand you. Of course I often read and hear what is said by Dissenters. And you know I have to take the chair at Church Rate vestries.

O. Yes, Sir; but for all that I wish you would hear Mr. Topham.

P. I have no objection to hearing Mr. Topham, whenever it may happen, though I am sure I don't know when that will be—but I shall have no objection to encountering his attacks. But at present you see, I must be contented with hearing you, since we are on the steamer going down to Floyd, and Mr. Topham is at Ilverton or elsewhere attacking Church Rates or otherwise.

O. Oh no, but he isn't, though, Sir. Why, did you not know Mr. Topham was on board with us? That's he, in the green coat yonder, looking at the schooner we're coming up with. We can soon have him in company if you like.

P. On board with us! So, I declare, he is. I had no notion of that, certainly. Well but, Mr. Oxley, what do you wish us to do? We can't go up and attack him. I scarcely know him at all.

O. I know him very well, Sir. He's always ready enough for an argument, especially a fling at the church and the clergy. He'll have no objection, Sir, if you've none.

P. What is he? Not being a parishioner of mine, I know very little of him. What body of Dissenters does he belong to?

O. Well *I* can hardly tell that. I think he's more against the church than for anything else. He can't abide the church.

P. And why does he except the church from his liberality?

O. Well I've heard him have a hard word for most of the sects too at times. Only I think he can never abide the church. But you'll hear it all best from himself. Don't do it though, sir, if you don't quite like it,—only I thought you would set us laymen an example of not minding a little uncomfortableness.

P. I'm quite willing, Mr. Oxley. But how will you arrange it?

O. You shall soon see that, sir. Excuse me a minute.

(Mr. Oxley walks forward and goes up to Mr. John Topham.)

Mr. Oxley. Good morning, Mr. Topham.

Mr. Topham. Good morning, Mr. Oxley. I didn't know whether we should get a word with you or not, you seemed so fast yonder with your parson.

O. I want you to be fast with him too, for one while at any rate. I want you to say over again to him all that you were bothering us so with about Church Rates at the Blacksmith's Arms the day before yesterday.

T. What's the use of talking to a parson about Church Rates? You might as well talk to a woman about big skirts.

O. I don't see the resemblance.

T. Then I won't trouble you with an explanation. However, I'm not so fond of parsons as to wish to foregather them on board steam-packets. If it was our own parson in the Ilverton Vestry at a Church Rate meeting he should hear me sooner, happen, than he would like, and longer too.

O. Come, Topham, that won't do. You've been threeping us down at the Blacksmith's Arms yonder, about once in six weeks, anytime these last fourteen months, that Church Rates are all stuff, with not a decent word to be said for them, all antediluvian rubbish that should have been swept away with the dark ages, mere obsolete anachronism in these enlightened times, and so on, having it pretty much all your own way. Now here's a man seems to have no more doubt in his way of thinking than you have in yours, and he's no more opinion of your notions than you have of his; and I say it's nothing but fair to Mr. William Bell, who I see is with you, and to me and to all us fellows at the Blacksmith's, that you should let it be fairly seen now what you have to say to the parson, and what the parson has to say to you.

T. The parson as firm in his notions as I am in mine! Why you may say the same of any old woman in the house there at the top of Cleaver-lane. If you could get speech of the mummy they brought to the Floyd Museum last week, I dare say you would find it equally firm in its notions too. But I've no intention of wasting my time in trying to insense either mummies or old women, pigs or parsons. While the parsons are talking we'll sweep the Church Rate away, and when they find it gone they'll see the world can go on without it. That's the way to deal with the firm notions of the parsons.

(Parson Fairfax steps from the other end of the steamer, and accosts Mr. Topham.)

P. How d'ye do, Mr. Topham. Some time, I think it is, since I had the pleasure of meeting you,

T. How d'ye do, sir. Why I have not the advantage of being much at clerical parties.

P. How's your vicar, at Ilverton? I have not seen him lately, either.

T. Parson James—he's very well, I believe. I don't often see him, except at vestry meetings.

P. And there, I'm afraid, you and he don't always show in each other's eyes to the best mutual advantage. Indeed, I have a small complaint against you, myself. Here's my good friend Mr. Oxley, you seem quite to have stumbled him in some of his and my ways, one of them in particular.

T. Sorry for that, Sir. But, perhaps, the ways of which you speak, are some of those that have been superseded by railroads.

Time brings change, and those who can't change must suffer. I knew one clergyman who literally would never travel by rail, but kept to the old turnpike. Of course he found inconveniences. If the clergy could but be taught to move with the times, they would find more to do and less to complain of.

P. Well, Mr. Topham, I dare say the clergy will not have any objection to moving, if you can show them sufficient reason. Certainly I shall not, for one.

T. I see, Mr. Fairfax, that you're like Oxley, here. You're determined to force an argument upon me, whether I like it or not. I confess I see no particular propriety either in the place you have chosen, or in the time, or (to be quite free with you) in the manner. However, as you will have it, I have no objection.

P. Pray, believe, Mr. Topham, that I have no wish to press any thing. I am afraid I must throw the burden upon my friend here. But, I repeat, I have no wish to urge you.

T. Make no apologies, Sir. I'm quite prepared. Only you must expect me to speak out.

P. By all means, Mr. Topham. You will not, I hope; think it uncomplimentary if I add that I expect you also to *listen* out.

PART V.

(Steamer grounding on the Sandbank under Clifton-Roberts.)

Mr. Topham. Well, Sir, as you have nailed us to this discussion, and I see we're in for two hours-and-a-half upon this nuisance of a sandbank—a friend of mine always calls it "Mother Church," it stops progress so—we may as well go aft and make ourselves comfortable, and if any of the other passengers like to take part they'll be welcome. It'll make our talk all the less dry, especially with some assistance from the steward. (*Aside, to Walter Grindlecorn*) —Walter, see and get a good many of 'em together, those three Independents particularly. Oxley's parson has got hold of him, and if we don't mind we shall lose him entirely.—(*Then aloud*). Here's Mr. Bell, you mentioned, Oxley. O there's the Methodist preacher, "Wesleyan Reformer" I think he calls himself—(*raising his voice*), —Mr. Blenkinsop! will you step this way a moment—some of our church friends here will have us hold a little rehearsal for the next

Church Rate vestry. We shall be glad, Sir, of your company and assistance.

Mr. Blenkinsop. I thank you, Sir, for your invitation, though of a kind to assort better with the tastes and habits of the ministers of the Establishment. The call of Methodist ministers is not to polemic strife on the poor externals, but to the glorious work of saving as many souls as they can. Still there are occasions on which even a Methodist minister may come down from his high position. "There are times"—as that talented Methodist minister, Rev. Marmaduke Miller, said in his lecture against the Establishment this month, at Manchester; "there are times when it is the duty even of a quiet man to enter the field of strife, and manfully to contend for the truth. Rather than prove recreant to truth, I would go through the world like Ishmael, with my hand against every man, and every man's hand against me."

Mr. W. Bell. I think I'm right—Oxley, just take the glass and see who's coming in that boat.

O. Why it's Parson Banfather.

P. Mr. Banfather of Astbury? I'm very glad to hear it.

Mr. Blenkinsop. Is not that he whom they call the "poor parson," or the poor minister?

P. If Mr. Banfather is poor, it's after the apostolic pattern of "having nothing and yet possessing all things." He's been a good learner of St. Paul's lesson "in whatsoever state he is therewith to be content." He takes everything by the right handle. In whatever happens he finds some advantage, something to turn to account, something to rejoice in, something to be thankful for. If he's well, he rejoices in his work. If he's ill, he rejoices in his rest. If he were rich, he would rejoice in what he could do. Being poor, he rejoices in what he can do without. He knows, better than any one else I ever met with, "both to be full and to be hungry, both to abound and to suffer need."

Mr. Topham. That's your account. Now I'll tell you how Parson Banfather strikes *me*. He always reminds me of Maggy Kintleby, that you've seen with my girls, Oxley. Have Maggy where you will, she's sure to be in the best of humours. Nothing ever seems to come amiss to her, if it isn't actual pain. Even in her dress, the girls say she's the easiest to please they ever met. She likes handsome things, but if plain things come she's almost as well satisfied. Old fashioned things even, she doesn't mind. I believe if she had to go in rags, it would be the same. And the reason of it all is just this, Maggy has such an uncommonly good opinion of her own good looks. She's quite confident in her own self that, put her on as you will, she'll be a beauty. The better her clothes are, the more she thinks they suit her. The worse her clothes are, the more she's delighted with her own face and figure which the worst

of clothes can't spoil. And Parson Banfather's just such another. He's just as much in love with himself and his own character as Maggy is with herself and her own looks. If he'd money, he'd be showing all the world how to use it. As he has no money, he shows all the world how to do without it. Put him in what circumstances you please, he'll always be full of himself, always admiring himself, always in the best of humours at having himself to admire. A child that's satisfied with sucking its own thumb needn't cry for barley sugar.—But here he comes—now you'll see.

Parson Banfather. Well, really, it makes Clifton-Roberts sandbanks quite agreeable to meet with so many friends. How d'ye do, Mr. Fairfax; and you, Mr. Topham. [*Shaking hands with seven or eight of the company.*] But what are you doing? Going to hold a meeting?

T. You've hit it exactly—a Vestry Meeting. Parson Fairfax is making us hold a vestry on Church Rate.

P. B. I must be in the chair then—chairman, you know, of all vestries in the parish of Astbury.

Mr. Bell. What, is Clifton-Roberts in Astbury?

P. B. O yes, you're all my parishioners at present. Now then, I've taken the chair. Who's churchwarden? Not you, Mr. Topham, surely. I hope the rate will be carried unanimously.

T. By your leave, Sir, this is a vestry of a peculiar character. Compulsory it has been made upon us to hold it, but we don't mean to have it compulsory in the manner of proceeding. We're not going to propose a rate, but to show cause why no more rates should be proposed. And, by your leave again, we'll pursue the plan settled before your arrival. [*Addresses those assembled—the greater part of the passengers.*]

Gentlemen all, who are honouring me with your attention, I declare to you that often as I have had to attack these Church Rates and that whole foul system of which they are part and parcel, I never can do it without shame. I am ashamed that we are here ten years beyond the middle of the nineteenth century and yet State churches and State Church Rates are still unswept away. What will be thought of us, what will be written about us by posterity? To sweep away such abominations is but scavengers' work at best. To be sweeping them away amidst the illumination of this enlightened age is as though the scavengers' cart were making its round under the broad sunshine, amidst the crowded market-place, at twelve o'clock at noon.

But, shame or no shame, the work still has to be done. Let us do it thoroughly. Quietly too, we would do it, if we might; but that, unfortunately, is not allowed us. These reverend men, the Incumbent (as he has just informed us) of Clifton-Roberts sandbank and his brother of Fakenham—they and their compeers insist upon it that the stink shall be stirred to the offence of the eyes and

nostrils of all decent passers-by. If the foul work has to be done in a filthy way, let the right persons bear the blame. We would have removed the scandal quietly if they would have let us.

What is Church Rate? Gentlemen, if we are to use plain words and call a spade by its own name, Church Rate is plunder legalised, robbery by due course of law. Law and Robbery! what a monstrous combination! but there is worse still behind. A third and more amazing confederate there is in this unholy alliance, and that third is—Religion! Religion, Law and Robbery! Religion robbing under the protection of Law! Is this language too strong? Find me then some feebler which will convey the facts. The strength is in the facts not in my words.

P. But what *is* Church Rate? You have not told us that.

T. Have I not? I thought I had. But you did not hear me. I will say it again. It is rapine by Act of Parliament; the parson plundering; the rector turned robber; religion converting law into an instrument for picking pockets. In how many ways must I express myself before you comprehend me? But, gentlemen, no doubt some quibble is intended, some miserable artifice of language, some of that wretched playing upon words and names which colleges teach and parishes despise. What *is* Church Rate? All of you, gentlemen, have known only too long and too well, what Church Rate is, and looks like and smells like, grossly offensive in all nostrils in this nineteenth century.

P. Mr. Topham, I am sorry to interrupt you, but it will make me shorter afterwards. Every time you tell me in this way that as a clergyman I am a thief, robber, spoiler, plunderer, and so on, have the kindness to bear in mind, that I might reply with, "you're another," just as forcibly, and just as frequently. And every time you say "Church Rate stinks," all present are requested to take notice, that the proper answer is, "Church Rate abolition stinks."

T. Gentlemen, the parson requests you to take notice that parsons can call names as readily as anybody, and if you doubt it he is prepared, in his own person, to give you present proof. Gentlemen, I do not question his power of calling names; what I do question very greatly is whether he can get his names to stick. For to make a name stick there is required a certain little adhesive called Truth, in which I suspect the parson's name-calling is deficient. We'll try it. I'll suppose myself a Quaker. As a Quaker, I find the parson's hand in my pocket and I say, "Parson, you're a plunderer." Says he, "Quaker, you're another," but it isn't true. The Quaker's hand isn't in the parson's pocket, so the name won't stick to the Quaker. Again, I'm a Baptist, and I seize the parson's hand in my pocket, and I say "Parson, you're a thief." Says he, "you're another;" but again, my name has the

adhesive, and sticks to him, and his name hasn't it and won't stick to me. And so on in succession. I'm Independent, Primitive, Romanist, and in every change I stick "robber" upon old Mother Church till every sore she has is labelled over. All my names stick, because they are all true; and all the parson's fall off because they are all false. For the church does put her hand into the pockets of the sects all round, but not one of them puts its hand into the Church's pouch, no not so much as for restitution. I thank the reverend gentleman for his interruption. It was the old dodge, when all the street was roaring "Stop thief" and the rogue himself joined in with his "Stop thief" too, against some innocent passer-by.

The parson asked me what Church Rate is, and I should like to satisfy him. But the more I try, the more do I find it impossible to add anything to what I have declared already, that Church Rate is plunder legalised. The people of England are some of them Churchmen, some Presbyterians, some Independents, some Baptists, some Quakers, some Unitarians, some Moravians, some Old Wesleyans, some New Wesleyans, some Bible Christians, some Primitives, some Wesleyan Reformers, some Countess of Huntingdon's people, some Sandemanians, some Romanists, and so on through about five and twenty principal denominations. Of these twenty-five, the church-people, being but one, though far the ablest one to pay for themselves, use the law to get themselves paid for by the other twenty-four. What are these churches but buildings for the church-folk to pray in? Why should Baptists find buildings for Churchmen to pray in, any more than for them to eat in, to sleep in, to send their children to school in? Why should the Baptist pay the Churchman's parson any more than his gardener, or his groom? Is it not all a simple, barefaced, utterly disgraceful and indefensible course of robbery? The case is certainly the simplest imaginable. *It is robbery*, and all to be done is to cry "away with it." *Away with it*, and it ought to be done away with at once. What can be said for it? And yet, for all that, the church people do stand up to speak for it. The parsons do stand up and defend it. And what is their defence? I said how much ashamed I feel every time I attack Church Rate; but the full disgracefulness does not press upon me till I have to deal with the Churchmen's defence of it. "It is so ancient," they say solemnly. What can one reply but "out ancient blotch." Was there ever the like of this defending robbery by antiquity? This hoary thief, this time-honoured plunderer, this spoiler from his mother's womb, this marauder that has had his hand in every man's breeches pocket from time immemorial, this pick-purse by prescription, this exempt from the eighth commandment ever since the Heptarchy—you surely have nothing to say against such an antiquity of rapine. Gentlemen, how can one be calm at such a defence? Was ever so perverse an argument as

that which bids us thus maintain an insulting injury, on the very ground that it has insulted us so long and injured us so much! Once for all, if a thing is wrong, the longer it has been established the more wrong it must have done, and the more speedily it ought to be put an end to. I will say no more about "antiquity."

But again, they mutter about "the *wise* ancients." "Respect the wisdom of our ancestors." I will respect their wisdom, but I do not mean to respect their folly; and if they enacted that, out of twenty-five English sects, twenty-four should have their pockets picked by the remaining one, I take leave to consider that a part of their folly. But the ordinary use of this phrase, "the wisdom of our ancestors," is itself one of *our* follies, as has long ago been shown. If an individual man grows wiser as he grows older, does not the human race do the same? Our ancestors lived in the world's babyhood; this that *we* live in is its manhood and maturity. If we were no wiser than they, we should deserve whipping. They did their part, we do ours. If we do even far less than they did, we must still be greatly in advance of them, for all which they achieved of wisdom is our starting point. Where they ended, we begin. The wisdom of the individual grows with accumulating years, that of the race with accumulating generations. Can anything be plainer? And observe one thing more—our ancestors did not, in fact, establish this strange plan of twenty-four sects robbed by the twenty-fifth. In their days, there was but one denomination. People were all Churchmen. The system (good or bad) was, at least, not one of plunder. The common payment was for a common benefit. When all were Churchmen, of course none but Churchmen had to pay. But shall we apply to one state of things the rule established for a state of things essentially different, and shall we call that our respect for the wisdom of our ancestors?

What next? Why, forsooth, the title of the church to Church Rate is more ancient than can be shewn by any landowner to his own estate, and therefore security of all property will be shaken if this church property be disturbed. But this "title of the Church" is all mere nonsense and confusion. Lord and Lady Landowner have, no doubt, a title to their lands, and if those lands were confiscated, the Hon. John Landowner, their heir apparent, would be ruined, and the Landowner family would be left destitute of its own for all after generations. But there is nothing like this in the case of church property. Existing interests being, of course, provided for, there are no successive generations of hereditary claimants who can plead a wrong done to them through all coming time. A case for compensation might, perhaps, be shown on behalf of the patrons, but, leaving them out, there is no one possessed of a title to church property, and therefore no one to be wronged by its extinction. Church Tax or Rate, of whatever kind, is simply an arrangement

made by the nation according to its own discretion ; and the rights of hereditary property are no more shaken by the extinction of Church Rate than by the suppression of places and salaries in a dockyard, or in a custom-house, or by doing away with the retiring pension of the Lord Chancellor. Such alterations might, in themselves, be wise or unwise, but with the security of hereditary property they have simply nothing to do.

Again, we are told that all property has been bought or rented subject to Church Rate from time immemorial, and that if I have last year purchased an estate liable to Church Rate, and have given, say, £4,000 less for it on account of such liability, it becomes dishonest in me to seek to have the law of Church-rate abrogated, and to increase the value of my estate by this £4,000. Was there ever such an absurdity made to pass for argument? Because a bad law has made land worth £4,000 less than it ought to be, and because I have bought the estate at the price which that bad law caused it to bear, am I therefore debarred from exerting myself to have the law made better? Is it not manifest that the very contrary is the truth, and that for exertions to have bad laws abolished we must look in the first place to those who have most to gain by their abolition? If there was a great export duty on coal, and if I thought the true interests of the country required its abolition, am I to be precluded from exerting myself, because the colliery which I purchased last year for £50,000 will become worth £100,000 to me if I succeed? As to tenants, of course the pecuniary gain from abolition will fall to the landlords, but that is no argument against it.

Once more ; if Church Rates are abolished, we are told churches will fall to ruin. Then Churchmen must have been over-producing them, must have been building many more churches or much larger churches than were wanted. No congregation will allow a church to go to ruin which it really wants and uses. As for the useless churches, or the churches uselessly too large, we need not very deeply afflict ourselves if they should be ruined. We will not maintain a gigantic national injustice for the sake of preserving buildings which are not wanted. Let justice be done and let us have no fear for the issue. Let the parsons remember what they learned at their colleges, *fiat justitia, ruat cælum.*

I repeat then, this law of Church Rate is a mere State allotment of a public tax, made in times quite different and to suit religious circumstances quite different from our own. What was paid originally by a single body for it own use, has come to be paid by twenty-five separate and distinct bodies for the use of one of them, and is thereby converted into a legal robbery of the other twenty-four. The argument from antiquity is foolish in reason and false in fact. That from security of property is mere confusion. That from all land having been bought and sold, subject to Church Rate, amounts to

saying that a bad law must not be improved, because the value of the land will improve with it. That from the consequences in country villages is grossly exaggerated, and at all events can avail no hing against a great public measure of righteousness and justice.

Would that Churchmen themselves could but be persuaded, and in every parish of England would join with Dissenters as one man to purge the Statute Book of such an outrage upon Right and Reason as this Law of Church Rate. Churchmen themselves would gain the most, even as at present they do really suffer the most. For it is an eternal truth that to inflict wrong is a greater evil than to undergo it; to be a robber is worse than to be robbed. If dishonesty could be done away with, the dishonest themselves would have the largest benefit; even as, if sickness were now suddenly to vanish from the earth, the blessing would be felt most blissfully in the infirmary.

PART VI.

(Aground on Clifton-Roberts Sandbank.)

PARSON FAIRFAX. Mr. Topham, in that last principle of yours I agree heartily, that to inflict a wrong is eternally a greater evil than to suffer one.

Mr. TOPHAM. Then, Sir, I wish your principles had some effect upon your practice.

P. In what have they not?

T. In your wanting to keep up this flagrant injustice of Church Rates.

P. Don't you see, my friend, that in those few words you have begged the whole question between us?

T. What do you mean?

P. Is not the question this,—Are Church Rates right or wrong?

T. Yes.

P. Then do you begin by assuming them to be wrong?

T. How do I assume them to be wrong?

P. Why, everything unjust is wrong, isn't it?

T. To be sure it is.

P. And did not you just now take for granted that Church Rates are unjust, and that I could not be actuated by just principle in advocating them?

T. Why, what just principle could there be in advocating a flagrant injustice like Church Rate?

P. There, again! We are debating for the very purpose of ascertaining *whether* Church Rates are just or unjust, and you begin by laying it down that they *are* flagrantly unjust!

T. Sir, these gentlemen have heard my condemnation of the Rate, now let them hear your defence.

P. But, Mr. Topham, we are searching after truth together, are we not?

T. *Searching* after the truth about Church Rate! I'm not, for I know it; and you're not, for you don't want to know it.

P. And you really can't believe it possible that a just man can heartily approve of Church Rates?

T. How could a just man approve of injustice?

P. But might he not be heartily convinced that Church Rates are *not* injustice?

T. Not if he was in his right senses, and knew what Church Rates are.

P. Now, Mr. Topham, allow me to look you full in the face. I am in my right senses; I know what Church Rates are; I understand all you have said about them; I hope I'm a just man. And yet I am heartily convinced that Church Rates are not injustice. I cordially approve of them, and of the system of which you truly said they are part and parcel, as thoroughly just and right. Can you not understand this?

T. No, sir, nor believe it either. You know I was to speak out.

P. And also to listen out. And I hope you *will* listen. Because you see, Mr. Topham, you say yourself, you don't understand me, but I do understand you. I quite believe that you honestly think Church Rates unjust. I see the point at which you are standing, and I see that from your point of view they do seem unjust. But you do not see my point of view and how from it Church Rates seem just. Now, unless you will take the necessary pains to learn what my point of view really is, you will never be able to do *me* justice, nor to judge whether mine or your own is really the better stand point for forming a true idea of Church Rate.

T. You mean that I'm to see with your eyes instead of my own?

P. I mean simply this. Both of us have strong convictions. Our convictions strongly differ. One of us must be wrong. Neither of us is infallible. Either of us, therefore, *may* be the one wrong. Let us help each other to find out which. But then first we must understand each other clearly. I have listened carefully to you. I hope you will do the same to me.

T. I'll listen. You'll be no longer perhaps than you can help.

P. I will rest my defence of Church Rates entirely and at once upon the rate's own inherent righteousness, justice and expediency

T. Do you mean that if we were going out, two millions strong, to a new country, and were planning a new constitution and laws—do you mean that we ought to institute a law of Church Rate?

P. Entirely so. If we were going out to a new country, two millions of us, I maintain that there too we ought to have a National Church, and a National Church Rate with it.

T. You've pledged me to listen, but it's very hard.

P. That is to say, my opinions are so very far off from yours, that you think I cannot possibly be right. But I have just the same reason for thinking that you cannot. Your opinions are just as far off from mine as mine are from yours. And really, you are no more infallible than I am.

T. Pray go on.

P. Let us then be emigrating, as you said, two millions of us, to a new country. Before going we have met in convention, a hundred of us elected by the rest, to deliberate upon our new laws and institutions. We have knelt down and prayed that we may discharge our solemn trust faithfully and truly, for the well-being of all, without self-seeking preference for the interests of individuals or of classes, without fear or favour, prejudice or passion. We have prayed *for largeness of heart.* Might it not happen now, that in our "New Britain" we might perhaps determine to have high roads from the capital to every township, and also that such roads shall be kept up by the townships themselves, each within its own limits, by legal rate recoverable in the National Courts? You see nothing wrong in that, do you?

T. Wrong in a highway rate for every township? Nothing at all.

P. But, perhaps, in the convention, some member might wish to leave the highways to voluntary contributions?

T. Some very foolish member then. Either the contributions would fall short, and the roads would not be kept up, or else the people would be saddled very unfairly and iniquitously; some paying much more than they ought, some much less, and numbers nothing at all. There should be a fair rate for all.

P. It might be difficult to lay it quite fairly.

T. There would be no difficulty in laying it ten times more fairly than any voluntary contribution would ever fall.

P. But if people *would* pour in their voluntary contributions freely and fairly, we should want no compulsory highway rate?

T. No; and if they *would* pour in their voluntary contributions for the poor, freely and fairly, we should want no compulsory Poor Rate. If they *would* pour in their voluntary contributions for the State expenditure, freely and fairly, we should want no compulsory Queen's Taxes. If tenant farmers *would* offer year by year to their landlords, freely and fairly, we should want no previous agreements or compulsory rents. If masters *would* remune-

rate their servants freely and fairly, we should want no compulsory payment of wages. If debtors *would* pay their debts freely and fairly, we should want no compulsory law of debtor and creditor. If everybody else *would* do everything else that was right, freely and fairly, we should want no compulsory laws at all. If the sky *would* fall, we *should* catch the larks.

P. Why, Mr. Topham, I never expected all this against the voluntary principle to be said by you.

T. You thought I should leave it to be said by yourself, did you? But I haven't said a word against the voluntary principle, but only against your ridiculous and imaginary misapplication of it. I never proposed the voluntary principle as a substitute for a highway rate.

P. Still, in the convention, as I said, some member might wish to leave the highways to voluntary contributions?

T. Some very foolish member, then, as *I* said.

P. But, however, if the majority of them did adopt the voluntary system for the high roads, the minority must submit to their conscientious decision?

T. Yes; but there never would be such a foolish majority.

P. And if the majority were to be for the highway rate, in that case also the minority must submit.

T. Of course.

P. And pay the rate?

T. To be sure.

P. And the individual ratepayer, when he paid his rate, would have no responsibility for the wisdom or folly of the law?

T. No, because the supreme National Authority takes all responsibility off the individual's shoulders.

P. I quite agree with you. And next, Mr. Topham, in the convention, might not some grave member rise and say, "Mr. President and most worthy friends, we have provided for good roads, shall we not provide also for having good men to travel upon them? Shall we not have a National Education? Shall we not build State Schools?

T. No doubt such a proposal might be made. But they would soon see the difficulties. And there would always be plenty of schoolmasters.

P. "Schools," that grave member might urge, "will not be provided adequately by individuals. School-buildings should be large, lightsome, airy, well-drained, well supplied with good books and apparatus. If all this be left to private speculation, many townships will be miserably deficient, and the minds and bodies of the next generation will be the worse for it." Such a view might possibly be advocated, might it not?

T. It might.

P. And it might be adopted by the majority?

P. And then the minority must submit?

T. Yes.

P. And so must individual ratepayers when the rate was laid?

T. Assuredly.

P. The responsibility resting with the Legislative authority?

T. Granted.

P. And after this, Mr. Topham, in the convention, is there not a possibility that some yet graver member might arise and say, "Sirs, associated in this high council, we have provided by national law for our roads, and we have provided by national law for our schools, shall we not provide by national law for our religion? Shall we not, *as a nation*, bow ourselves down before the God of all the nations of the earth? Shall we not have a national law and solemn institution for national worship? This people which is to be born, we are appointed for it, to care for whatsoever is most momentous for its future weal. Can anything be of greater moment than its serving God? We are its supreme authority on earth. Can a nation's supreme earthly authority be without religion? Can it have nothing to do with that authority which is indeed supreme, in heaven?" Do you not think it possible that some aged and god-fearing man might be pressed in spirit to deliver his conscience thus? Some man of the fullest unselfishness, the largest heart, the purest patriotism, the sincerest piety?

Mr. Blenkinsop. I think his piety, at any rate, might have taught him better than to want State interference between the soul and its God. Religion is a private matter, between God and a man's own soul.

P. And so will it remain when the man has paid his Church Rate. You forget, Mr. Blenkinsop, that such "poor externals" cannot be an interference between the soul and its God. How can the work of the Holy Spirit in a man's soul be interfered with by that man's having to pay ten shillings towards repairing a building? The soul does not lie in the purse. But, to return, if, in the convention, such a man as I have supposed were to make such a proposal, would you really, Mr. Topham, set him down at once as either fool or hypocrite, or, at best, as so blinded by prejudice that you need not listen to him? If so, I cannot help repeating how you must be possessed by the persuasion of your own infallibility. What, if he said "Friends, national religion cannot but be a national concern, let us nationally provide for it. Not interfering with individual consciences, but offering national honour to God, and securing helps and facilities for those who can conscientiously make use of them. Suitable buildings, for instance,—spacious, airy, dry, wholesome; conspicuous, also, and costly, as buildings should be which are offered to God, and are to be used in man's highest work, that of the united worship of God. Let not such things be abandoned to the unfair and insufficient

methods of voluntaryism, which will leave many townships without houses of God at all, and many more in which they will be inadequate and unwholesome. No; as we have a national road in every township, and a national school, so let us have a national house of God." Surely, Mr. Topham, these are views which might be held honestly, and might claim discussion fairly.

T. Well, yes, I will grant so much.

P. And there would be no interference with any man's freedom of conscience, no interposition proposed between the soul and its God. Every man would be as free as he was before to serve God as he himself thought right.

T. Yes; he would, so far.

P. And if that same aged man in the convention were to proceed and say, "For the house of God in every township, we shall want a minister of God. And if this be left to voluntary contributions, we shall certainly have many townships without ministers—many with half-starved ministers—many in which those who contribute largely will expect God's minister to be largely subservient to them; and the burden will fall unfairly in nearly all. Let us, therefore, make provision from the public purse for a minister also, in every township. Let that pecuniary independence which, in every other position of life, is so valuable, be secured also to the ministers of God. Whatever else is voluntary, at least let theirs be a voluntary service to their Divine Master. Whatever else is compulsory, let not their exertions seem to be compulsory merely, under fear of the purse-bearers of their congregations." Might not that, too, be said with honesty, and discussed with propriety?

T. Perhaps it might.

P. And if, by possibility, the majority were to agree with it, and the House-of-God Rate and the Minister's money were to be established, would not the taxpayer, when he paid them, be simply obeying the proper authority, without any individual responsibility of his own?

T. Have it so.

P. Now, then, we have a national establishment for the worship of the nation's God. The next question is, what denomination of church shall we establish in it?

T. I suppose so. A question which would soon show them what a folly they had been committing.

P. How so?

T. Because every man would want his own church to be the one established, and they would all be together by the ears.

P. Would not that depend upon how far "every man" had learned St. Paul's lesson, "Look not *every man* on his own things, but *every man*, also, on the things of others"?

T. How do *you* think it would be?

P. Suppose that aged man to say, further, "My friends, you know well how I love Episcopacy, and how firmly I am assured that it is Divine. Nevertheless, I am assured not less firmly that I am myself not infallible—that I *may* be wrong—that everyone of you all has a right to be as fully persuaded in his own mind as I most certainly am in mine. Out of our two millions of people, eleven hundred thousand are Presbyterians, and scarcely two hundred thousand Episcopal, while the rest are shared among five or six other churches,—Presbyterianism, therefore, must be established. We Episcopalians shall have our own buildings and ministers where we can. Where we cannot, we shall thankfully avail ourselves of the national church, rejoicing, at all events, that there is a national house of God and a national minister of God established in every township. And where we have our own churches, we shall still feel that the national churches belong to us, and especially that we participate in the testimony which they bear to the whole nation's care for God's glory and man's edification." Do you not think it possible that such a proposal might be made, and, when made, might seem worthy, large-hearted, Christian, welcome?

T. You must change the name of that new country of yours. Not "New Britain," but "Utopia."

P. But, however, if they were to act thus—those Episcopalians and the other churches—would they not seem to be acting purely and patriotically, with a large-hearted love for the whole nation?

T. Be it so.

P. And, for the good of the nation, they would pay their Presbyterian Church Rate?

T. By all means.

P. Out of love, not to Presbyterianism, but to national religion?

T. Very well.

P. Paying, not as Episcopalians or Methodists to Presbyterians, but as New Britainers to New Britain?

T. As Utopians, you mean, to Utopia.

P. And if the Presbyterians were equally large-hearted, they too would feel that their own State-church payments were made to the whole nation?

T. And that the national churches belonged to the Episcopalians, Baptists, and Co., quite as much as to themselves?

P. Exactly so.

T. Let it all be true—in Utopia.

P. And this Utopia of yours is any country where the people are large-hearted, unselfish, and have learned that lesson of St. Paul's to "every man"?

T. Up somewhere in the clouds; but I decline to commit myself to the whereabouts of Utopia.

P. The argument has committed you. So you see, Mr. Topham,

that instead of Church Rates being too bad for the world and for these times, they seem rather, on your own showing, to be too good for them.—Why do you laugh instead of answering?

T. "Sneezing," my good Sir, "to your snuff."

P. I don't understand you.

T. If you give a jest for an argument, what answer do you expect but a laugh?

P. I expect the best answer a man has to give me, and I have no doubt that, in the present instance, I have gotten it. But if you are tired of questions, I must try to make a speech.

PART VII.

Parson Fairfax.—First, again I press it upon you, what a change this is of yours from the position taken up in your own argument to that which you hold in your answers to mine. When you spoke yourself, Church Rate was part and parcel of a plan and scheme merely abominable, too bad and gross for common patience. Whereas, when you come to answer me, you absolutely object to it as "Utopian,"—too good, that is, to be true, too beautiful and god-like for human selfishness to realise. And yet, realised it is, this theory from cloudland, in some of its most important particulars, at this very time, in a Utopia no farther off than Scotland, by Utopians no higher up in the clouds than the Scotch Episcopalians. The Episcopalians of Scotland, at this very time, live, tolerated merely, under a Presbyterian national church. They accept their position uncomplainingly; pay their kirk dues, I trust, ungrudgingly; and have no fancies about being robbed or insulted, either by State or Presbytery.

You began your speech by declaring yourself ashamed of this whole controversy. As you went on, I grew ashamed of it too. I was ashamed to hear so great a question discussed with so much littleness, to find so large a subject treated exclusively on grounds of the merest selfishness, as though it were the one great object of human institutions to adjudicate fairly between contending greedinesses. For what did you, or rather let me ask *you*, my friends, what was it, after all, which Mr. Topham set forth to us? Was it anything more comprehensive than "it's a burning shame for one sect to have an advantage over the rest. You Churchmen get more out of the nation than we do; more than your proper share; some of *our* share." Like a greedy child roaring out at his fellow, "You've got more than your share of the pudding! Some of my share, you have." Only Mr. Topham's dissenter makes the outcry solemnly—"In the name of Eternal Justice, my full share of the pudding!"

Mr. Topham. Better than "in the teeth of Eternal Justice, *more* than my full share," like the Churchman.

P. Whether it *is* more is the very question between them, which Mr. Topham, as usual, begs. But I freely grant that numbers of Churchmen are, on their side, not less greedy, selfish, and narrow-minded. The cry of multitudes, on both sides, really is, "In the name of God, ME! Before heaven and earth, ME and MINE! For the sake of the justice of the Highest, *my* rights, fully! Let every ME be looked to well, and so all will be well looked to. Everyone for himself, and God for us all." The brave man's cry, the cry of the Churchman, after St. Paul's pattern, is just the opposite. "Let *me* be for *us all*, and God will be for *me*. Every man for his neighbours, and God for *him*. Think of *all* first, and *all* will have included each." Not that we shall then care very curiously whether every individual each has gotten exactly, quite, completely, every individual crumb and currant of the pudding which, in his share, he ought to have.

My friends, let us, in this whole argument, have one guiding question,—What is for the *good of all?* What is best for the nation as a whole, best and worthiest? How shall we, as a whole nation, most glorify God, and most accomplish, all together, the work which God would have us do? Let us look to the whole nation, and let the five-and-twenty sects take their chance; shut their eyes, and open their mouths, and see what God will send them. A healthy body will make healthy limbs. The prospering of the entire tree will be prosperity to every leaf.

Ought we to have a national *church*? For if there is to be a national church, of course, like every other national institution, it must be nationally maintained. And national Church Rate is but a portion of such national maintenance. It is no payment from one part of the nation to another part, but an allotment from the common property of all, by the common act of all, through the Government, which represents all, to maintain an institution intended for the common use, ownership and advantage of all. Probably every national institution, the Crown itself to begin with, is disapproved by some; but while it continues to be a national institution, all maintain it, approvers and disapprovers alike. And this is no robbery of one part of the nation by another part, no degrading tribute paid to the approvers by the disapprovers. The maintenance of the national army and the national navy is paid for by the peace-at-any-price taxpayers as well as by the if-it-be-possible-as-much-as-lieth-in-you-live-peaceably-with-all-men taxpayers; but who dreams of such payment being a tribute, or a robbery, between the men of war and the men of peace? It is an allotment from the general national purse, by the prevailing national will, with a view to the general national welfare. And, in this respect, a national Army and a

national Navy, a national Poor Law and a national Highway Rate, a national Monarchy and a national Church, all stand upon the same ground.

Even in a book-club, if a set of books has been ordered by the committee duly empowered, no individual member calls it robbery to have to pay his share; although these may be books which he never reads; or because he has what he considers a better work, on the same subject, at home; or even on the ground of his conscientious conviction that the books are bad in principle and pernicious in effect. If he thinks they ought not to be bought, he has a right to do all he can to prevent the purchase. But if the committee think otherwise, he has no right to say that he is robbed or insulted because, in buying for the common advantage, they have acted upon their own conscientious convictions rather than upon his.

Away then with the thought that national church dues are between sect and sect, a mere wrong done by the twenty-fifth sect to the remaining twenty-four. The authority which appoints them is not sectarian, but national. *The nation* pays them to and for itself. The church is a national institution.

Our question is, Why should it be so? *Why should we have a national church?*

Which is nearly the same as asking, why should we have a national *clergy?*

For whereinsoever man makes part, he makes, also, beyond comparison, the foremost part. Men are more than ships and shells; more than barracks and bayonets; more than "antique pillars" and "storied windows." First and foremost in the naval establishment are the sailors; in the military establishment, the soldiers; in the church establishment, the clergy.

Why should we have a national clergy?

For God's sake, I answer, and for man's; for God's higher honour and for man's greater benefit.

Which brief answer it is my business now to elucidate and establish.

And first, observe, the work of the clergy is not summed up in preaching. Highly important, doubtless, preaching is, though (except in the case of missionaries) far less important now than in the apostles' days,—a very highly important part of the work of the clergy, but not anything approaching towards being the whole of it, no, nor even the half.

The work and influence for good of a clergyman in his parish is really far less from what he says than from what he is and does; far less from his Sunday sermons than from his whole week-through, year-through, character and position, including, most closely, that of his family and household. Summed in a single expression, I should call it the influence of the rectory, far rather than of the rector, though, of course, it is from the rector, from the minister himself,

that all the rest must really proceed. He must be the head and heart, the root and fountain of the whole. But, having thus guarded my meaning, I repeat that the work and influence of the clergyman may be well described as the work and influence of the rectory. I am convinced that a rectory, or rectorial family and household, which, first of all, *is* good as it ought to be, and next, has the means for good which it ought to have, is the very greatest moral and spiritual advantage which, in external circumstances, a parish can receive from the Great Giver.

But I said, "we ought to have a National Clergy for God's sake and for man's." Let us look at the Christian ministry in this two-fold aspect, in its relation upwards unto God and downwards upon man.

Unto God, it is *man's highest offering*. An offering not of the fruits of the field nor of the increase of the fold, but of man himself. An offering of men for God's especial service,—men whom we give to God to be in some sort His ambassadors and earthly representatives.

Upon man, it is *God's chiefest instrument*. Ministers are God's living instruments, to speak for Him to man, to enforce His written word, to reprove, rebuke, exhort, to guide, to influence, to edify, and build up in holiness and godliness.

For both these relations ought it not to be of man's very best?

As such an *offering*, ought it not? If every offering to God should be of the best of its own kind, this offering, surely, ought to be of the best of *man* kind.

As such an *instrument*, ought it not? If we want the very best of men to be man's offering to God, do we not also want the very best of men to do God's work upon man?

Between Voluntaryism, therefore, and a National Church, the question is, by whether of the two are we likelier to obtain that "of man's very best?"

If it were in a single family—Suppose the head and father of some mighty household had a bidding from on high, a word of God sent down to him, that he choose and offer one of his children for God's especial service; to be in some sort, for that household, God's representative, to speak in the Name of the Lord, warning, exhorting, building up in godliness,—how shall that father act most manifestly for the glory of God and for the efficiency of God's minister? Will it not be by seeking to bring the flower of his flock to offer himself, the best and ablest son he has? Will it not be also by placing that best and ablest in such a position in the family as shall most mark the honourableness of the Lord's service, and shall afford the Lord's servant most advantage for influence and efficiency? And, in that important part of every family's arrangements, the distributing of its substance, the assigning to each one the portion of

goods which falls to him, shall there not therefore be at least an equal share for the servant of the Lord? Will the father, when he delivers the heavenly message and would fain lead the best among his children to respond to it, will he think to assist his purpose by declaring after this sort, "And the one of you, my sons, who is the Lord's messenger among us, shall have no share of the inheritance. He shall be dependent year by year upon the voluntary charitable contributions of his brethren. He, his wife, and his children." Surely, that were an unlikely way of showing honour to God, of making God's service sought after, of rendering God's servant efficient and influential. One important result it would have immediately—the parents of any woman whom with his former prospects that son might have sought in marriage, will be almost certain to object to the match now. He will have either to marry her without their approbation, or to contract an inferior connection; if, indeed, he thinks himself justified, in his altered circumstances, in becoming a married man at all.

For the individual family these are but imaginary suppositions. But for the great human family, for whole national families, they are facts and verities. To those vast and comprehensive families God does say verily, "Give me of your children—give and dedicate a class and body of men to be your offering unto me, to be my ambassadors and instruments to you."

Shall we not then shew honour to the King of Heaven, even as we should to an earthly sovereign, by honouring His ambassadors? Shall we not yet more show honour to Him by being earnestly bent on offering Him of our very best to serve Him as His ambassadors? Our best and ablest of every rank and condition of life, not excluding certainly the highest ranks. And if we are to do this as human beings, we must set about it in a human way, in accordance with the actual facts and workings of that human nature which God has given to us. When we desire to raise the qualifications of any profession or branch of the public service, to make it more honourably esteemed and therefore more ably manned, what course do we take? Do we not endeavour to attach to it such advantages of means and consideration as shall induce *parents* of a higher class, *parents* able to give their children a superior education, parents whose own homes constitute in important respects, a superior education?—do we not seek to make it a profession or position which such parents may wish their sons to enter, or their daughters to marry to?

For this is the two-fold consideration which effectually determines how any class or profession shall be manned,—has it a position which will induce highly cultivated *parents* to wish their sons to enter it, or their daughters to marry to it?

A position which scarcely anything will more surely hinder than dependence upon voluntary contributions. Fancy naval or military

officers reduced to such dependence! Nay, let any prosperous tradesman, any well-to-do draper or grocer, ask himself how he should like it, whether he could endure it. Instead of depending upon his customers' wants and the necessity they are under if they wish for a pound of good tea, of paying the price for it,—instead of thus living by the profits of his trade, let him suppose that he had to live upon his customers' voluntary contributions, according to their opinion of his civility, attention, painstaking, public usefulness, according, in fact, to how they liked him and how much, if he gave them no offence, they had a mind to spare for him. He would soon find this a "human dependence"* of another sort from that which he is under now. And yet even the actual dependence of tradesmen upon their customers, we are told, is such, that they cannot act as free citizens and give conscientious votes, unless they have the ballot to protect them. Ought not then God's ministers to be independent of man-pleasing much more than *they* are? Whereas Voluntaryism places the minister in a position of so much less independence, that any flourishing tradesman would abhor the thought of it, either for himself, or (much more) for the clever son to whom he is giving the advantages of an extra expensive education. And such a position of professional social inferiority Dissenting Ministers in this country, as a body, actually occupy, even among the Dissenters themselves. Try it by the test just mentioned. *Do not wealthy and influential Dissenters wish their sons to be something better than Dissenting Ministers, and their daughters something better than Dissenting Ministers' wives?*

Such is the Dissenting Minister's position now. Such far more it would be but for that very National Church which he longs so to pull down. He would soon find that he had destroyed one of his own best upholders. For, the undoubted position of the minister of the parish keeps up not a little that of the dissenter who claims to be his professional brother.

Most important also is it to observe, that pure Voluntaryism would do away with all dissenting endowments, and all stipulations about ministers' stipends. For stipulations, once made, are *compulsory*. Means too, must be found to exclude such impure motives as ostentation in rich contributors, shame at giving less than one's neighbours, unhandsome wishes to establish an influence, and the like. In short, the pure voluntary minister must be a Christian pauper, subsisting upon Christian charity, given freely and *secretly*. What sort of a prospect would such a profession offer to fathers with sons to put out, or to mothers with marriageable daughters? Should we not have to go back to celibacy and the begging friars?

Reason, then, and experience alike assure us that pure volun-

* Manchester "Lectures on Voluntaryism," p. 232.

taryism would cause the ministry, man's highest offering, to be supplied, almost exclusively, from the inferior classes of society. As though the ancient Hebrew had so planned his first fruits as to offer them from the produce, exclusively, of his inferior cultivations.

On the contrary, the great State establishment of a national church, such as, with all its deficiencies, is the Church of England, strives, at least, to be a great and worthy offering to the Lord from the whole nation, and from all its men, high and low, rich and poor, together. An offering of the best, and from the best. Of the best, and from the best of every rank and condition. The Church of England excludes not any. How often has she welcomed to her highest dignities the piety and the ability, the merit and the manhood, even of the humblest.

But a man is neither pious because he is low born, nor impious because he is high born. And when piety and ability do go along with birth, and riches, and high early culture, doubtless, we think that, for God's ministry, such an offering is more noble, such an instrumentality more efficacious. With the poorest of his flock, the advantage of such a position to the minister is great; with the rich and influential, it is incalculable. And, assuredly, whatever makes the clergy socially inferior, and supposed to be taken ordinarily from a socially inferior class, so as to be fit objects of patronising and condescension, does most seriously diminish from their power and influence for good. Even Angell James, in his "Means to obtain an Earnest Ministry," does not omit "the importance of our sending our *patrician* youths to the sacred office."* They who forbid the clergy birth and wealth, since birth and wealth breed pride, why do they not forbid knowledge also, for "it puffeth up," and intellect, for what is haughtier? Would they have the clergy humble alike in birth and wealth, and talents and attainments? Or do they not perceive that all these great things are indeed great dangers, but are also great powers, and that God's ministers, of all others, are the proper persons, with the help of God's Holy Spirit, and with their eyes fixed upon a better world than this—God's ministers, I say, of all others, are the proper persons to show how those great dangers may be grandly surmounted, and those great powers gloriously exercised.

Think now of the quiet places of the land. How frequently, in the rectories of retired villages, are there to be met with men as refined and gentle, as large-hearted and Christianlike as can be found anywhere; men whom, to approach, is to be the better for it. And is this not as it should be? Is not this showing honour to the service of Almighty God? Instead of God's ministry in that humble parish being left, as one may say, to take its chance, left to the refuse of

* James' "Earnest Ministry," x. 5. The italics are Mr. James' own.

the towns, to some one who will "do for a village," but whom people in the city would turn up the nose at; instead of this, the parish itself, many times, makes its own offering out of indisputably the first of its own families. The great landowner (perhaps the noble landowner) to whom the place belongs gives one of his own sons to be God's minister there; if not, one of his own relations or friends. At all events, it is perfectly well recognized that he might do so without any derogation. The glebe too and the tithes are an abundant offering,—in their origin, perhaps, a perfectly freewill offering to God's service from the place itself, and from its best proprietage. How suitable is all this for the ministry in either of its aspects, whether as man's offering to God, or as God's instrument for good upon men. Tell me not of the abuses. I know there are abuses,—grievous, lamentable, terrible. I could speak of them in language stronger far than yours, just because I deplore them far more deeply. But the system itself is a glorious system, notwithstanding the abuses, even as man himself is a glorious being, notwithstanding worldliness, fleshliness, and devilry. What God has done for man, I would humbly wish those to whom God has given the power to do for the national church,—deliver it from its abuses, not destroy it for their sake. Who can estimate the ruin which, in thousands of parishes, that destruction would occasion?

I have in mind, just now, a country parish all belonging to a single squire, with a net income of some £4,000 a-year. The rector has, from tithe and glebe, about £600; and there, in his quiet rectory, he lives contented, useful, independent, respected, a welcome friend at the hall, a welcome friend at all the six farmhouses, a welcome friend at every cottage in the parish. His wife and family are not less welcome. School, and clothing club, and penny savings' bank, are all under their management. The rector is a man of learning, kindness, courtesy, good sense. The influence of the rectory for good is felt, I may say, in every house in that little community, and in the relations of almost every house with every other.

But how disastrous in that parish would be the overthrow were God's ministry to be stripped of tithe, and glebe, and rectory, and rank, and abandoned to mere voluntaryism. How much would the six farmers voluntarily bestow upon the minister, and what would be his position in depending upon their bounty? The squire too, and the hall, would they make up the £600 a-year and the value of the rectory house? The main support, however, would, no doubt, have to come from them. The minister, instead of being nominated by the great house, once for all, would be dependent upon it year by year, continually, for the bread to put in his mouth, the clothes upon his wife's back, the schooling (such as it would be) of his children, their physic when they wanted the doctor. What father, himself a gentleman, nay, what father with any feeling of English independence

would educate a son to become such a minister? What mother would consent to give her daughter to be such a minister's wife? How monstrous the blindness which must possess people who cry aloud against the secular influence of the squire as a mere patron of the living, and yet would make the secular influence of that same squire paramount and perpetual over every day of every year of the miserable parson's life. But, in truth, who can fail to see that to wish to substitute voluntaryism for the national church in country parishes is to be negligent alike of God's honour and of man's good, in the blindness of that miserable sectarian jealousy which is bent upon this one thing only, that the sectarian preacher shall have no *secular* superior in the minister of the parish,—a jealousy secular and earthy from beginning to end. What is it but the common longing of the leveller, "Down with our betters"?

And if they *were* down,—if the levellers had triumphed, and the Church of England were no more, what would sectarianism itself have gained? What good soever sectarianism can do, it is free to do already. Already it can go into what parish pleases it, and there divide and subdivide to its heart's content, till that religion which was to have united men is manifestly before all the one pre-eminent cause which separates them. Already it may set up Communion table against rival Communion table, and make division's surest stronghold to be that "one bread" wherein we were to have found ourselves "one body." Sectarianism is free already to do what seems it good.

Neither do I regret its freedom, deeply as I regret the use it makes of it. Neither do I lose sight, for an instant, of its full and amplest right to the conviction that its own ways are as excellent and admirable as I am convinced, on my part, that they are disastrous and deplorable. But being free itself to do its best after its own convictions, why should it begrudge us a like freedom to do our best according to ours? We do not insist upon voluntaryists doing their spiritual work *with* the Church and State connection; why should they insist upon our doing ours *without* it?

I have said my say. I would fain hope that some of you will thank me for it. I love a national church, because I believe its plan to be most accordant with God's will and ministrant to God's glory, making religion the great comprehender instead of the great divider, giving, as I said before, to God's worship, house and ministers their due place, prominence, and power among the homes, the institutions, and the proceedings of man.

Long may our own dear national Church of England endure. Increasingly may she flourish. Peace be within her walls, and plenteousness within her palaces. O pray for the peace of Jerusalem; they shall prosper that love thee.

PART VIII.

Mr. Oxley. I, for one, thank you, Sir. I'm sure I have learned much from what you have said to us.

Parson. One commonly does learn from an argument honestly followed out. I hope I have learned something from it myself.

O. And have you learned nothing, Topham?

Mr. Topham. I've learned what some parsons can say and what some parishioners can swallow. But indeed parsons are all alike.

P. I won't say I have learned how ungraciously some dissenters can receive what is honestly and kindly offered. I knew that before. However, dissenters are *not* all alike, nor indeed the same dissenter at all times.

Walter Grindlecorn. *I* want to learn why this national system has worked so badly and turned out such a failure. After all half the parsons are half starved, and half the people haven't church room.

O. Why, Walter, you ought to have your head patted. Don't you see that's not from the national system's working, but just from its being hindered from working, and that the "failure" is really the failure of voluntaryism?

W. G. How do you make that out?

O. Why isn't it the working of the national system to provide both ministers and church room at the national expense as often as they are really wanted?

W. G. I suppose so.

O. And if that was done and the system worked, where would be the failure?

W. G. And what hinders it?

O. Of course everything which makes the national system non-working instead of working. The obstructions of dissenters in the House of Commons hinder it. The alienation of tithe hinders it. The denial of Church Rate hinders it. What hinders Manby church from being rebuilt and enlarged, except the refusal of the Manby people to lay a rate? What hinders our excellent friend here from doing the good he might in Astbury, except that the Astbury tithes are sent off to two lay impropriators in the next county, instead of

coming to a resident rector who would spend them again among the parishioners from whom he received them?

W. G. But, any way, how does this prove the failure of voluntaryism?

O. Because voluntaryism, both in the church and out of the church, has proved quite unable to make up the deficiency left by the non-working of the national system.

W. G. Well, say what you will, I can't see what right the State has to impose its own religion upon me.

O. How does the State impose its own religion upon you?

W. G. How! why doesn't it make me pay ten shillings every year for Church Rate?

O. And do you call that imposing a religion upon you?

W. G. Why, what do you call it?

O. I call it imposing a payment of ten shillings a year. Your religion isn't a yearly payment, is it?

W. G. I don't understand you. I tell you again, I'm made to pay ten shillings a year to a church I don't believe in.

O. And I reply again, that isn't imposing a religion upon you, unless paying ten shillings a year is your religion. Look at it this way, Walter, What is the national religion of Persia?

W. G. Mahometanism.

O. Now if you were to go to Persia for ten years, on some matter of trade say, and if you found a law there obliging every trader, foreigner or native, to pay ten shillings a year to the Persian government, to go towards the fund for maintaining Mahometan mosques, would you really say, when you returned, that in Persia all foreign traders had the Mahometan religion imposed upon them, and that during those ten years it had been imposed upon yourself? I mean supposing you had been left to read your Bible as you pleased, pray as you pleased, build a Christian church if you pleased, have Christian worship if you pleased, nay, do all you could, if you pleased, to bring the native Persians to attend your worship, and to convert them to Christianity; if you had been left at full liberty to do all this, would you really come back and tell us that you had had the Mahometan religion imposed upon you all the time, inasmuch as you had been required to pay ten shillings a year to the national government towards keeping in repair the national places of worship?

W. G. Well, no, perhaps I shouldn't exactly say that.

O. I suppose you wouldn't. I suppose you would feel that religion consists in prayer, praise, worship, in the use of the sacrament, in the study of the Bible, in dwelling upon the creed, in inner communion of the soul with its God, in faith, love, obedience, and that if in all these there had been no attempt to interfere with your perfect freedom, then no religion has been imposed upon you at all. You would feel that imposing the national religion upon you was

one thing, and that requiring you to pay the national government ten shillings a year, which it gives to the support of a national institution, was quite another.

W. G. Still I should be employing my ten shillings to support Mahometanism.

O. No, you wouldn't. You employ your ten shillings in paying a Persian State tax, which the Persian State has a right to impose upon you, and which it employs afterwards as itself thinks best. You are no more responsible for the use which the Mahometan State makes of the taxes which you have paid it, than you are for the use which your Mahometan landlord makes of the house-rent which you have paid him.

W. G. I shouldn't like the notion of my ten shillings going to support Mahometanism.

O. Like! your landlord might use the rent in supporting a Mahometan missionary, you would not like that. But the question is not about your liking, but whether you would be justified in saying that your landlord had imposed his religion upon you because he so used the rent you paid him. You wouldn't say your landlord had imposed his religion upon you, would you?

W. G. Of course I shouldn't.

O. Then would you say that the Persian State had imposed its own national religion upon you because it imposes upon you a tax, and then uses the money in supporting its national religion?

W. G. No, I shouldn't.

O. You admit then that imposing ten shillings a year upon you in Persia as a Persian national tax, to go to the support of the Persian national church is not imposing upon you the Persian national religion, creed or form of worship?

W. G. Yes, I do.

O. Just in the same way, then, Walter, imposing ten shillings a year upon you in England as an English national tax to go to the support of the English national church is not imposing the English national religion, creed or form of worship upon you.

W. G. Still I can't feel satisfied about my ten shillings. It is the right of the individual judgment to determine what is truth, and I ought to refuse all support to error.

O. Why not say you ought to refuse all support to what is wrong?

W. G. Well, I should say so.

O. Then are you to refuse payment of every tax which the State applies to a purpose which you individually think wrong?

W. G. Why not?

O. Why not, indeed! If every tax payer is to make himself the judge of the right and wrong of every tax, don't you see that taxes

will have to be given up altogether. The individual is responsible for the use he makes of his own money, but the taxes, when he has paid them are the State's money, and the State is responsible for the use made of them. You might as well say it is the right of the individual judgment to determine what is prudent, and to refuse all support to imprudence; what is wise, and to refuse all support to folly; what is frugal, and to refuse all support to extravagance; and so on in every other case.

W. G. I've heard many Dissenters say that they would be quite willing to give to the Church voluntarily.

O. What! Dissenters who complain that the rate compels them support a Church they don't believe in?

W. G. Why not?

O. Why not, again! d'ye mean to say that first of all they say the Church system is so bad that it wounds their consciences to be forced to contribute towards it; and then, that if they are left to themselves they will help and support this bad system freely and voluntarily?

Mr. Topham. Well done, Doctor Oxley! You might well say you'd learned something. A rare school Parson Fairfax' must be for putting learners up into teachers. Just a thought too much perhaps of insolence of manner in this new professor, who begins with patting our heads for us.

O. A lesson or two in *your* school, mayhap, will cure that.

Mr. William Bell. If I might be allowed to make an observation, I cannot help expressing my regret that Mr. Fairfax should have excluded himself so much from everything belonging more peculiarly to our own English Church Rate.

Parson. Nay, I was far from excluding myself. But the general question is so very much more important, and Mr. Topham seemed impatient. However, I certainly should like to add a word or two about our English Church Rate, and as to who are the "robbers," taking Mr. Topham more on his own ground.

W. B. We shall all be glad to listen, Sir.

P. You remember Mr. Topham's estate, which he bought for £4,000 less, on account of its liability to Church Rate?

W. B. Perfectly.

P. And which he was to sell for £4,000 more when Church Rate was abolished?

W. B. Certainly.

P. And how he called it increasing the value of his land by the abolition of a bad tax?

W. B. Yes.

P. Does the abolition really increase the value of the land? Does it add to the amount or the availableness of the land's produce?

W. B. Why, of course, abolition does not increase its value as draining would, or dressing, or opening mines, or taking a railroad through it.

P. Four thousand pounds worth added in any of those ways would be a real addition to the value of the land?

W. B. Certainly.

P. But Church Rate abolition gives no such increase? In fact, it leaves the real value of the land just where it was before?

W. B. Just so.

P. Still, as Mr. Topham can sell it for £4,000 more than he could before, the abolition must have increased *his property in it* by four thousand pounds worth?

W. B. Yes; his property in it is certainly so increased.

P. By the abolition?

W. B. Yes.

P. That is to say, the abolition has given him four thousand pounds worth of additional property in the estate?

W. B. Yes.

P. Four thousand pounds worth, which did not belong to him before?

W. B. Yes.

P. If it did not belong to him, it must have belonged to some one else. Who was that?

W. B. Whom did that four thousand pounds worth belong to before the abolition made it Mr. Topham's, do you mean?

P. Exactly so. Whom was it taken from when it was given to him?

W. B. I don't know. From the church, I suppose.

P. Whom do you mean by the church?

W. B. Well, the clergy, I suppose.

P. Nay, you know quite well that no part of its proceeds ever went into the pockets of the clergy. What was done with it? What was it used for?

W. B. It was a liability to Church Rate. Of course it was used to keep up the churches on the estate?

P. And whose property are they? Whom are they for?

W. B. Of course, substantially, they are the property of all the people in the parishes on the estate.

P. Then whose property was that four thousand pounds worth before it became Mr. Topham's?

W. B. I see. It was really the property of all the people in general in the parishes of the estate. It was a reserve out of the whole value of the land, and was made to be the property, not of the landowner, but of the public.

P. Certainly it was. It did not go from father to son like the rest of the landlord's property, nor could it be transferred from seller to buyer. It was public property limited to one particular public use.

W. B. No doubt of it, Sir. And the effect of abolition on that estate is just simply to take four thousand pounds worth, which was previously the public property of all the people on the estate in general, and to make it Mr. John Topham the landowner's private property, without his paying a farthing for his gain, or their receiving a farthing in compensation of their loss.

P. And don't you think that looks very much more like "robbery" than anything which Mr. Topham told us of?

W. B. The argument certainly seems to have gone round somehow.

P. And, Mr. Bell, will not the result of abolition through all broad England be just the same? Will it be anything else than taking away so much public property from the people, and making it the private property of the landowners? Church Rate throughout England amounts to more than £250,000 a-year, and might easily and legitimately amount to more than £500,000. This immemorial and fully-recognized liability is, in fact, a nationalty,* or national reserve, of the value of many millions of money, withdrawn from the proprietage or private property of the landowners, and reserved, as nationalty, for the nation at large. Church Rate abolition will just rob the nation at large of all these millions, and hand them over bodily to the landowners, will convert all this nationalty into proprietage, without one halfpenny of compensation received by the losers, or one halfpenny of purchase-money paid by the gainers.

W. B. The view is quite new to me, but it seems indisputable.

P. Do the landowners, in general, desire this aggrandisement at the expense of the nation, and especially of the national poor? Far from it. We know that the great majority of them, both in the House of Lords and out of it, are utterly opposed to it. But now pass on to tithe. The abolition of tithe would have just the same effect, only in a ten or twenty-fold greater degree. Tithe also, in effect, (and glebe as well) is a reserved nationalty for providing the nation with ministers, just as Church Rate is a reserved nationalty for providing the nation with churches. If you do away with Church Rate, and do away with tithe, you simply take property by the hundred millions sterling from the nation at large, and hand it over to the landowners. And you throw upon the nation the whole vast burden of providing churches and ministers. So far as tithes have been alienated and Church Rates practically abolished, this has been already done; and Mr. Grindlecorn's "half-starved parsons" are part of the consequences.

W. B. What you say certainly seems true.

P. Take the instance of Stoke. There are twelve farms. The rents together amount to more than £6,000. Those twelve farms

* See Coleridge's "Church and State, according to the idea of each."

all belong to Lord Bassetlaw, and, except the glebe, they include the whole parish. Stoke Church Rate is about £50 a-year, and the rector has, from tithe and glebe together, about £1,000. The farmers don't really pay a penny of Church Rate, because it is allowed for in their rents. Of course, they don't pay a penny towards tithe or glebe. Lord Bassetlaw pays the tithe. The glebe is so much set aside (perhaps freely given, but the effect is the same) centuries ago out of the proprietage of the Stoke estate. All manner of sects and preachers can, of course, go to Stoke quite freely. Lord Bassetlaw, as you know, lives on the great Bassetlaw property on the other side of England, and the Stoke rents, of course, are transmitted to him. Now, if the national system had never existed, his lordship would simply have possessed the whole. Instead of £1,000 a-year being reserved to secure to the Stoke people the services of a resident rector, who spends it amongst them, the entire £7,000 a-year would have gone away to Bassetlaw Park, and the £50 Church Rate too. The church, if there was one, would have had to be kept in repair by the farmers themselves. The poor would have done as they could. And if the national system were now to be abolished, the consequences would be the same. The Methodists, Baptists, and the rest, would gain nothing; but Stoke would lose the rector, rectory, and parish church, which have hitherto been freely provided for them out of the nationalty reserved from the Bassetlaw property at Stoke.

W. B. Really taking all this great reserved nationalty all over England from the people, and giving it to the proprietors, seems quite revolutionary.

P. Aye, Mr. Topham's Lords and Ladies Landowner, will find that out in time. If they receive this great gift of nationalty, they receive it from the nation at large as ultimate owner. But the nation at large is ultimate owner of *all* the land, and not merely of the reserved nationalty. And *the time will come when that same ultimate owner (or his demagogues for him) will be "conscientiously convinced" that the whole "antiquated" system of great hereditary estates demands reconsideration and revision.* Nor will it be very difficult to devise what may be done for the Hon. Johns and their "existing interests." No doubt the overthrow of the national church would be, in itself, a revolution, or rather the first of a series of revolutions. But what care the political dissenters for that? Anything rather than have superiors. Anything rather than take the lower room.

Mr. Blenkinsop. Perhaps they think the church might set them the example in taking the lowest room. And, indeed, before these lessons, or whatever they are, are concluded, there is one thing I should like to learn,—What this grand national system has to do

with the New Testament and the *un*established church of the apostles?

Mr. Topham. Aye, if the reverend gentleman would give us a sermon on "*My kingdom is not of this world.*" I suppose, though, the etiquette will be to ask our reverend chairman here for that, the vicar of this sandbank. Will you favour your parishioners, reverend Sir, with an exposition of the text I named.

Parson Banfather. Really it is one of those coincidences which happen in fact, though one would not tolerate them in fiction. We're going to petition in favour of Church Rates, and I was preaching on that very text only yesterday, in our Clifton-Roberts' Chapel of Ease, just above yonder, and here the sermon is in my pocket still. So if this good company will become a congregation, I have an open-air preaching all ready for them.

[*Passengers laugh, but raise no objection. Mr. Topham looks disgusted.*]

PART IX.

Parson Banfather. Understand, however, my good friends, that I am not about to turn my functions into a jest. You are here in my parish, and I am very glad to have an opportunity of exercising my office among you and showing you the true meaning of a much perverted text. And now let us kneel down and ask God's blessing.

[*Parson Banfather kneels. Most of the passengers follow his example.*]

Let us pray.

"Prevent us, O Lord, in all our doings" . . . .

"Our Father" . . . .

St. John xviii. 36.

My kingdom is not of this world.

Few texts are more perverted and misapplied than this; few, therefore, more require exposition and vindication.

The text has been perverted into the amazing doctrine, that law ought *not* to support religion; that Christian nations are forbidden to have a National Church among their Christian institutions.

On the second Tuesday, for instance, of last February, at one of those weekly lectures against the Church, which have been shewing the sort of peace gained by giving up Church Rate in Manchester—"*that good confession*" said the lecturer "*which He witnessed before Pontius Pilate cannot fall to the ground:—shall we ever omit it, even*

though we are taunted with its frequent repetition, 'My kingdom is not of this world' . . . these words shine by their own lustre. We find in them the assertion of our grand distinctive principles as evangelical Dissenters . . . . Our Lord was called upon to declare what were the relations in which His kingdom stood to the kingdoms and governments of this world. It is the very point that is now in dispute." And so on for more than two pages, ending with "*if in God we have enough, why go to government! Away with the thought! The Lord is our Judge, the Lord is our Law-giver, the Lord is our King, He will save us.*"

Such is the very common interpretation. I undertake to shew it to be mere perversion, utter misapplication of our blessed Lord's words to a matter with which they have nothing in the world to do.

Note carefully the circumstances in which our Lord spoke them.

Judæa was under the yoke of a foreign government—that of the Romans.

This Roman government was exceedingly jealous of anything like disaffection or sedition.

Its jealousy was especially sensitive in Judæa, because the Jews, as God's chosen people, were peculiarly impatient of a heathen yoke. "Is it lawful to give tribute unto Cæsar?"

Our Lord had gone about Judæa proclaiming a *kingdom*—"the kingdom of heaven is at hand."

This proclamation was exceedingly likely to be misunderstood—we know that in fact it was misunderstood, as though it had in view the setting up of a new sovereignty incompatible with the "crown rights" of Cæsar.

It was made a main handle of by our Lord's enemies in working upon the Roman governor's jealousy, suspicion, and even fears. "If thou lettest this man go thou art not Cæsar's friend. Whosoever maketh himself a king speaketh against Cæsar."—"We have no king but Cæsar."

In fact the charge under which our blessed Lord "suffered under Pontius Pilate," was this one of treason against the Roman government, evinced by His proclamation of the *kingdom*. They "set up over His head His accusation written, "*This is Jesus, the King of the Jews.*"

In answer to this charge our Lord was called upon—not "to declare," as that lecturer said, in general "the relations in which His kingdom stood to the kingdoms of this world," at a most unlikely moment surely for such an exposition—but simply to declare that it was no such kingdom as to interfere with the "crown rights" of Cæsar, no kingdom of this world, the establishment of which would involve an insurrection against Roman supremacy. "*My kingdom is not of this world.*"

What is there here which has anything whatever to do with the

case of a Christian government, providing a Christian institution, by Christian law, for Christian worship, among Christian people?

What strange reasoning it is to say "*because* our Lord, being charged with treason against the existing government, told Pontius Pilate that His kingdom was not of this world so as to be in any way threatening to Roman supremacy in Judæa, *therefore* it is not lawful for the English nation to have, among its national institutions, a national church, maintained like other national institutions, at the national expense." Is there any fear lest the Church of England should be dangerous to the "crown rights" of Queen Victoria?

The text ought not ever to have been so much as named in the discussions about a national church. It has nothing in the world to do with them.

Try the case another way. Make a supposition.

Suppose that one of the most attached members of the National Church of England by law established were to go out to some heathen land as a missionary. Suppose him to preach there the *kingdom* of Christ, Christ as the *King* eternal, immortal, invisible, the blessed and only Potentate, the King of kings and Lord of lords. Suppose furious opposition on the part of the heathen priests and people against this gospel missionary. Would not his furious enemies seize any handle for raising prejudice against him in the minds of the authorities? And if anything in the State's political condition made it easy to find in that proclamation of a kingdom such a handle as the Jews found it to be with Pilate, would they not eagerly avail themselves of it?

And if the missionary found a most dangerous prejudice thus arising against him by reason of this misunderstood proclamation of his Master's kingdom, would he not wish to explain that his was no earthly kingdom to be set up by the overthrow of existing rulers? Would not this Church of England missionary say in his Lord's own words "My kingdom," this kingdom which I proclaim, "is not of this world?"

And yet would that be the very slightest proof that he considered national churches unlawful? Would it afford the smallest ground for thinking that when that heathen country and government should have been converted (if God so pleased) to Christianity, that then the same missionary would not rejoice most heartily to see Christianity established as the national religion, and upheld by the national law?

And if the missionary's declaration "Christ's kingdom is not of this world," made under such circumstances, would manifestly have nothing at all to do with the question of a national church,—is it not equally manifest that the Lord's own declaration "My kingdom is not of this world," made under like circumstances, need not have anything to do with it either?

Having thus explained the text, I will add a few considerations on the subject to which it does *not* refer—that of the lawfulness of a national church. Such topics, within due limits, are not unsuitable for the pulpit. They belong indeed to what may be termed the body of religion, rather than to its spirit, to the means rather than to the end. But, in this earthly condition, our Maker has appointed that the spirit cannot do without the body; that the end shall not be attained without the means; that the work requires its proper instruments. Pens will not indeed make a writer, nor weapons a soldier, nor tools a workman. But what would the writer be without pen, the army without weapons, the workman without tools? The wit and wisdom of the ablest book would be at the mercy of the first wind that blew, were it not for those little paltry bits of string with which the binder fastens its leaves together; the scaffolding is necessary for raising the house; the kernel will not come to perfection without its shell; the green corn will be ruined if you strip off its husk; the soul can neither grow nor act without its body.

This is a world of means and instruments, and God works in it by them. That Manchester lecturer asked "If in God we have enough why go to government?" The simple answer is, "Because God works by government, because God gives through government, because there are important ends to which governmental agencies are God's appointed means." You might just as well ask, in every case of human agency and instrumentality, "If God is sufficient why go to man?" If God is sufficient for the propagation of His Gospel, why go to man, and missionary societies, and May meetings, and Exeter hall? If God is sufficient to direct the right man to the right place, why go to man and the Wesleyan Conference to appoint the minister to his circuit; why go to man and a fallible "congregation" to give the minister his "call?" If God is sufficient for the interpretation of His own Word, why go to man and the Westminster Catechism; why go to man and Mr. Wesley's Notes on the New Testament, for standards of orthodoxy? If God is sufficient for the good ordering of His own church, why go to man and general assemblies, to man and congregational churches, to man and "monthly meetings" and the "Book of Discipline," to man and "leaders' meetings," and "district meetings," to take God's place, and supplement, it might be profanely said, the Divine deficiencies? Or, again, if God is sufficient to put down our enemies, why go to man, and recruit for armies and equip navies? If God is sufficient to protect us from rioters, why go to man and the police force? If God is sufficient to vindicate the oppressed factory children, why go to man and Parliament for a Ten Hours' Bill? In short, if God is all-wise, all-powerful, all-sufficient, everywhere and in every case, why go to man at all for anything, whether for body, soul, or spirit? What are men singly, but weak, fallible individuals? What are men

associated, but weak, fallible societies? What are whole peoples and states of men, but weak, fallible nations? Why then go to man at all? If in God we have enough, why go to man? Of course, in every case the full and justifying answer is one and the same—*because God works by man, because God gives through man.* We do go to God when we go to God's appointed means and instruments. We go to governments, as to the powers ordained of God, and we go to them for those things for which God has ordained them. God has given to nations and governments the maintenance of national institutions. We ask them to maintain a national institution for God's worship and service. God has given to nations and governments control over the public purse. We ask them, in the exercise of that control, to allot a share, on account of the public offering to and interest in national religion. We go to men, as God's ministers, "attending continually upon this very thing." The fountain is not set at naught when we communicate with it through the appointed channel.

But religion, they are for ever telling us, is a private matter between God and each man's own soul. Certainly it is, that inner and spiritual religion, which is the immediate work of God's Holy Spirit in each man's own soul. But we do not go to nations and governments for that. When I say, that our national institutions have provided this very church for you to worship in, do I mean that they have thereby done the work of real spiritual religion in your souls? I trow not. When I tell you that national institutions have provided for my position and maintenance as God's minister among you, do I mean that therein national institutions have done the work of real spiritual religion in your souls? I trow not. You know very well, dear brethren, that the real work all remains to be done after the church is built, and the minister is appointed. You know very well, that when I speak to you of the real work, I teach you evermore to mean by it our real inner union with the Lord, and with one another in the Lord, our life together in the Lord's body, our living therein by the living breath of the Lord's quickening Spirit. Everything else, I evermore teach you, and press it upon you with all the power and earnestness I possess, everything else is for the sake of these, is worse than useless without these. These things verily are between the soul and its God, and for these we do *not* go to governments or to national institutions. But is nothing gained by the building of these walls for us to assemble within? Is nothing gained by the minister's being surely provided, and surely and independently maintained? Such are the things which governments can do, and can do most effectually. Such are the things which we go to governments for.

"Religion is a private matter between each man's soul and his God." Well, so it is; and yet if a regiment of soldiers were going

out to India, would there be anything irreligious in government providing a Bible for every one of those soldiers, as part of his outfit, at the national expense? I ask again, "because religion is a thing between God and every man's own soul, would that make it anti-christian for government to furnish every soldier with a Bible?

And if the national government may provide him a Bible out of the national purse, may it not also provide him a minister to explain to him what that Bible means, and to read it to him if he cannot read it for himself?

May not government go one step further, and provide the minister with a large tent, in which his explanation of the Bible can be given to as many of the soldiers as please, all together?

If so, then, in fact, government may provide a regimental chaplain, and supply that chaplain with a regimental preaching tent.

And if this national chaplain may preach to the soldiers in the large tent, all at the national expense, may he not also pray with them in it?

And if there be a permanent military station occupied by various regiments in succession, may not stone walls and a timber roof be put instead of the canvas of the prayer-and-preaching tent? In other words, may there not be a military church built at the national cost?

And might not the same thing be done at every military station, and still without the slightest interference between the soldiers' souls and their God?

And if these needful externals and instruments of religion might be provided by the national government at every military station through the whole British empire, and yet still without any interference between Almighty God and the souls of the soldiers, what hinders the same thing from being done by the national government, at the national cost, in every parish, and yet still without any interference between Almighty God and the souls of the parishioners?

"Ho, every one that thirsteth, come ye to the waters!" When, at the national expense, we provide for maintaining a crier to cry that proclamation in every parish, we do not thereby deny that the real work is between the precious waters and the thirsting soul.

And yet this is the system, this of the national church, which the Manchester weekly lecturers inveigh against, Tuesday after Tuesday, in such terms as these:—"*The existence of the Church of England has been one long-continued violation of the principles we believe Christ to have enjoined on the spiritual community which was to be called by His name, and to be devoted to His service.....The Establishment is the scandal of Christianity.....The Establishment is only evil continually.....In vain do its warrior guards defend the citadel. ....Blessed be the God of truth, a lie cannot last for ever! This State Church cannot escape impending ruin.*" And so on, lecture after lecture, Tuesday after Tuesday.

These lecturers are very bold and confident on the Scripture argument. With regard to the chief one of all their texts, I have shewn how groundless their confidence is. But it may be well to add a few words on this subject.

The true question is,—Does Scripture in any way *forbid* or *discountenance* national institutions in support of national religion? Does Scripture at all disallow what we term the connection of Church and State?

The particular form of this connection would, of course, vary greatly with the political and social variations of society. We do not inquire whether a national church, established by king, lords, and commons in parliament assembled, is to be found before the flood, or in the ark, or with the patriarch when he went on his journeys "from the South even to Bethel," or during the bondage in Egypt, or amidst the struggles of the infant church in apostolic times, when all the national governments in the world were either indifferent to Christianity or bitterly hostile to it. You do not expect a man to sit down before he has found a seat. You cannot well have Christian national institutions until you have a Christian nation, any more than you could have a society for printing New Testaments before either printing was known or the New Testament had been written. And to ask (as one of the Manchester lecturers actually does) why the Almighty did not provide at once for the conversion of Nero and the Roman government, or of Caiaphas and the Sanhedrim, is about as reasonable as to ask why He did not provide at once for the invention of the printing press. The true question, I repeat, is,—*Does Scripture, and, especially, does the New Testament at all forbid or discountenance national institutions for the maintenance of national religion?* For as such institutions might be expected to arise, and as, in New Testament times, they had universally arisen, *if not prohibited, they are allowed.* I am bold to declare my persuasion that there is not the slightest trace of any such prohibition, either in the Old Testament or in the New.

The instance of Melchisedek does not go far; but, so far as it does go, it is altogether in our favour. He was both priest and king. The minister of religion was supported by the highest secular rank and place.

Abraham, the secular head of the nation that was to be, was also its head for all purposes of communication with the Highest. He received the covenant of circumcision. He was the natural and typical ancestor of the future Messiah.

Moses, the temporal governor of the Lord's people, was also the great channel of communication on all religious subjects between their God and them. The whole institution of the Jewish religion was interwoven, closely and inextricably, with the other national institutions. In the words of one of the Manchester lecturers,

Almighty God "prescribed the amount they were to pay for the support of His government and worship; namely, the tithes to be given to the Levites, the offerings due to the priests, the poll-tax of half-a-shekel for the sanctuary."

But, says the lecturer, this State Church among the Jews was a "distinctive peculiarity" of the theocracy. *It was no such thing.* To institute a national church was simply to do what all nations did, in manners varying with their circumstances. The prohibition of such an institution would have been the peculiarity. A peculiarity the existence of which, among Christians, must be established either by producing out of the New Testament a specific declaration, or by the testimony of facts implying such a declaration. There is no such *declaration*, and the *fact* is that *Christianity was established as a national institution as soon as ever there was a Christian nation to establish it.*

Observe here, the Jewish national establishment and its legal support did not exclude free gifts nor prove any check to them. Quite the reverse. Neither does our national establishment. Quite the reverse in its case also. In both alike, we find "the combination of voluntary effort, as special needs arise, with the national system of permanent legal provision." *

Where is there, in the whole Bible, a word against national institutions in support of national religion? Says one of the Manchester lecturers, "*On the day of Pentecost, there were no kingly defenders of the faith; no terms of alliance between Church and State; no House of Lords for apostles and their successors; no sumptuous palaces for spiritual peers; no cathedrals; no beautiful parochial systems with tithes and offerings; no priesthood established by law 'with fixed and settled income;' no archbishops, bishops, deans, canons, prebendaries, rectors, vicars, incumbents, curates, in full blown carnal array.*" Can you then infer that these things are essentially unlawful, because they did not exist under circumstances which made their existence impossible? Why did not the lecturer tell us also that on the day of Pentecost there were no Wesleyan Methodists of the original connexion; no deed poll enrolled in Chancery; no Conference; no Committee of Privileges for guarding the interests of the Wesleyan Connexion; no Chapel Building Committee (without whose previous consent, in writing, no chapel, whether large or small, is to be erected, purchased, or enlarged); no Contingent Fund Committee; no Chapel Relief Committee; no Congregational Union of England and Wales; no Bible Society; no Bible Translation Society; no Theological Colleges; no Protestant Dissenters?

Nay, why should it not be argued that, as the Lord, the minister's great Exemplar, had not where to lay His head, therefore no minister

* Denison's "Church Rate a National Trust," p. 40.

who would be a follower of his Lord ought to wish to have a house of his own? Is it not "sufficient for the disciple that he be as his Master?"

Much has been made of "the Scriptural argument" against a national church; but I really can discover in it scarcely anything which seems to me to require an answer.*

I add a very few words.

The foundation on which national churches and their national maintenance rests, is to be found in the nature of a State itself, as being the great society of men, exercising, under God, *supreme* authority, especially having control over the national purse, by means of the national government, and bound to promote all parts of human prosperity, and its highest part—religious prosperity—most of all; bound to participate in the furtherance of those two highest objects of humanity, *glory to God, good will towards men.*†

"My kingdom is not of this world," surely not; but the kingdoms of this world are bound by all means to support and further it. "My kingdom is not of this world;" but the kingdoms of this world are to come into it, their kings to be its nursing fathers, and their queens its nursing mothers. "My kingdom is not of this world;" but "the kings of the earth do bring their glory and their honour into it." And at length shall "this world" be redeemed, the "prince of this world" shall be cast out; yea, he is cast out already; and the glorious words shall sound, "the kingdoms of this world are become the kingdoms of our Lord and of His Christ." Amen. May God speed the time and the fulfilment. *Amen.*

* *God made the world on the voluntary principle, in the free spontaneous exercise of His own infinite wisdom and benevolence,*" is a portion of the Manchester lecturers' Scriptural argument against a national church. See "Lectures on Voluntaryism," (published by Heywood, Manchester; post free for 16 stamps) p. 208. The tracts of the "Manchester Church Defence Association" may be obtained from Sowler's, Manchester, post free for 14 stamps.

† See Arnold's "Lectures on Modern History," pp. 1—77.

LONDON: WERTHEIM, MACINTOSH, AND HUNT.

John Richardson, Esq.
Ravensfell
Bromley
Kent.

RELIGIOUS EQUALITY

VERSUS

CHURCH ESTABLISHMENTS.

TWO SPEECHES,

BY THE

REV. P. W. CLAYDEN,

(OF NOTTINGHAM,)

AND

J. CARVELL WILLIAMS, ESQ.,

(OF LONDON.)

MACCLESFIELD:
PRINTED BY T. AND S. WRIGHT, "OBSERVER" OFFICE.

PRICE ONE PENNY.

TO THE

STATE-CHURCHMEN OF MACCLESFIELD,

WHO,

UNWILLING THEMSELVES TO HEAR THE TRUTH, OR ALLOW IT TO BE HEARD BY OTHERS,

BY

THEIR RIOTOUS PROCEEDINGS AT THE TOWN HALL, MACCLESFIELD,

ON TUESDAY, THE 13th OF DECEMBER, 1864,

BROUGHT DISGRACE ON THEIR TOWN,

AS WELL AS

PREVENTED THE DELIVERY OF THE ACCOMPANYING

SPEECHES,

THOSE SPEECHES ARE NOW PRESENTED

BY

THE AUTHORS.

DECEMBER 19TH, 1864.

RELIGIOUS EQUALITY

VERSUS

CHURCH ESTABLISHMENTS.

THE REV. P. W. CLAYDEN'S SPEECH.

My object in appearing here to-night is to do my humble part towards making the inhabitants of Macclesfield better acquainted with the Liberation Society. I know how that Society looks to many of you, as you see it at a distance, and hear its character and purpose from its enemies. But it often happens that things which look terrible at a distance, lose their terribleness as you approach them; as a figure which loomed fearfully through a fog reveals, on near approach, the features of a friend. It was so with the Anti-Corn Law League. As a native of a southern agricultural county I well remember the dreadful designs which the fears of landlords and the ignorance of their tenants attributed to that body. Twenty years have passed since then, and now all classes of the people rejoice in the blessing which that League won for them. I believe it will be so with the Liberation Society. Our movement has passed the stage of contempt and arrived at that of fear. Our designs are spoken of with terror by noble lords, both temporal and spiritual; newspapers (some of them) revile us, and an extraordinary panic respecting us seems to have seized the supporters of the Establishment. They see us at present through the fog of their own fears and prejudices, and seem horribly alarmed at us. They will have a nearer view of us ere long, and will learn to understand us better. I hope many of us will live to see the Society enter the third stage of its movement—the stage of triumph; and some, I hope, will live long enough to hear it universally admitted how much the Liberation movement has done for liberty and religion in England.

What is it, then, that the Liberation Society wants? Does it wish to banish the bishops and destroy the Church? Does it want to desecrate the beautiful buildings which cover the land, and

turn the houses of prayer to some meaner purpose? I cannot think any one is so foolish as to dream that this, or anything like this, is its object. When persons high in influence speak of the Society's designs as something very destructive, I can but think that they have a very vague and partial notion about us, and take the colour of their rhetoric from their fears; for the Society has never proposed anything to itself but the complete realization of the motto you have seen upon the bills calling this meeting—"Religious Equality." Our simple demand is, that the principle of English law shall be applied to religion—that all men shall be equal before it. We ask only that this principle shall be fully and completely applied: for, however it may be in civil and political matters, in religious matters this principle is not applied. Our laws in this matter are unequal. You may say truly that, however rich or however poor a man may be, he will get only justice from English law. As an Englishman, I glory that it is so; but I am ashamed to be obliged to feel that you cannot say, however a man chooses to worship God—however little, or however much, he believes—he will get justice from English law—for he will not do so. In this matter we stand behind other lands almost as far as in other things we stand before them. This is the one thing in which justice is not done, and liberty is not complete among us; and all that this Society asks is equal law for all religions, equal justice for all creeds, and equal liberty for every faith.

You all know, perfectly well, that our laws make distinctions between men on account of their religious belief. Let me, however, remind you of three or four ways in which this is done. In very many of our towns there are very old endowed schools, for the education of all classes of the people. You most likely have one in Macclesfield. Those schools are, in all cases, public property, and belong not to individuals, but to the community. But it has lately been decided in the Court of Chancery that, not only can no Dissenter be a master of one of these schools, but no Dissenter can be a trustee of them, or have anything to do with their management, unless by the sufferance of those who are members of the Established Church. These trustees, as public officials, are sometimes appointed in Chancery, and when the names are mentioned in Court, they are at once appointed, if no objection be raised: but if any objection be made, the objector must shew some unfitness in the person, and one test of unfitness is—Nonconformity. The man may be one whom his fellow-citizens respect, and who is reverenced for his virtues, and beloved for his charities; he may be in all respects the fittest man for the post—but if it be objected

that he is a Dissenter, there is no alternative but to reject him. Our unequal law compels this injustice. It declares the man who goes to Church, whether believer or unbeliever, to be a more "honest" man than one who, from the highest motives of conscience and piety, worships in another building, and with different forms from those the State prescribes.

The Universities of Oxford and Cambridge are made the means of inflicting a like disability on Nonconformists. For many years they were entirely excluded from any share in the magnificent educational advantages of those Universities. All over the Continent, and even in Scotland, the national Universities are open to the equal use of the whole nation, and spread their advantages among all classes; in England alone a large part of the nation is excluded. Yet, no country, says Mr. Fawcett, has ever possessed such splendid endowments, by which to reward intellectual acquirements. The revenues of the two Universities amount together to £360,000 or £370,000 a-year, but they are rendered nearly useless to Dissenters. They may study, may pass examinations, and may even take degrees; but all the honours, all the emoluments, all the privileges which the degrees confer, are absolutely denied them. Parliament has admitted the justice of Dissenters' claims —the Universities themselves have recognized those claims; but though they have granted them with one hand, they have taken them away with the other. The Universities are "open" to Nonconformists, but their advantages are closed. Is not this almost more than entire exclusion? Does it not

> "Keep the word of promise to the ear,
> But break it to the hope?"

Some, perhaps, will be surprised if I go on to mention, in the next place, the burial of the dead as a matter in which injustice is still done. It is a very favourite sentiment in all our mouths, that life's quarrels come not to the grave; that death extinguishes all enmities—heals all alienations—silences all disputes. So, undoubtedly, it should do. But this beautiful principle, which even Nature teaches us, is hindered in its operation by our ecclesiastical law. Alas that it should be so! But there is one thing even yet that separates Englishmen in death. Political hatreds do not divide them there; social distinctions do not keep apart their sleeping dust; personal and family quarrels do not sever them; but all differences are forgotten—all distinctions merged; and they who lived divided and estranged sleep side by side in their graves. But religion *does* divide them; the distinction between Churchman and Dissenter, Conformist and Nonconformist, *does* keep their dust

apart: their very bones may not mingle, nor the last words of hope and trust be spoken over them beneath the same roof. That line of demarcation in our cemeteries—that need of two plots of ground and two chapels, is the scandal of our religion and the disgrace of our civilization. What is there that renders it needful? Is the Conformist so exclusive that he must lie away from the Nonconformist? or the Dissenter so angry that he will be buried by himself? Not at all. They would all be glad to sleep together at last; and, so far as the laity are concerned, they would wish they could shake hands in death. But here again the unequal state of our law is at the bottom of the evil. What is more natural than that every man should wish to be buried with rites appropriate to his own form of faith? What is more likely than that he should wish that his own friend and minister, from whom he has received his consolation living, should do the last duties of affection and religion at his grave? And what is more fitting than that they who are left behind should shrink from hearing the last hopeful words, and the blessed consolations of the Gospel, from a stranger's lips, and should wish to hear them in the familiar voice of their own spiritual guide? But the law of consecration stops them. The Nonconforming minister cannot speak a word on "consecrated" ground: the Conforming minister can only officiate in such ground. So that this law necessitates the division of cemeteries; and where, as in nearly all small towns and villages, only the Church-yard exists, the Nonconformist must be content to hear the voice of a stranger as he stands by the graves of his household, or "bury his dead out of his sight" in shameful silence. I ask you whether this is not an injustice and an injury? I ask you whether we are not justified in demanding that this inequality be removed? We do not ask that the ceremony of consecration be dispensed with: we only ask that the Nonconforming minister may perform his own service over his own dead in consecrated ground, that so all may sleep together, that all over the land the Nonconformist may be buried with his own rites, and the Conformist with his, and yet they may lie side by side together in the same plot of ground, "in death not divided."

It is scarcely needful for me, this evening, to dwell at any length on the question of CHURCH-RATES; for in this obnoxious impost the injustice of the State-Church system has been brought home to every man's perception. The argument has been conducted to its conclusion on this head; and you can scarcely find, even in the Church Defence Societies, men who will contend that Church-rates are just. In the House of Commons, men of all parties readily admit that to tax Dissenters for the support of a worship they do

not attend, and of a Church which is already in exclusive possession of the buildings and endowments of the nation, is entirely indefensible. But I must beg you to remember that Church-rates are not abolished. In large towns we have got rid of them; but in small towns and country parishes they are still levied. They have nowhere been got rid of where the possibility of retaining them existed; and our brethren in the country districts have still to submit to this extortion. And mark what is the reason for retaining them. Condemned by the repeated votes of the House of Commons, admitted on all sides to be unjust, condemned also by the reason and conscience of the nation, Church-rates are defended and retained as *part of a system*. They are a sign of Church predominance and our subjection, and as such a sign they are kept. It is admitted that the Church can do without them, that they cause strife and division, and that religion is injured by the injustice they perpetrate in her name; and yet the effort to abolish them meets with desperate and pertinacious resistance. But it is a resistance based not on principle, but on pride. Let religion suffer, it says; but let not our power be diminished nor our predominance be lessened. Let injustice be done, if needful: but let not the prestige of the Church be compromised or lost. And this, gentlemen, is the conduct of Christian men! I would that I could get them to sit even at the feet of the old Pagan, that they might learn from him a higher wisdom than they have shewn in this. "Do justice," said the Pagan, "though the Heavens should fall." But these disciples of the Great Teacher—these supporters of a Christian Church, refuse to do justice lest their Church be a little shorn of its power, and a little lowered in its pride. They reverse the motto, and say, "Refuse justice, lest the Church should fall." Can I point you to anything which more conclusively condemns the whole system of exclusiveness than this? Yes! it *is* a part of the system; for the system itself is founded on injustice, and as injustice it must fall. Why! if these gentlemen did not perceive that there was something wrong in the foundation of their Church, as an Established Church, would they thus retain an injustice? If they felt that, like Christ's spiritual Church—like their own Church, so far as it is Christ's, and not the State's, their Establishment were founded on the Everlasting Rock of the Divine Purpose, would they for a moment fear to remove even the semblance of injustice? would they for an instant compromise with wrong? would they not act in the spirit of a Churchman of old,—

> "I charge thee fling away ambition:
> By that sin fell the angels. How shall man, then,
> (Though image of his Maker,) hope to win by it?

> **Love thyself last; cherish those hearts that hate thee;**
> **Still in thy right hand carry gentle peace**
> **To silence envious tongues. BE JUST AND FEAR NOT."**

That, I take it, is counsel as good for a Church as for a man. It is the counsel the Liberation Society offers to the English Church. She will take it some day, when she will lay down her pride as an "Establishment," think no more of merely advancing her own interest, but "let all the ends she aims at be her country's, her God's, and Truth's." And as she lays down her worldly pride, and takes up the sceptre of her humility, she will find that her rule over the hearts of men returns with it, as of old.

But that is a dream as yet, and the waking reality is injustice still. For this united kingdom is not England only; and one can but remember that the Church of England is, by style and title as a State Church, the "Church of England and Ireland." I cannot now trust myself to speak of that Irish Establishment. Confident as I am that more than half the evils under which Ireland suffers spring from that source, I can but see in her chronic disquiet the results of wrong; but I must express my amazement that English Churchmen do not at once cleanse themselves from any participation in this immense injustice. They defend their own Establishment by declaring that, as the Church of the majority, it ought to predominate; that as the largest Christian denomination in the country, it is entitled to the exclusive possession of power and preference—of privilege and pay. But in Wales it is the Church of the minority, and they still maintain it; in Ireland it is the Church only of a few, and they still defend and uphold it. Surely it must be a "judicial blindness" which their system has produced, which makes them cling so tenaciously to this Irish Church Establishment. A gigantic and indefensible injustice—the scandal of English legislation to all the world—"a byword and a shaking of the head among the nations"—it brings incalculable discredit upon our Protestantism, and is an infinite source of weakness and injury to the Church that supports it. Some day the finger of providence will direct towards it the eyes of all Englishmen, and some Providential necessity will bring it home to their consciences, and they will repudiate it as an iniquity. I am thankful to feel that, when that time comes, the Church of which I am a minister will have hands quite clean of this wrong. It is the fault of English Churchmen, if it is at the door of their Establishment this wrong will be laid.

For, I suppose, we shall all agree, that nothing that is not founded upon Right can long endure. This is our fundamental faith, and it is the faith in which we of the Liberation Society work and

wait. We believe in a Divine Providence which leads the nations on—overturning venerable injustice, and bringing sudden end to hoary wrong; and to those who oppose us, we commend the advice of the ancient Jew,—"If this counsel or work be of man, it will come to nought; but if it be of God, ye cannot overthrow it, lest haply ye be found to fight against God." We are confident that a system which, in the name of the Prince of Peace, sows discord everywhere around—that a system which in the name of religion perpetrates injustice, must be of man; for religion is between the private soul and God, and opinion is judged by Him; and to make a difference between men for the creed they hold, or the worship they offer, is to intrude upon the sanctities which are reserved for Him. But it is as an infringement on man's liberty of action—as an infringement of the principle of equal rights and equal justice, that I ask your attention to it now. We English are a liberty-loving people, and it is our boast and glory that we are free. But that freedom is not a thing that has been granted us—it has been won by us. Our fathers did not get it as a gift from a King—they took it by their own strong arms and resolute wills. It was not bestowed upon them—it was taken by them. We would enlarge that liberty. To-day the fight is not against the sceptre but the crozier; and the Liberation Society is but the modern, nineteenth century shape of England's hereditary strife to enlarge the bounds of her liberties. We ask now for mental freedom. We ask that all faiths, all creeds, all forms of worship, shall be equal before English law. We ask that no man shall be considered more or better as a citizen, for the form of his religious belief; that no disability shall be imposed on conscience, and no forfeit demanded for a change of creed. We ask that the nation's heritage shall be for the nation's use; that office, emolument, and honours, shall be given independently of creed or worship; that religion shall be left to lie between men's consciences and their God; and that all intrusion on opinion or on worship shall cease for ever. We shall not ask in vain. Ours is no losing battle. It may be long, but its result is sure. History is in our favour—"the spirit of the time" is with us; and if we, on whom the burden of our fathers rests, will but be faithful to our principles—if we remember them at the polling booth and the hustings, as they remembered them upon the tented field, we shall fight the battle of our freedom well—shall hand down to our sons a larger liberty than we received; and shall make this England of our joy as much the home of a free faith and gospel as it is the home of a free press and a free speech.

SPEECH OF MR. CARVELL WILLIAMS.

I HOLD in my hand a Sermon on "National Religion," preached in the Old Church, in this town, on the 13th November last, by the Rev. C. A. J. SMITH, Incumbent of Macclesfield, which, as it has been published by request, is, I suppose, thought by some of the inhabitants to contain matter worthy of public attention. I do not object to the use of the pulpit for such a purpose; though I cannot help reminding you that, if a Nonconformist minister had done the same thing, he would have been branded as a "Political Dissenter." Neither is there anything in the spirit and tone of this sermon to which exception can fairly be taken. But I do object, and think that you also have a right to object to this—that the reverend gentleman, after having had the use of one public building in the town for the enunciation of his views on a great public question, should have endeavoured, as he has done, to prevent your having the use of another public building—your own Town Hall—that you might hear what was to be said on the other side of the question. His notions respecting the ownership of this Hall appear to be somewhat confused; for I observe in the published correspondence that he speaks of it in one place as though it were the property of the Mayor, and in another as being a "Government office." It may, however be, that, while admitting that the Hall is really yours, he thinks it should be used only by those who are of his way of thinking—a view of the matter not likely to commend itself to Englishmen, who have a liking for hearing both sides, instead of one only. I observe, too, that in reply to the assurance of the Mayor, that the right of free discussion should be secured, he asserts that it would be a degradation of the Establishment, to plead its cause before its enemies—an assertion which reminds me of the remark of the Rev. Sidney Smith,—"All establishments die of dignity: they are too proud to think themselves ill and take a little physic." If it really will degrade the Established Church to have its claims on public support publicly canvassed, it may safely be predicted that many days of humiliation are in store for the Establishment; for you may depend upon it that we are on the eve of an agitation — of the approach of which, this great meeting is one of the signs—in which the principles of State-Churchism will be subjected to the most searching discussion; and which will, I believe, issue in their final overthrow.

I am, however, not much surprised at Mr. Smith's indisposition to argue before the friends of voluntaryism, when I find what sort of arguments he has at his command, in upholding the cause of the Establishment. We have had many theories from the

advocates of Church and State connexion,—from those of Hooker, Warburton, Paley, and Chalmers, down to those of Mr. Gladstone, and of that great ecclesiastical politician, Mr. Disraeli, whose idea of religion is, that "it would run wild," if it were not held in check by the judicious restraints of a Church Establishment. The Incumbent of Macclesfield, however, takes ground of his own; and, in doing so, he has made a discovery which will, I should think, astonish his friends as much as his opponents. Here is his principle as laid down in the words of his own sermon:—

"There are thus those who, as if in vindication of a sacred principle, array themselves against the union between Church and State, though in effect there is not a human being in existence who repudiates it in reality, unless he is an atheist. There is not the human being, unless he is an atheist, who does not look upon this union as inherent even in his very conception of a state—as involved in its idea. Pull down, for instance, the Church already established in this country, and establish also no other denomination or denominations in its place; and as long, notwithstanding, as you lay at the foundation of your institutions *any* principles of religious belief whatsoever—any sense of Divine obligation—any recognition whatsoever of a God—so long you have the union between Church and State as much as ever; you have as much as ever an Established Church, however broad its platform, or attenuated its belief. You do exactly the same violence to the 'rights of conscience' of the deist or the atheist, from which the political dissenter is at present complaining that he suffers, by the political establishment of the communion which we, in virtue of its apostolical succession and catholic order, denominate and consider as the Church. There is an establishment, if there are any principles of religious belief at the basis of our institutions. There is an establishment if there are *none*. In the one case, religion is established; in the other irreligion. The state which does not stand on a religious footing, stands upon an irreligious one: it is impossible for it to be negative or neutral Men must act from motives, in their civil, as well as in their other relations; and where their motives are not derived from the heaven of divine faith, there they must ascend out of the hell of carnal appetite and human selfishness. Draw the line where you will, you have your establishment alike. The question is not really with regard to an establishment, but simply with regard to whom or what we shall establish."

One's first impression on reading this is, that the preacher has proved a great deal too much for his purpose; for if it be true that religion must, from the very necessity of the case, be established, whether governments interfere or not, why not let well alone? The mode in which religious belief and feeling influences men's minds in all their actions, as described by the reverend gentleman, is God's way of establishing religion; but what he had to prove was, the necessity and the expediency of man's artificial way of—not establishing religion, but endeavouring to establish it, by establishing a Church. When he tells you, as he does in effect, that there is just as much an Established Church in America, and in our colonies, as there is in England, because there, as here, men act from religious motives, he simply asserts what your common sense tells you is a gross absurdity. The fact is, that he has confounded two things which essentially differ—the religious feeling which governs men in their actions towards each other, and the worship which men offer to the Almighty, in the relationship

which they sustain to Him, and to Him alone, as His dependent creatures. He has also made another mistake, in supposing that whatever men may rightly do as individuals, they may also do in a corporate capacity; and that, even if they do not act from religious impulses as individuals, it is fitting that they should put on the outward semblance of religiousness as public officials. Hence the fallacy involved in the phrases, "National Profession," and "Corporate Profession," which run all through his sermon. He apparently upholds that system which shuts out from the Mayoralty of a town the conscientious dissenter, who prefers worshipping God on the Sabbath-day, as a man, and in his own place of worship, to bowing down, as an official, at the altar of the Establishment; while it regards with complacency the official attendance at church, once a year, of men who, perhaps, are at other times seldom or never seen within its walls. It is this pernicious nominalism which has helped to make the Established system so injurious to the interests of religion, and so fatal to men's souls; and to all who uphold it God's rebuke of Israel is applicable,—"This people draw near to me with their mouth, and honour me with their lips, but their heart is removed far from me." And this great mistake characterizes nearly all the legislative arrangements involved in the existence of a national church. We have had monarchs who, however impious, have been heads of the Church, and been prayed for by law as most gracious and religious. We have a House of Lords, professedly legislating for the promotion of religion, though it is matter of accident whether the peers be pious or profligate. We have also a House of Commons, comprising Jew and Gentile, Protestant and Roman Catholic, Trinitarian and Unitarian, Episcopalian and Presbyterian, with others of whose religion it would be most charitable to say nothing—all charged with the solemn responsibility of guiding the spiritual destinies of the nation, by legislating for two national churches, which are fundamentally opposed to each other! Thus we may have a national establishment, without having a national religion; for it is literally the fact that, with the exception of the presence of the bishops in the Upper House, there is nothing in the British Constitution to prevent Monarch, Lords, and Commons, being all infidels together! Talk of an "organized hypocrisy!" Surely you have it here. Parliament itself confesses to its own incompetency to execute the task which it has undertaken; and I hope the time is coming when it will be consistent enough to devolve on others the solemn duties which it admits it is incapable of discharging.

The truth is, that Governments cannot, if they would, advance religion by direct political action. They cannot do so, because

there are but two agencies at their command, and they are wholly unsuited to the work. They can use force, and they can have recourse to bribery. They can, by legal penalties, compel men to do, or to refrain from doing, certain outward acts; or they can put a premium on the profession of certain views, which may be either truthful or erroneous. They can pass Acts of Parliament, make creeds, pay salaries, employ policemen and soldiers; but they cannot melt men's hearts, cannot rouse their consciences, cannot bring the will of men into harmony with the will of God. Unfortunately, however, while they are powerless for good in this matter, they can inflict an immense amount of evil. They can, and do, misrepresent religion, and put obstacles in its way; while they also inflict fatal injuries on the very institutions which are supposed to be benefitted by their patronage and support.

This brings me to what I regard as the most practical view of the subject we are now discussing. I wish to shew you that the union of State and Church is a Churchman's, quite as much as a Dissenter's, grievance; and that, little as Churchmen may now think it, we are doing a real service to the Church of England, in seeking to emancipate her from the thraldom in which she is now held by the State.

I know that there are Episcopalians who ridicule this idea;—who say "we be Abraham's seed, and never were in bondage to any man;" and, when Church and State are actually sundered, these men will be able to say, with the prisoner of Chillon—

> "My very chains and I grew friends:
> So much a long communion tends
> To make us what we are—
> Even I regained my freedom with a sigh:

There are, however, many more into whose souls the iron has deeply entered; and whose descriptions of the helpless position of the Anglican Church exceed in power and in pathos anything which can proceed from Nonconformists' lips! Listen to the following striking passage from one of two sermons, entitled,—"The Church, the Crown, and the State," by the Rev. W. J. Bennett, Vicar of Frome:—

"The Church of England does not now ask for superiority over the sects, but only equality with them. She does not now ask protection, but only liberty. She does not care for an Establishment—that, indeed, has been her bane, and is very likely now to become her destruction. The time is now gone by to speak of privileges. The time is better suited to use what breath of life there yet remains, lest the dead corpse crumble in our hands and vanish. And O, my brethren, could we but brace up ourselves to the vigorous endurance of the apostolic age, and reflect how the preaching of the Word, and the salvation of men's souls, did not issue out of king's courts, but out of judgment seats and prisons—that it was no question, when Christ was here, about Acts of Parliament, but solely the gifts of Pentecost—could we but bring ourselves to think that it is not by ministerial favour and votes of Parliament that men's affections are won, their reason convinced, or their faith

confirmed, but only the free voice of God's word, and the power of the keys given to the Church's charge, by One higher than Parliament, and more powerful than kings—could we but look upon this in the integrity of our divine commission, how much better a claim should we then have upon the people's love and God's protection! But only we must have liberty—not the chains and entanglement of a State protection, which, while it embraces, kills; and while it flatters, poisons—but only the freedom of the children of God, who would speak their Father's voice, and bid men repent and be saved! Keep the Church as she is now—chain her down by your statute book, as she is now chained down, without a voice to speak, a breath to breathe, an arm to uplift, with discipline defunct, and doctrine in the power of enemies,—and, I put it to you, is it in the common course or probability of nature that she should long survive? Every one that loves her, and would have abided in her, and would have fought with the last breath of their lives in her defence, must now one by one (as they have done) depart out of her—on the one side to sectarianism, on the other side to the all-absorbing power of the Church of Rome—until she is left denuded of her most pious sons and daughters, and shorn of those affections which would never otherwise have forsaken her—she lies a helpless log upon the waters, the prey of every storm, the sport of every wave that beats against her."

This was spoken some years since, and how much more deeply since then has the iron entered the soul of complaining Churchmen! I cannot refer in detail to those ecclesiastical events which have of late illustrated in so striking and painful a way the bondage from which the Church of England suffers; but I may remind you of certain leading facts, which will serve as samples of a collection which might be indefinitely extended.

The Church of England is the only religious body in the country which has no power of self-government. Other communities have their conferences, their unions, and their synods, and the Church has its convocation and its congresses. But there is this great difference between the two classes of ecclesiastical assemblies, that, while the dissenting organizations can act, as well as talk, and make laws for their own government, as well as pass resolutions, Convocation cannot meet without the royal license; and, when it has met, as the Lord Chancellor, with cruel waggery, reminded the bishops last session, it cannot attempt to legislate for the Church without incurring tremendous penalties; and Church Congresses can only express a desire for changes, which governments and parliaments refuse or neglect to sanction. The Church wants more bishops, and she cannot have them. She wants to build more churches, and she is hampered by Church Building Acts, the provisions of which, according to the *Record*, "it might be imagined had been invented by some malignant spirit, in order to impede Church extension." Last session, you will remember, the Attorney-General made a courageous, though vain, attempt to consolidate these acts; and his bill for the purpose involved such a multitude of details touching lands and buildings, fees and stipends, pews and patronage, that a correspondent of the *Guardian* declared that the Bill was devoid of any religious principle, and dealt with the Church "as a mere worldly institution."

The Church is also denied liberty of worship. She cannot alter the liturgy, cannot touch a word of the creeds, cannot shorten or vary the services, and cannot in any other way adapt the worship of the Church to altered feelings and altered circumstances. Not long since, Convocation agreed upon a form of thanksgiving, to be used whenever God might bless the country with a bounteous harvest. They had to go to the Home Secretary to ascertain how liberty could be had for the use of this service, and were ultimately told that, in the opinion of the law officers of the Crown, the requisite authority could not be granted—not even by the Queen, the Church's head. So that when our barns are filled with plenty, and others enter God's house with praise, the members of the Church of England must hold their peace!

Then, again, the Church of England has no adequate power of discipline, in relation to either the clergy or the laity, to morals or to doctrine. Not long ago the Vicar of Bilston robbed the local savings bank, and was sentenced to imprisonment for the offence. But he is still Vicar of Bilston, and when his term of imprisonment has expired, he can step from the prison to his church, and there read, to the very people whom he has robbed, the commandment, "Thou shalt not steal;" and pause for the congregation to respond "Lord have mercy upon us, and incline *our* hearts to keep this law." One would have supposed that so great a scandal would instantly have been dealt with; but the Bishop of Oxford deprecates any alteration in the law relating to clerical discipline, because it is very disagreeable to have parliament discussing such questions. Recent events have also shewn that the Church is as helpless in respect to doctrine as to discipline. Although, if Churchmen were polled throughout the kingdom, the great majority of them would deprive Dr. Colenso of his mitre, the gravest doubts are entertained whether the law will prove to be efficacious. And what has happened in the case of the Essayists and Reviewers? Only two of them have been prosecuted; and they were sentenced by the Court of Arches to but one year's suspension from office; while the Judge declared, with startling precision, that so long as clergymen did not contravene the articles and formularies of the Church, they might deal with the Bible as they liked. Even that mild sentence has been reversed by the Judicial Committee of Privy Council, and all the authors of the "Essays and Reviews" will therefore escape scot free; while any number of clergymen may follow their example.

I could multiply such statements, but I wish to anticipate two replies, which may perhaps be made to what I have already advanced. It may be said these things are only abuses; and you should help us to get rid of them. Well, I won't quarrel about names. You may call them abuses, but they not only always have

existed in connection with the Establishment, but, I venture to predict, always will exist while the Church of England continues to be established by law. They are the necessary results of Church and State connection. If the State establishes the Church, it must regulate the affairs of the Church. The paymaster will always be the task-master. If Churchmen use Statesmen for their own purposes, Statesmen will use Churchmen for theirs; and, as the Statesmen have the power, they will always take care to have the predominance. The members of the Established Church of Scotland sought to rid themselves of State restrictions, and were sternly told by judges and politicians that, if they wanted freedom, they must go and found a free Church—advice which, happily, they took—with what great and glorious results we are all familiar.

Then, perhaps, I shall be asked what business of mine is the condition of the Church of England, and why should you interfere with its affairs, instead of confining yourself to the affairs of your own community? To these questions I have two answers. I am attending to my own business in inquiring into the works of the Church, because it is a National Church, and I am one of the nation. It is a State-Church, and everything belonging to the State concerns me as a citizen. I help, or am liable to be compelled to help, to pay for the Church; and I assist in relieving the parliament which makes laws for the Church. Then I am not only a citizen, but I am, as I hope, a Christian also; and, everything which affects the interests of religion should be to me a matter of the deepest interest. Nonconformists have no wish to destroy or injure the Church of England. This country can no more do without that Church than it can do without the Nonconformist bodies. There is room for all, and there is work for all, and we are ready to say with the heart, as well as with the lip, "Peace be with all those who believe on the Lord Jesus Christ in sincerity." We want the Church of England to be free and to be pure, as well as to secure the rights of Nonconformists. We want a fair field for the truth, as well as fair play for ourselves. We want Episcopalians and Nonconformists to be alike unpatronized and unendowed; but, alike protected by the State, to be striving, each in his own way, to serve God, and to promote His glory by efforts to save the souls of men. We have no selfish—no sectarian object in view. We ask nothing for ourselves which we are not prepared to grant to others; and strong in the truth we hold, and strong in our confidence in the God of truth, we will struggle unceasingly, and with all our might, until victory—complete and glorious—both justifies and rewards our labours!

T. AND S. WRIGHT, "OBSERVER" OFFICE, MACCLESFIELD.

A LECTURE

ON THE

PAST, PRESENT, AND PROSPECTIVE CIRCUMSTANCES

OF THE

CHURCH OF ENGLAND,

EXTERNALLY CONSIDERED.

DELIVERED AT THE TOWN HALL, BIRMINGHAM, ON
TUESDAY, DECEMBER 10, 1861.

BY THE
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REPRINTED, WITH CORRECTIONS, FROM "ARIS'S BIRMINGHAM GAZETTE,"
DECEMBER 14, 1861.

LONDON:
JAMES NISBET AND CO., 21 BERNERS STREET.
M.DCCC.LXII.

EDINBURGH:
PRINTED BY BALLANTYNE AND COMPANY,
PAUL'S WORK.

LECTURE.

On Tuesday, December 10, 1861, a lecture on "The Past, Present, and Prospective Circumstances of the Church of England, Externally Considered," was delivered in the Town Hall, Birmingham, by the Rev. Joseph Bardsley, M.A., Secretary of the London Diocesan Home Mission. There was a large audience, the floor of the hall and the side galleries being both filled. The chair was taken by Lord Lyttelton, who was supported on the platform by many clergymen and gentlemen, amongst whom were the Hon. and Rev. Grantham Yorke, the Rev. Isaac Spooner, W. Cockin, J. H. Burges, T. G. Simeox, Rev. J. B. Gabriel, H. T. Breay, Rev. W. Kendall, J. Rea, F. Morse, D. Ledsam, B. Stephenson, and G. Dale ; Lieut.-Col. Mason, Messrs Twells, Sampson Lloyd, J. M. Knott, Heeley, J. B. Hebbert, W. Richards, J. Aston, Briggs, &c., &c.

The proceedings were opened with prayer by the Rev. Grantham Yorke, the rural dean, after which the Chairman read a letter from the Rev. Dr Miller, expressing much regret at his necessary absence. The Chairman, in introducing the lecturer, said that the organisation that might ensue from this meeting was in no way intended as offensive or aggressive, but, like the Volunteer movement, was purely defensive. It was well known that an institution now existed with the avowed purpose of destroying the connexion between the Church and the State, and it was therefore rendered necessary that some counter movement in defence of that salutary connexion should be formed.

The Rev. J. Bardsley spoke as follows :—My Lord, Ladies, and Gentlemen : As the subject announced is a vast and comprehensive one, I shall not detain you by any lengthened observations as to the reason why I appear here this evening, to lecture on a

subject in the presence of many clergymen and laymen of Birmingham who are more competent to do so than myself; for I do think, my Lord, it is imperative on Churchmen at the present time, when the Established Church is being attacked on every side by Dissenters, to do all in their power to diffuse sound and accurate information upon the questions at issue between us and them. The Church of England has been assailed in every variety of form, and her ministers have been accused of the grossest dishonesty. In this very hall, my Lord, not more than two months ago, Dr Vaughan, an eminent Nonconformist minister of the Independent body, spoke of a "clerical conscience," which, he said, "would seem to be a conscience of its own order, allowing a man to profess to believe what he did not believe, and to approve what he did not approve;" and Mr Spurgeon, in the *Baptist Magazine* for June last, says:—"We blush for the inconsistency of the evangelicals of the Establishment, in remaining in communion with Papists and Infidels;" adding, that "these are plain names for Puseyites and Essayists." Again, my Lord, the *Nonconformist* of September 25, in an article bearing all the marks of an editorial leader, but under the guise of a distant correspondent, says "that the clergy, one and all, pass into the sanctuary under a porch of falsehood." Mr Edward Miall, in his "Nonconformists' Sketch-Book," has loaded the clergy with the foulest abuse, and called them by the foulest names; and we know that the "Society for the Liberation of Religion from State-Patronage and Control,"* has been formed, not only for the purpose of severing the connexion between Church and State, but also for the avowed purpose of alienating Church property, and applying it to secular uses. I feel sure, therefore, when we find ourselves so threatened, every sincere and attached member of the Church of England, whether clerical or lay, is bound to take every seasonable opportunity of disseminating sound information on the great questions which will come under our notice this evening.

* Judging from the proceedings of this society, it would have been more correct to have entitled it a "Society for the Liberation of the State from Religious Control."

If our dissenting friends were asked to sketch the history of the Church of England, they would doubtless do so in something like the following manner :—That Christianity was first preached in this country by Augustine the Romish monk ; that soon after, State endowments were secured to the Romish Church ; that at the time of the Reformation, these tithes and endowments were transferred from what they called the Catholic Church to the State Church, and that that State Church is now become an absolute minority of the people of this country, and that it is neither right nor fit that these endowments should any longer be enjoyed by her. Now, it is in opposition to these views, which we believe to be erroneous, that we have to address you on "The Past, Present, and Prospective Circumstances of the Church of England, Externally Considered." We believe, my friends, that there was a Church in this country—and at one time a very flourishing Church, altogether independent of the Church of Rome—for centuries before the Romish monk visited this country. In proof of the early existence of the British Church, I need only remind you that British Bishops were present at the Council of Arles, A.D. 314 ; and again at the Council of Sardica in 347 ; and that there were no fewer than seven bishops and one archbishop when Augustine came to this country in 597, connected with the British Church. Who were the first preachers of Christianity in this country—whether, as is asserted with some show of authority, it were St Paul, or St Peter, or their immediate apostolic successors, who first planted the standard of the Cross in the British Isles—I will not undertake to decide. There are passages in the writings of Justin Martyr, Tertullian, Eusebius, the ecclesiastical historian of the fourth century, Theodoret, and also in Gildas and Bede, early British historians, and others, bearing upon this point ; and if you consult these authorities, you will find it is placed beyond all cavil or question that, by whomsoever Christianity was first preached in this country, it was preached here before the end of the first century.

In support of the original independence of the British Church, I beg to call attention to a few acknowledged historical

facts. At the time Augustine came over to this country, he found that the British Church differed in many ceremonial observances from the Romish Church. There was a difference in the tonsure of the priests, in the mode of administering the Sacrament of Baptism, and in the time of keeping the Festival of Easter. It is well known that as early as the middle of the second century, the time of keeping Easter was a point on which the Eastern and Western Churches differed; and that the controversy at a later period was carried on with much bitterness. The practice of the British Church is but one of many things which indicate that Christianity was introduced into this country by missionaries from the East, and not from Rome.

But were we disposed to grant that Augustine did ever so much to revive religion in this country, this could give the present Church of Rome no authority over the British Church. Whatever endowments were granted by our Saxon forefathers, were granted to the Church of the country; by that Church they have been possessed ever since, and we trust the time will never come when she will be robbed of them.

Soon after this, our admirable parochial system came into operation—a system, as the Archbishop of Canterbury says, which provides "that every sheep shall have its fold, and every fold shall have its shepherd." The lords of manors built churches upon their estates, and endowed them, to supply the wants of their tenants. This was the origin of parishes and of our parochial system. And I do think, my Lord, that we have cause to thank God that this admirable system is still maintained. That it is so maintained is evident to every one who will examine the Book of Common Prayer—the beautiful Liturgy of our Church. On this theory the Book of Common Prayer was constructed: it assumes that the pastor is acquainted with every family in his parish, with every individual under his charge; that he baptizes every child, that he instructs and catechises every candidate before presenting him to the Bishop for confirmation, that he administers the consolations of religion to the sick and dying, and when they have run their course and

finished their earthly pilgrimage, that he commits their bodies to the silent grave.

In the following centuries, and especially in the eleventh and twelfth, came what Cardinal Baronius, the Roman Catholic historian, calls the Iron, Leaden, and Dark Ages, during which the Bishop of Rome usurped authority and dominion over the British Church, and over the State; and you might just as well contend that his usurping dominion over the State, gave him a just and lawful authority in State matters, as to contend that his usurping dominion over the Church, gave him any just claim in Church matters. But as we all reject the claims of the Bishop of Rome in respect to State authority, why not likewise reject his usurped authority over the Church of this country? It was during this period that the Bishop of Rome persuaded not only the monarch of England, but other monarchs of Europe, that their interests were bound up with his, and that their crowns received additional lustre when placed on their heads by the successor of St Peter. Still, even during the dark ages, there never was a time when England in Church and State did not protest against the usurped authority of the Church of Rome. In proof of this we may refer to the Constitutions of Clarendon, A.D. 1164; the statutes of Provisors and of Præmunire in the fourteenth century; and to a statute of Edward III., which states that a petition was presented to Edward I. and his Parliament in 1307, declaring "that the Church was founded under bishops of the Church of England; that her benefices were endowed by the king's predecessors, and by the earls, barons, and other great men of his realm; and that presenting clergymen to these livings belonged to them by the goodwill and disposition of the first founder, and praying for protection against the Pope, who bestowed them on strangers." I might refer to other authorities, were it necessary, to shew that England, though *really*, never *willingly* bowed her neck to the authority and usurpation of the Bishop of Rome. About this time arose Wickliffe, the bright and the morning star of the Reformation, who laid the foundation of that great and blessed work; for as the late Professor Blunt, in his admirable little work on the Re-

formation, remarks:—"It is not to be regarded as a great and sudden event which took the nation by surprise. It was merely the crisis to which things had been tending for some centuries; and if the fire did at last run over the country with wonderful rapidity, it was because the trees were all dry." An angel had descended to trouble the water, and it only required some providential interposition to put the nation in. This came in the quarrel which arose between Henry VIII. and Pope Clement. We have been taunted that the Reformation owes its origin to Henry VIII.; that he was its prime agent and original contriver. To this we reply, the question of the Reformation is not a question as to persons, but as to things. It is not as to the persons who were—whether willing or unwilling—actors in it, but as to the reality of that great and glorious event which has brought to our nation and people innumerable blessings. To those who say the Reformation was the work of Henry VIII., we further reply, that Henry VIII. was born a Roman Catholic, that he lived a Roman Catholic, and that he died a Roman Catholic.

> "Henry of haughty mind and sturdy mien,
> With fury reign'd, and often changed his Queen,
> Disown'd the Pope and kept up Papist still,
> And burnt both sides who dared oppose his will."

If any one wants more evidence to prove that Henry VIII. was a Roman Catholic, we have it in the Act called the Sixth Article Act, by which open denial of the six leading doctrines of the Church of Rome was made punishable with death at the stake; and in the fact that he left £600 for priests to say masses to get his soul out of purgatory. I leave it to you to say whether any Protestant would have done anything of the kind.

Then succeeded Edward, the young Josiah of England, under whose reign the glorious Reformation was carried on from higher and purer motives. It was by Act of Parliament in Edward's reign that the right of laymen to participate in the Lord's Supper in both kinds, and to have no longer a dry sacrament, was granted. In the year 1549, came forth Edward's first Prayer-book; and three years after, *i.e.*, in 1552, it was thoroughly revised by

Cranmer, Ridley, and other English Reformers, assisted by Peter Martyr and Bucer, foreign divines, who then filled the chairs of Divinity at Oxford and Cambridge, when the Book of Common Prayer came forth substantially as we have it at the present time. Of that book, bequeathed to us by Edward and the Reformers of that day, distinguished men of all reformed churches have spoken in terms of the highest praise: the hallowed fervour of its prayers, the sublimity of its hymns of praise, and the scriptural spirituality of its articles, called forth from Robert Hall, an eminent Nonconformist and Baptist, the declaration, "Though I am a Protestant Dissenter, I am by no means insensible to its merits; I believe the chastised fervour of its devotion, the majestic simplicity of its language, and the evangelical purity of its sentiments, have combined to place it in the very first rank of uninspired compositions." Under Queen Mary, who succeeded to the throne, the Reformation received a check. In her short reign, one archbishop, three bishops, over twenty clergymen, and more than two hundred laymen, were burnt at the stake, for their steadfast adherence to the principles of the Reformation, as laid down in the Prayer-book of Edward. And when at length Mary was removed, without leaving either a son or daughter to succeed her, then was accomplished under Elizabeth, what Fox the martyrologist imagined was ominously foreshadowed in the reign of Henry VIII., when the king deputed Sir Thomas Boleyn, with Cranmer and others, to wait upon the Bishop of Rome, to use their endeavours with his Holiness to obtain his sanction for Henry to divorce Catherine and marry Anne. Sir Thomas and his companions accordingly went on their mission. On the day appointed for an interview, the Pope was prepared to receive them in great state, being gorgeously apparelled. When they were introduced to the Pope, he held out his foot for them to kiss it; Sir Thomas, Cranmer, and their companions refused. Sir Thomas Boleyn had with him a fine spaniel dog. Whether, says Fox, the dog perceived anything peculiar in the flesh of the Pope's toe, he could not say, but so it came to pass that the dog applied not only his lips but his teeth to the Pontifical toe—and he bit it so smartly, that his Holiness was glad to dispense with so sacrilegious a

salute. This, Fox believed was ominous of what was to come afterwards, that the time would soon come when we should no longer kiss, but bite the Pope's toe; and the Pope should no longer have or exercise any authority or dominion in this realm of England.

It would take up too much time were I to attempt to sketch the history of the English Church from that period to the present time. I shall therefore only allude to the divisions which sprang up in the Church in the seventeenth century, and to the ascendency of the Dissenters for a short time in England. It is not difficult to understand that the Royalist clergy, remembering the harsh and cruel treatment to which they had been subjected during the ascendency of the Independents, were in no temper or mood to consider with calmness and wisdom the proposals to make certain concessions to the Puritan clergy. Their differences only referred to matters of rites and ceremonies; and I do firmly believe—without at all giving an opinion as to which party was most to blame—that the two thousand ministers who withdrew under the Act of Uniformity, combined a great amount of the piety, the light, and the zeal which characterised the Church of England at that time, and that their deep convictions of truth were wanted to bring our admirable parochial system to bear on the people of England. I am apt to think, too, that John Wesley and his followers did not receive that encouragement which might fairly have been given to them, when they sought to revive within the bosom of the Church real, vital, true, and scriptural religion. Owing to these and other circumstances, it is not strange to find that the Church of England towards the end of last century, and even at the beginning of the present, was not in such a healthy condition as we could have desired. But, let me ask, do not our opponents say that there has been a marvellous change for the better in the Church of England during the present century? That eminent Nonconformist, Dr Vaughan, distinctly stated in his address in this hall scarcely two months since, that "the revival of religion in the Church of England during the last half century had been marvellously great;" and in a document I hold in my hand, a book on Voluntaryism, in connexion with the census of 1851, by the Liberation Society, I find it distinctly affirmed that during a

period of twenty years, from 1831–1851, £5,575,661 were voluntarily subscribed by Churchmen for the erection of new churches, in addition to what was "contributed for rebuilding, restoration, or improvement of ancient buildings." Sir William Clay, also, in moving the bill for the abolition of Church-rates in 1856, confirmed the above statement as to the wonderful progress the Church of England had made during that period; adding, "that since that time, the Church, so far from having abated her zeal and diligence, had greatly increased in her activity and range." Still more distinctly is this affirmed, my Lord, by an eminent and distinguished Nonconformist, who deservedly lives in the affections and esteem of thousands of persons in Birmingham, both Churchmen and Dissenters — I mean the Rev. John Angell James—who testifies to the progress made in the Establishment during the same period, in a passage which I shall give at a subsequent part of this lecture. With all this evidence of a great revival of religion in the Church, I would ask all candid, moderate, and thinking Dissenters, How comes it to pass, that although during the time of what you call the deadness and supineness of the Church, scarcely was a voice raised to affirm that the property she held was not her own—much less a society organised with a view to separate the Church from the State and secularise her property—but now that for thirty or forty years *she has been girding herself for the great work before her; now that she has got her parochial machinery admirably organised and in good working order; now when, according to the statements of our Nonconformist friends, there is ten times more evangelical light and truth in the Church than there was at any former period—how comes it that hostile societies are formed, that political agitators are sent throughout the country to undermine her foundations, to alienate her property, and to reduce her to one of the mere sects of the country?* It certainly looks as if the opposition to the Church was carried on, not because she *is doing too little, but because she is doing too much for the furtherance of religion in our land.*

It is only right, however, that our opponents should be heard; we will therefore examine some of the reasons they assign for the extraordinary course they are pursuing.

1. They tell us that the connexion of the Church and the State is such an *unhallowed thing*. One of the members for Birmingham has termed it "an adulterous connexion." Mr Spurgeon, in the article to which I have already referred, characterises the alliance of the Church with the State as "a spiritual fornication, wholly unworthy of the honourable virgins who wait in the Lord's palace, and an unchastity to the only Head of the Church." As to Mr Miall, he knows not how to describe the Church of England to make her black enough. "A State Church!" he says in his "Nonconformists' Sketch-Book;" "have they (that is, Dissenting Ministers) never pondered upon the meaning of that word? Have they never looked into the dark, polluted inner-chamber of which it is the entrance? Have they never caught a glimpse of the loathsome things that live and crawl and gender there?" "A State Church," once more he says, "the nurse and patroness of war!" And in another place he adds, "Trace the history of this or any other State Church, and every footstep plashes in the blood of men!" Again, "No man can be regarded as a sound-hearted patriot who advocates the maintenance of a State Church." And further, "The clergy are men who of necessity are inimical to all reform, the abettors of every abuse, united, organised, and therefore formidable opponents of every progressive improvement." Then again exclaims Mr Miall, "As nothing more stupidly unmeaning can be conceived, so nothing more flatly contradictory of Christianity can be devised. After having looked into this ecclesiastical cauldron, into which are thrown indiscriminately

> 'Eye of newt, and toe of frog,
> Wool of bat, and tongue of dog;
> Adder's fork, and blind-worm's sting,
> Lizard's leg, and owlet's wing'—

one is amazed at the boldness of men who could ever have mistaken this thing for a Christian Church." He informs Dissenting ministers, that "to shatter this image, and give the dust of it to the four winds of heaven, is their mission. Only let them say that the work shall be done, and the doom of the Establishment shall be accomplished." These are the terms in which Mr Miall

speaks of a State Church, and of the Church of England in particular ; but we find that both he and his friends, for some reason or other, are ashamed of his statements. Mr Miall went to Bristol some time since and delivered an address; and the Rev. Mr Clifford, a clergyman of that city, just made a few extracts from his book and sent them to a local newspaper. Mr Miall, at the meeting, charged Mr Clifford with having been guilty "of studied misrepresentation and of a premeditated perpetration of constructive falsehood, in having represented him as speaking sentiments which his words were never intended to convey." Upon this, Mr Clifford immediately wrote to the *Bristol Times*, challenging Mr Miall to prove his charge, saying, in effect, "Name your room in Bristol and I will meet you before an impartial tribunal, and I will pledge myself to apologise to you if every quotation is not intensified by being compared with the context." And yet for some reason or other that challenge remained unanswered. Again, in Manchester, but very recently, a public discussion took place between a Dissenting minister and a clergyman of the Church of England, wherein the Dissenting minister made a similar charge against his opponent. In reply, the clergyman wrote to a newspaper, in which he said, "I will name six laymen of the Church of England, you shall name a similar number of Dissenting laymen—they shall meet, and if, on an impartial examination they do not agree that what I have said is a fair representation of Mr Miall's sentiments, I will make to him and you a due and proper apology." That challenge to this day remains unaccepted. It is evident, therefore, that Mr Miall himself, and his friends, are a little ashamed of his statements. And I think you will agree with me when I say, they have cause to be ashamed. The passages I have given you are only specimens of hundreds of similar passages that might be quoted.

We are told, my Lord, that the connexion of Church and State is unscriptural. I cannot enter upon that question at large upon the present occasion ; but there is one text so constantly quoted that I must notice it—"My kingdom is not of this world." The question, my Lord, is not whether Christ's kingdom is of this world ; but the question is this :—"Is it the duty of the kingdoms

of this world, when the governors of them are religious men, to extend the kingdom of Christ, which is not of this world, to those over whom God has placed them?" They tell us that people are exhorted in the Scriptures to support their own ministers. We all believe that—and we hope they will, both Churchmen and Dissenters, do it a little better than in some cases they have done. They tell us that if the people themselves did this liberally, the State would not be called upon for any aid whatever. That is perfectly true; but then they do not, and never did. Does anybody really suppose, that because we have organised throughout the country corps of Volunteers, it follows that we should at once disband our standing army, against which, as your Lordship has truly said, no objection has ever been raised? The *Evangelical Magazine*, a periodical well known to all classes of Dissenters, conducted for many years by the late Dr Morison, contains, in the number for July 1834, a chapter entitled, "Hints for leaving property for religious purposes." "Our object in religious bequests," it observes, "should be to assist this great (Voluntary) principle, to which God has in every age appealed for the support of His cause." It then goes on to say, "The only way in which we should recommend bequeathing property for the support of the worship of God, is for the erection of a minister's house, and ten or twenty pounds a year for general expenses; not an atom for the support of the minister, except it be twenty or thirty pounds per annum in villages, where the utmost efforts of the Voluntary principle can never comfortably support a minister." That is precisely what we ourselves say; and our Dissenting opponents, when they are not arguing against Church and State, are quite prepared to say the same thing. The opposition to Church and State is quite a novel thing, an offshoot of the French Revolution. We were told in the *Nonconformist*, of last week, that next year is to be a great year with Dissenters—that they are then to celebrate the bicentenary of the ejection of two thousand Puritans from our Church; and the editor of the *Nonconformist* calls upon the heads of families thoroughly to indoctrinate the minds of their children in the principles of Nonconformity, in connexion with duly and appropriately celebrating that great

event.* Now, let it be remembered that they have dissented much further from the champions of Nonconformity than ever those great men dissented from the Church of England. What says Flavel, that good and beautiful writer? In connexion with the fifth commandment, he says—"What is the duty of political fathers and magistrates to their political children and subjects?" Answer: "To rule and govern them with wisdom." Then there follow a number of passages of Scripture bearing upon this point, after which we have these significant words: "Carefully providing for their souls in every place of their dominions." What says Matthew Henry? I might detain you till midnight with quotations from this good man's Commentary, but I shall only give you his opinion upon the text where they came to Peter and said, "Doth your Master pay tribute?" We find that Matthew Henry has these observations: "The tribute demanded was not any civil payment to the Roman powers; but the Church duties, the half shekel, about fifteenpence, which was required from every person for the service of the temple, and the defraying of the expenses of the worship. . . . The temple was now made a den of thieves, and the temple worship a pretence for the opposition which the chief priests gave to Christ and His doctrine, and yet Christ paid this tribute. Note.—Church duties legally imposed, are to be paid, notwithstanding Church corruptions. If

* Dissenters would do well to read what an eminent minister of their body says upon this subject. The late Dr Hamilton of Leeds thus speaks, in a sermon preached in 1844, on the celebration of St Bartholomew's day:—"We deem it a most unhappy misconception of history that Independents should ever have recorded the 24th of August as their memorial day. They have nothing to do with it; it affected them only contingently. It was not their trial. It was not the assertion of their distinctive principles. It might never have touched their simplest interests. It in nowise moulded their views or usages. . . . . It is no portion of our chronicle. It is robbery to keep it as our festival. It is suicide, for it commits us to conclusions at utter variance with our profession." Little thought Dr Hamilton, when he spoke those words of truth and soberness, that the Independents, the body to which he belonged, would fall into the error which he so strongly condemns as being an act of robbery and suicide. He is quite right,—*they* have nothing to do as a body with the ejection of the Puritans from our Church in 1662.

Christ pay tribute, who can pretend an exemption?" These were the views of that eminent Nonconformist commentator, Matthew Henry. If the minds of Dissenters were thoroughly imbued with this spirit, they would never object to pay Church-rates, and you would never hear of their tables and their spoons being seized for payment of those dues. So long as it is the National Church, they are, in the opinion of Matthew Henry, acting in direct opposition to Christ's example, in refusing to pay Church-rates when legally imposed. Listen, in the next place, to the plain words of the saintly Baxter; in his "Memorandums to Civil Rulers," he says —"Let none persuade you that you are such terrestrial animals that you have nothing to do with the heavenly concernments of your subjects; for if once men think that the end of your office is only the bodily prosperity of the people, and the end of the ministry is the good of their souls, it will tempt them to prefer the minister before you, as they prefer their souls before their bodies." Again, he says, "Encourage and strengthen a learned, holy, self-denying, serious, laborious ministry;" and further, "Let all things in God's worship be done to edification, decently, and in order." I hope Mr Miall will not fail to tell those who are about to commemorate the ejection of these men from the Church of England—that these were the views of Baxter. But there is one Nonconformist divine, my Lord, who stands head and shoulders above all the rest, one who is allowed by all parties to be an eminent and distinguished theologian. The late Dr Hamilton, of Leeds—a distinguished minister among the Independents—speaking of him and his works, says, "The learning of Lightfoot, the strength of Charnock, the analysis of Howe, the savour of Leighton, the raciness of Heywood, the glow of Baxter, the copiousness of Barrow, the splendour of Bates, are all combined in him." It is Dr John Owen. This great man combined the greatness of eight or ten of the greatest theologians that England has produced, in the judgment of the late Dr Hamilton. Let us hear, then, what were his opinions on th matter of Church and State. Preaching to Christian rulers, h thus solemnly addressed them:—"If it once come to that, that you shall say you have nothing to do with *religion as rulers of*

the nation, God will quickly manifest that He hath nothing to do with you as rulers of the nation. The great promise of Christ is that in these latter days of the world He will lay the nations in subserviency to Him—the kingdoms of the world shall become His; that is, as kingdoms and governments no longer against but for Him. Surely this promise will scarcely be accomplished in bringing commonwealths of men professing His name to be of Gallio's frame—to take care for none of these things; or as the Turk—in an absolute indifferency what any profess. Not that I would ye should go and set up forms of government to compel men to come under the line of them, or to thrust in your sword to cut the lesser differences of brethren. . . . . But being fully persuaded in your own mind, certainly it is incumbent on you to take care that the faith which you have received, which was once delivered to the saints, in all the necessary concernments of it may be protected, preserved, and propagated to and among the people which God hath set you over. If a father, as a father, is bound to do what answers this in his family unto his children; a master, as a master, to his servants; if you will justify yourselves as fathers and rulers of your country, you will find in your account this to be incumbent on you." So, my Lord, wrote this great man. When, therefore, the *Nonconformist* next writes upon this subject, let it have the candour and the honesty to say —"We have dissented from these men whose memory we are about to celebrate, on what these men themselves regarded as vital questions, whereas they only dissented from the Church on the minor matters of rites and ceremonies." I quite agree with Dr Hamilton in the confidence he expresses, "that the race of our great divines would be rapidly restored if only the candidates for ordination were disciplined in such lore;" and we should then hear no more about the Church as a State Church being filthy and polluted. Thus, my Lord, we have seen that however Mr Spurgeon and Mr Miall may characterise the union of Church and State, the national Confessions of Faith of the Reformed Churches and the Fathers of Nonconformity held and maintained it as a great Bible principle. Dr Owen goes so far as to declare that the judgments of God will come upon those rulers and upon

that kingdom or nation that does not carefully provide for the souls of their subjects in every part of their dominions.

2. But we are told, as a second reason why the Dissenters adopt the extraordinary course they are pursuing, that, "The property they seek to take from us to give to the State, was given to the Church by the State." Given by the State! Can they tell us when? I hold in my hand a book, "Thorn's Fifty Tracts on the State Church," and I find a distinct declaration that "tithes were first granted to the Catholic Church by Act of Parliament, in Winchester Cathedral, in 855, and were subsequently transferred to the present State Church by the same power; and can be recalled and applied to secular uses whenever the Legislature shall will it." If Thorn had only given us something like evidence to support his statement, we might have found his assertion worthy of examination. I will, however, quote other eminent writers, and leave you to judge whether he or they are most worthy of confidence. Blackstone tells us that the first mention of tithes which he finds in any written English law is in 786, "being sixty or seventy years before, according to Thorn, they were first granted;" and Blackstone further says, "He thinks it possible they might have been introduced into the country contemporaneously with Augustine the monk, at the end of the sixth century." Again, Burns, in his Ecclesiastical Law, tells us that he finds them mentioned in 750, and states that Offa, King of Mercia, towards the end of the eighth century, gave the Church a civil right in them by way of property and inheritance. This law enabled the clergy to gather and recover tithes as their legal due. This extended only to the kingdom of Mercia, over which Offa reigned; and the same law was extended to the whole of England under Ethelwulf in 855. So that Thorn and others appear to have confounded the difference between the original grant of tithes to the Church, and the protection of the law to the clergy to collect and gather them as their legal due. Sharon Turner repeats the same thing in his "History of Anglo-Saxon Times." He says, "On carefully reading the obscure words of the three copies of this charter (of Ethelwulf) which three succeeding chroniclers have left us, it will appear that it cannot have been the original grant of

the tithes for all England. These words imply either that it was a liberation of the land which the clergy had before been in possession of from all the services and payments to which the Anglo-Saxon lands were generally liable, or that it was an additional gift of land, not of tithes, either of the king's permission, or of some other, which is not explained." These words shew that he rejects at once the notion that tithes were then first granted. But if they were granted by the State, what can be the meaning of the statute of Edward III., calling attention to the petition presented to Edward I., to which I have before alluded, which most distinctly states that the benefices of the Church were endowed by the king's predecessors, and by the earls, barons, and other great men of his realm? Now, let it be remembered that these are witnesses not peculiar to either side, but common to us both; but still I shall further adduce three unexceptionable witnesses, men of high authority amongst Nonconformists, to prove that the State never granted the tithes. First, Mr Horace Mann, in his "Census of Religious Worship in Great Britain," says, "that it became the custom—probably in imitation of a practice which appears to have prevailed in nearly every age and every country of the world—for the founder of a church or a religious establishment to devote a tenth of all his property to the purposes of religion and charity. *Tithes thus appear to have had their origin in voluntary payments.*" Here we see a custom prevailed everywhere, for private individuals to give a tithe of all they possessed to the church which they had erected for the poor. What says Toulmin Smith, an eminent legal authority, a descendant of a Birmingham Nonconformist family, and himself a Nonconformist? In his pamphlet on "The True Points at Issue in the Church-rate Question," he says:—"So far is the State from at present supporting the Church, that every parish church in England was founded not by the State, but by individual donation in ages past; while the parson's income is entirely derived, partly from similar sources, and partly from a charge (far heavier than any Church-rate) which has been attached like any rent-charge to the ownership of certain classes of property for centuries. The State supports neither the one nor the other. All that the State

does is impartially to insure the protection of the law, alike to the ancient property of the Church, and to the more recent property (acquired by similar donation and endowment) of every Dissenting Chapel in the land. The latter are thus just as much State-protected as the former." Dr Pye Smith says, "The State cannot resume Church property, because it never gave it. This, to my apprehension, would be downright robbery. May our country never be dishonoured by it." * And again, speaking of what the Church would be, freed from State control, he says, "What with her venerable edifices, her hold upon the affections of Englishmen in general,"—though Mr Miall, by the by, says she has no hold at all,—"her endowments equitably distributed, for I trust that no spoliation will ever be suffered." † I hope our Dissenting friends will remember the words of Dr Pye Smith, in which he characterises the *now* avowed object of the Liberation Society as "downright robbery," and hopes "our country may never be dishonoured by it." I will leave, then, the subject of Church property by asking one question,—What do our opponents intend to do with it, in case they succeed? "Oh," they say, "we will give it back to the State." But the State never gave it! How, then, are they to dispose of it? Of course, it would be wrong for us to suppose that our Dissenting friends have some lingering hope that they might share in it; and I should be sorry to suggest anything of the kind. But has English history been written to no purpose? It is true Mr Spurgeon tells us, in the *Baptist Magazine* for June, that "the jewels and rings which our earthly alliance has procured for us, they would scorn to wear if offered them to-morrow, for they regard them as loathsome badges of degradation, and shameful tokens of apostasy from the simplicity of Christ." Mr Spurgeon begins his article by saying that "the political leaders of the Established Church have evidently lost their reason." It

* A letter to the late Professor Lee of Cambridge, vindicating Protestant Dissent from the charge of being "Unscriptural and Unjustifiable," by Dr Pye Smith, page 55.

† Appendix, p. 29, to a Sermon preached in London in 1834, before the Association of Congregational Churches and Pastors.

is evident, my Lord, to any one who reads the article, that Mr Spurgeon, when he wrote it, had both lost his temper and forgotten his history. What did the "sister churches," do when they were in the ascendency at one time in this country? Did they then scorn to wear the rings and jewels which they now characterise as loathsome badges of degradation, and shameful tokens of apostasy? Did they not then treat those who differed from them with the greatest indignity and cruelty imaginable? Have they never read how, during the Commonwealth, they ejected the clergy from their livings, and took possession of them? And I would say, my Lord, whatever else of this lecture is forgotten, let this fact be remembered, namely, that never, either before the Commonwealth or since that time, have Church-rates been levied and collected by Act of Parliament. They were so levied during the ascendency of the Dissenters in this country. Never under the Church were Church-rates levied and collected by Act of Parliament.*

Dissenters tell us they wish to give people more liberty, and that this is the ground of their objection to Church-rates; but what we have to say in reply is this,—The parishioners in every parish have the right to levy rates to mend the highways; and, again, if the majority of the parishioners think it desirable that public libraries should be established, then the State says, we give you that liberty—liberty to levy and collect a rate for that purpose; and surely if it be right that the majority should have power to levy a rate on the property of a parish to obtain for the parishioners advantages in temporal matters; if it be consistent with English law and liberty for the majority to have the power to levy a rate to secure libraries which may be the means of circulating books—on the utility of which there may be a difference of opinion—shall they be deprived of the opportunity of levying rates that religious truth and purity may be inculcated in the minds of the people? It is evident the Dissenters thought as we do when they were in the ascendency, for they did that which has never been done since—they levied and collected Church-rates

* The True Points at Issue on the Church-Rate Question, by Toulmin Smith.

by Act of Parliament. Was I not right, therefore, in stating that Mr Spurgeon, when he wrote that article, had not only lost his temper, but forgotten his history?

But there are yet other considerations which Dissenters think must cut the ground most completely from beneath our feet. They seem to say to us,—"Him that escapeth the sword of Hazael shall Jehu slay; and him that escapeth from the sword of Jehu shall Elisha slay,"—if you are able to parry some of our objections, there are others in reserve which will prove fatal to your cause. If you can prove, say they, that the State did not give these endowments, you know it was the Romanists that gave them, and therefore you, as Protestants, have no right to them.

3. There is a third objection we have to consider,—that the property was given by Roman Catholics. If people believe what they say, these promoters of honesty, justice, and equity should form a society, not to give it back to the State, but to give it to the Roman Catholics. Why don't they do this? Why, simply because they are not over-confident as to the truth of what they say. Thorn says tithes were granted first in 855, and were subsequently transferred to the present State Church; but we have shewn that at an earlier period they were granted, not by the State, but by individual munificence to that one church, the Church of England. The Church of England has undergone a great variety of changes; it may be likened to the body of a man in a state of disease and a state of health; whereas he was formerly ill, now he is well, but he is the same man as before. The Church of England, when she was disfigured by Romish corruptions, was in a state of disease, being full of wounds and bruises and putrefying sores. She was the English Church then, and when she cast off the fetters with which Rome had bound her, and stood forth as a reformed Church, she was the same Church still—the only difference being she was a reformed Church. And surely if when she had become corrupted and was a teacher of error she was allowed to hold those endowments, which of right belonged to her, it can never be thought a valid reason to deprive her of them—that she has reformed herself and become a teacher of the truth.

At least, it is strange logic and morality so to argue and act. The Reformation, as everybody knows, was a re-formation, and not a formation—a Church reformed; not a house built, but an old house repaired and better adapted for the purposes of a habitation. But we confidently say that the Church of England at the present time approaches nearer in doctrine to what the Church of England was when the endowments were granted than the present Church of Rome does. We have already shewn when tithes were first granted. Speaking of the first acknowledgment of the Pope's supremacy in this country, Sir R. Twisden thus concludes his elaborate examination:—"I dare boldly say, that whoever will, without partiality, look back, will find that the reverence yielded by this Church of England to Rome, for more than a thousand years after Christ, was no other than the respect of love, not duty." When did auricular confession become the doctrine of the Church of Rome? Not till the Council of Lateran, in A.D. 1215. When did transubstantiation become an article of faith, binding upon all her members? Not until the same year, 1215, when decreed at the same council. Of this council Gibbon says:—"It can boast of two signal triumphs, over common sense and over humanity, by decreeing the doctrine of transubstantiation and the inquisition." This was, remember, the testing article at the Reformation, to find out whether a man belonged to the Church of Rome or not: it was called the "Burning Article." When were the seven sacraments instituted? Never heard of until the days of Peter Lombard, in the twelfth century, and only became an article of faith at the Council of Florence, in A.D. 1442. Communion in one kind did not become binding until the Council of Constance, in 1414; and as for the Romish doctrine on justification, it was not positively settled until the Council of Trent, which began its sittings in 1545. I hope we and our Dissenting friends shall be able to settle our differences in a more peaceable and happy way than two Romish bishops did at that council. The celebrated French ecclesiastical historian tells us,* that "the Bishop of Chiron told some bishops that he hoped in the next congregation to refute all that the Bishop of Cava had said, and

* Dupin.

then told him that he would demonstrate to him his ignorance or his obstinacy. The Bishop of Cava, being moved with passion, took him by the beard, and tore out some of the hairs. The whole assembly were in indignation at this action." I regret to say it was the orthodox divine who thus treated his opponent.

Again, then, we unhesitatingly affirm that the teaching of our Church now is more in harmony with the teaching of the Church of England in the seventh and eighth centuries, when most of her endowments were granted, than the teaching of the Church of Rome at the time of the Reformation. Besides, we must always remember that there never was any transfer of the property from one set of hands to another. Thorn—the bitter writer against the Church—from whom I have before quoted, says that Parliament transferred the tithes from the Catholic Church to the present State Church. What foundation there is for this random statement, repeated by Mr Miall and others, may be judged of by these facts: that the Romanists continued to attend the services of our Church during the early part of Elizabeth's reign, until prevented by the bull of excommunication of Pope Pius V.; and that out of 9400 beneficed clergy, only 243, according to Neal, or 199, according to Burnet, refused to conform to the doctrine and discipline of the Established Church as reformed under Elizabeth in 1559.

4. We come now to consider the last leading objection. Mr Spurgeon and other Dissenters tell us that we are now in a minority; and, say many of our opponents, having ceased to be the Church of the people, you can have no claim to the property and endowments which you have so long enjoyed. Well, my Lord, I am not so sure that Dissenters have any better standing ground here than they had in the other cases. Let me bespeak for a short time your attention while we examine this statement. When the Dissenters say we are in a minority, do they mean in a minority to the rest of the whole nation, including infidels and sceptics, or as compared with the number of the thirty-seven sects of professing Christians in this country? I suppose they mean to say that, altogether, they are more numerous than the members of the Church of England. And how do they attempt to prove

their assertion? By the census of religious worship taken in 1851. They tell us that if you take the *attendances* at the Dissenting chapels, morning, afternoon, and evening, on the 31st March in that year, they amount altogether to more than the number of *attendances* in the churches and chapels of the Established Church on that day. So reckoned, they were, I believe, a few more, but not many. I apprehend, however, that the question is not how many *attendances* were recorded, but how many *persons* attended. The real figures shew that there were 300,000 more attending the services of the Church of England than the services of Dissenters. In the morning there were at the Establishment, 2,541,000; at all the other places of worship there were 2,106,000—that is, the Church had 435,000 more worshippers than all the Dissenters. Dissenters had a larger attendance in the evening than the morning by 97,000; it still, however, gives the Church a larger attendance at her morning service by 338,000 than the most numerously-attended service of the Dissenters. Nor is this all. The strength of the Dissent is in the large towns, while the strength of the Church of England is in the country places. The Bishop of Oxford, in reference to this return, said it was not fair to compare the numbers of those present at the church on this particular day, because it happened to be a very wet one. Mr Miall thereupon writes that the zeal of the Dissenters is stronger than that of Churchmen. Now, the Bishop of Oxford's remark was not as to the zeal of the two parties. Everybody knows it is a much easier matter to walk a few hundred yards along the pavement of a large town on a wet Sunday, than to walk two or three miles in the country. And yet, if we accept Mr Mann's own figures, and apply his own rules, given in a paper read before the Statistical Society, to ascertain, from the supposed number present at different places of worship, the proportion of the population belonging to the Church of England and Dissenting bodies, we have the following result:—The Church had in 1851 a worshipping population of 7,546,000; Dissenters, including Roman Catholics, 5,914,000—*i.e.*, the Church had 1,632,000 more than all other bodies combined. The Church had 42 per cent. of the entire

population; all others had 33 per cent. I ask, then, what becomes of the statement that we are a minority? *

But, again, who ministers to the 4,500,000 who attend no place of worship? There are 25 per cent. of the population who, according to Mr Mann, go neither to church nor chapel. Who ministers to them when they want the consolations of religion or little acts of kindness and attention? To whom do they go? by whom are they ministered to? By the ministers of the Dissenting places of worship? No such thing. I will let you hear in a quotation from a pamphlet by a Nonconformist layman, entitled, "Churches: the People and the Pew System." "Dissenting ministers," he says, "recognise no cure of souls beyond their own congregations, which contain a smaller proportion of the working classes than the churches of the Establishment. In fact, the regular pastoral visitation of their own people is in our large towns the exception, and not the rule. So that the bulk of the working classes, with the exception of the Roman Catholics, are thrown for pastoral visitation, succour, and consolation upon the Church of England, which does at least recognise and attempt to discharge this function."

This writer distinctly affirms that anything that is done in ministering to this neglected part of the community by their ministers, cannot affect the truth of this general statement. That there are exceptional cases, no one can question; these are found more especially among the Wesleyans.

A most important element in this controversy is generally overlooked by Dissenters; we mean, the fact that the Church educates the people of the nation—we say, it affords them both a secular and religious education. Even the *Nonconformist* acknowledges that the Church schools are educating at least 76 per cent. of the entire population of this country. It is for the working classes

* What confidence Dissenters have in the statement that they are a majority was shewn when the Government proposed that the Census paper of last year should contain a question as to religious profession. Churchmen were in favour of this proposal; but Dissenters opposed it, and prevented our getting an authoritative declaration upon the subject. The reader will form his own opinion as to the reason for this opposition.

of this country to ask themselves this question,—"If you rob the Church of England of her endowments; if you take the three or four millions of Church property—who will educate our children? Will the Dissenters?" Well, they don't do it. At the end of the year 1858, it was found that the Independents and Baptists were educating less than a sixth part of the number under instruction in the Church of England schools. Why is that fact omitted?

I should like to ask another question,—Who is it that performs the religious ceremony in the union of the fair sex with the lords of the creation? Is it the Dissenting ministers who have the majority there? We find that the Church of England marries 84 per cent. If the Dissenters are, as they boast, a majority, then it is evident that the majority of Dissenters would not feel that the marriage knot was securely tied unless performed in the good old fabrics, and by the ministers of the good old Church of England. There, however, is the fact; let them make what they can of it—84 per cent. of the population are married in the Church of England.

At a time when the combined efforts of Churchmen and Dissenters are found insufficient to permeate the neglected masses with the leaven of gospel truth, Mr Miall and his supporters are straining every nerve to strip the Church of her endowments, and thereby cripple her energies. He would lead us to suppose, indeed, that the Church would gain immensely by being deprived of her property: in his letters to Lord Shaftesbury he says that it is "only when the Church is poor, and can point to her self-devotion and trust, that she has power to operate as by a spell upon the springs of liberality; that riches rush in upon her in proportion as she is empty;" that the people "give with profuse munificence when the Church is most in need." This is all very beautiful to the ear; but do Dissenting ministers say that they have found it to agree with their experience? Does Mr Miall suppose that we have never read in a book of high authority among Dissenters, "of a congregation sending a deputation to their minister to complain that his sermons were poor, and that they derived little spiritual profit from his preaching; and that the good man replied, Very true, my sermons are not as they should be, but I dare say they are as good as any ten-pound

preacher in the kingdom delivers; and no doubt they would be better, if you would enable me to render them so, by increasing your subscription and releasing me from the fatigue of my school?"

The same high authority tells us, that there are some congregations who "keep their minister poor to keep him humble;" that "they treat him like wild beasts, who are tamed into submission by hunger;" that "some persons will entreat of God to bless their minister in his basket and his store, while, alas! poor man, they have taken care that his basket should be empty, and his store nothingness itself."

Whether the Rev. John Angell James or Mr Miall is the better and more reliable authority, I shall leave you to judge. I could give many quotations from the same writer on this subject, but these will suffice to shew that the "Voluntary principle," as described by Mr Miall, is a widely different thing to what Dissenting ministers say of it from long experience of its working.

After referring at some length to the proposals of Mr Miall to strip the Establishment of her endowment, the rev. gentleman continued:—What then is proposed to be done? How, then, are the masses to be evangelised? There are four and a half millions who never go to any place of worship. Do Dissenting ministers visit them? I have shewn you, speaking generally, that they do not. The Nonconformist writer before quoted says that the Dissenters cannot do this themselves, and yet won't allow the Church to have provision in order to do it; and he adds, that there are some among the Dissenters so bitter in their hatred to the Church, that they would rather souls should not be saved at all than they should be saved by the Church of England. To meet the spiritual destitution, he suggests the adoption of some plan similar to that of the Privy Council on Education,—giving aid in proportion to what they raise, assistance in proportion to what they do. But how does the Church propose to deal with it? She would, aided by her endowments, bring her admirable parochial system to bear upon the masses. She has already displayed an energy becoming her mission; she has already added to her pastors and lay-agents, and has shewn that we are most unwilling to neglect our duty in

this matter. We are multiplying our agencies everywhere, our Pastoral-Aid Societies, Curates'-Aid Societies, our Scripture Readers' Societies, our Diocesan Home Missions, and other numerous appliances, in order that we may go into the streets and alleys of our large towns, and carry to them the ever-blessed Gospel. If the masses will not come to the house of God, we must carry the word of truth to them at their own homes. If the mountain will not come to Mohammed, Mohammed must go to the mountain. No longer must we wait for the masses to come to the house of prayer, but we must go into the highways and hedges and compel them to come in. Listen to the testimony of your distinguished townsman, Mr Angell James, as to what the Church of England is now doing, in his "Earnest Ministry," he says:—"We must rejoice in their labours and in their success, except when their object and their aim are to crush Dissenters. There are very many among them of the true apostolic succession in doctrine, spirit, and devotedness: many whose piety and zeal we should do well to emulate: many to be united with whom in the bonds of private friendship and public co-operation is among the felicities of my life. Sincerely and cordially attached to their Church, they are labouring, in season and out of season, to promote its interests. Who can blame them? Instead of this, let us imitate them. Their zeal and devotedness are worthy of it. I know their labours, and am astonished at them. Think of a clergyman, and multitudes of such there are, who, besides his other labours, spends four or five hours every day in going from house to house, visiting the sick, instructing the ignorant, comforting the distressed. Can we wonder that such men should lay hold on the public mind? Is it not in the natural course of things that it should be so? It is admitted that the clergyman of a parish has advantages for this species of ministerial occupation which we have not: he considers all the people within a certain topographical limit as belonging to him, as being in fact his cure; and most, if not all, of them, except such as by profession belong to other denominations, look upon him in the light of their minister. This ever-active assiduity, in addition to the Lord's-day exercises, is admonitory to us. Can we see this new sight, the

whole Church establishment, from the Archbishop of Canterbury down to the curate of the smallest village, with all their comprehensive agency of Pastoral-Aid Societies, Ladies' District-Visiting Societies, Scripture Readers, Church of England Tract Societies, and other means of influence and power, in busy commotion, dotting the land all over with churches and schools, and by all these efforts labouring so entirely to occupy the nation, as to leave no room for, and to prove there is no need of, any other body of Christians; can we have all this constantly before our eyes, and not see our need of an earnest ministry, not only if we would maintain our ground, but make any advance?" Now, if the Church of England be what Mr James has here described her; if she be doing what he distinctly declares she is; if she has thus roused herself for the great work before her; if she has become the Home Mission Church in our country more than she ever was; if her clergy and Scripture readers are visiting from house to house, carrying with them the light of truth, telling men what God requires and what Christ has done, sympathising with the sorrowful and the distressed, and carrying succour to the poor and needy; if she is ministering to them as a national Church ought to minister—I ask, is it the time to rise up and say, "We will separate the Church from the State; we will rob you of your endowments; they shall be taken away from you, and given to the State?" I appeal to the moderate and thinking Dissenters—for it is, after all, due to them that we should say that it is but a small knot of political agitators, never to be confounded with the respectable part of the Dissenting community—whether they wish this design to be carried out. Mr Miall himself, in that very book which I have quoted, and wherein he makes the Church so black, says:—"If the whole Nonconforming community were polled to-morrow, not *a fiftieth part would be able to tell you what is meant by the separation of Church and State.*"

Allow me, before I conclude, to say a few words with regard to the outcry as to Church-rates. There are only 5 per cent. of our parishes where they have been rejected. Nine-tenths of the property of this country subject to Church-rates, and which really

pays Church-rates, belongs to Churchmen ; and one-tenth, or less than £30,000, belongs to all classes of Dissenters. And when you deduct from that the respectable body of Wesleyans, who, though dissenting from the Church, are still favourable to her continuance as an Establishment, why, the opponents of Church-rates are reduced to a mere fraction of the nation. And yet, because of a restless, noisy set of political agitators, our country must be well-nigh distracted in an attempt to destroy our Church Establishment, which is doing such wonders for the people. It is encouraging to Churchmen, in a calm and Christian spirit, to persevere in diffusing accurate information on these questions, when they observe the reaction which has unmistakably set in throughout the country ; and not only in the country, but also in the House of Commons. The majority in favour of abolishing Church-rates has been reduced from 74 to 29, and to 9 ; and at last the bill rejected by the casting vote of the Speaker—the numbers being 274 for, and 274 against. And why did the Speaker vote against the bill ? Because he said he had discovered in the debates that the majority were in favour of some other settlement than total abolition. Let this be remembered. Allow me, then, to say to all moderate, thoughtful Dissenters—Pause before joining that agitation for the spoliation of our Church. See what it is now doing, and the work in which it is now engaged. Consider the dishonour to a country which could be guilty of such spoliation—that should do that which Dr Pye Smith says is nothing less than downright robbery. I appeal to you, in the day of the Lord's controversy whether our nation shall be religious or not, to shew that you have no sympathy with those men. And I do say, when the Church is putting forth unparalleled efforts to evangelise our home heathen and to disseminate among them scriptural truth, do not distract us, do not divert us from the great work, for the sake of gratifying some miserable petty prejudice entertained against the Church by her bitterest opponents. Remember what your eminent townsman John Angell James says she is doing, and what she has done. I have read to you a passage in which he tells you what she is doing ; and I shall conclude this lecture by

giving his opinion of what she has done in the past, as well as what she was doing when he thus wrote thirty years ago. He says :—"Although (we believe) its basis is unsound, its superstructure is magnificient; its scriptural doctrines are the themes with which Luther, and Cranmer, and Calvin, and Knox assailed the Papacy and effected the Reformation; its divines have covered its altars with works more precious than the finest gold of the ancient sanctuary of Israel; its literature is the boast and glory of the civilised world; its armoury is filled with the weapons of ethereal temper which its hosts have wielded, and with the spoils they have won in the conflict with infidelity, Popery, and heresy; its martyrology is emblazoned with names dear and sacred to every Protestant; and at the present moment are to be heard from many hundreds of its pulpits, truths, at the sound of which—accompanied as they are by the life-giving power of the quickening Spirit—the dead in trespasses and sins are starting into life, and exhibiting a people made willing in the day of His power, which shall be as the dew of the morning."* If half of what is said in these passages be true as to what the Church has done and is doing—and they are the deliberately-expressed opinions of one known and admired throughout the Christian world, and yet nowhere more so than in Birmingham—then we say there is a blessing in her, destroy her not. Nay, with humble confidence, we may adopt the language of the Psalmist, "God is in the midst of her, therefore she shall not be moved. God shall help her, and that right early."

* Dissent and the Church of England; or, a Defence of the Principles of Nonconformity, pp. 111, 112, 3d edition.

BALLANTYNE AND COMPANY, PRINTERS, EDINBURGH.

OUR CHURCH AND OUR COUNTRY;

OR,

FROM A.D. 62 TO A.D. 1862.

A SKETCH OF THE HISTORY OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND FROM THE EARLIEST TIMES.

INTENDED FOR, AND DEDICATED TO,

THE WORKING MEN OF ENGLAND.

BY THE

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LONDON:
WERTHEIM, MACINTOSH AND HUNT,
24, PATERNOSTER ROW,
AND 23, HOLLES STREET, CAVENDISH SQUARE.

Price Sixpence.

WHAT THE BIBLE SAYS TO THE CHURCH, TO KINGS, AND TO NATIONS, (NOT TO INDIVIDUALS).

"Enlarge the place of thy tent, and let them stretch forth the curtains of thine habitations; spare not, lengthen thy cords, and strengthen thy stakes. O thou afflicted, tossed with tempest, *and* not comforted, behold, I will lay thy stones with fair colours, and lay thy foundations with sapphires. And I will make thy windows of agates, and thy gates of carbuncles, and all thy borders of pleasant stones. And all thy children *shall be* taught of the Lord; and great *shall be* the peace of thy children. In righteousness shalt thou be established: thou shalt be far from oppression; for thou shalt not fear: and from terror; for it shall not come near thee. No weapon that is formed against thee shall prosper; and every tongue *that* shall rise against thee in judgment thou shalt condemn. This *is* the heritage of the servants of the Lord, and their righteousness *is* of Me, saith the Lord.

"Go ye therefore, and teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost: teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I have commanded you: and, lo, I am with you alway, *even* unto the end of the world. Amen.

"*It is* an abomination to kings to commit wickedness: for the throne is established by righteousness.

"The kings of Tarshish and of the isles shall bring presents: the kings of Sheba and Seba shall offer gifts. Yea, all kings shall fall down before Him: all nations shall serve Him.

"Righteousness exalteth a nation: but sin *is* a reproach to any people.

"Blessed *is* the nation whose God *is* the Lord; and the people *whom* He hath chosen for His own inheritance."

DEDICATION.

TO THE WORKING MEN OF ENGLAND.

MANY things make it desirable that you should possess a short history of the Church of England. In the following pages will be found, I hope, a true account of the more important matters concerning it.

I heartily trust you will find pleasure in reading it, because it is for you I have written it. My aim has been to make it truthful and plain. The references at the bottom may be of use to any who wish to enquire further into the story of this branch of Christ's Holy Catholic Church, which, whether regarded in reference to the purity of its faith, the antiquity of its origin, the scripturality of its services and offices, its Holy Orders, or its Reformation, is unsurpassed by any other branch of the Church in Christendom. We cannot tell what is before us, for we are not *sure* of the meaning of unfulfilled prophecy. Perhaps irreligion and infidelity will yet prevail, and upturn everything. Perhaps not, though much looks like it. "*When the Son of man cometh shall he find faith on the earth?*"

But, whatever happen, let us be at our post, and be found doing "our duty in that state of life unto which God has been pleased to call us."[1] However much evil is sometimes overruled for good (Psalm lxxvi. 10), still Christ has not ordained quarrels, and disputings, and divisions, as His way of doing His work. We must not multiply the rents in His glorious garment, but honour it, and labour to keep it from impurity. I conclude, then, by saying to my fellow Churchmen, and to any who are not so, but who will bear with me for so saying: I pray you cease from supporting divisions in any way. Form one flock. Support your own parish. Work humbly and heartily as '*helpers in Christ Jesus*'[2] of the clergyman of that parish. Try to extend the Church in all directions, and aim to form the unity of *one* fold, even as there is *one* Shepherd, Jesus Christ the Lord.

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[1] A sentence in the Church Catechism much forgotten.

[2] Rom. xvi. 3; 1 Thess. v. 12, 13; Heb. xiii. 17, 18; 3 John 9.

Books useful for those who desire further knowledge concerning the Church of England.

"Outlines of the History of the British Church." 1*s.* J. W. Parker & Son.
"England's Church in Saxon Times." 3*s.* Wertheim & Co.
Soame's "Anglo Saxon Church." 6*s.* J. W. Parker & Son.
"Chronicles of the Ancient British Church." 5*s.* Wertheim & Co.
Blunt's "Sketch of the Reformation." 3*s* 6*d.* John Murray.
Southey's "Book of the Church." 6*s.* John Murray.
Dr Burton's "History of the Christian Church." 6*s.* J. W. Parker & Son.
Bishop Short's "History of the Church of England." 16*s.* J. W. Parker & Son.
Dr. Hook's "Church Dictionary. 16*s.* John Murray.

SUPPOSED BEGINNING OF THE CHURCH IN BRITAIN.

THOUGH it is impossible to say who first brought the Gospel into Britain,[1] there seems little doubt that it was brought here soon after the middle of the first century. Indeed, the words of Christ (St. Matt. xxiv. 14), which promised that "this gospel of the kingdom shall be preached in all the world, for a witness to all nations, and then shall the end come," seem to assure us that it must have been introduced thus early. For these words relate, in their *first* meaning, to the fall of Jerusalem and the Roman empire.[2] They probably also refer to the final judgment; but, in its primary meaning, "*All the world,*" (see also S. Luke ii. 1), signifies all the Roman empire, while "*the end*" signifies the fall of the city Jerusalem. Now the Roman empire contained England, or Great Britain within its limits. Jerusalem fell in the year 70. Consequently, according to the words of Christ, the Gospel must have been preached in all the countries subject to Roman authority before that period. And this, it is fully believed, was the case.[3] It appears pretty certain, too, that the Gospel was brought here by several persons, and at different periods, in these early days. Amongst these may perhaps be reckoned "Bran the Blessed." He was a king in Britain, and father of Caractacus, a celebrated defender of his country against the Romans; but Caractacus (Caradog) having been made a prisoner, Bran became hostage at Rome for him during seven years. Bran returned about A.D. 58, to Britain, and having learnt Christianity whilst at Rome, he introduced it into this country on his return thither. This account cannot, however, be proven, and some historians do not believe it, yet much may be said in support of it.[4] It is also *very possible* that in the period between S. Paul's release from his first imprisonment at Rome (Acts xxviii. 30), and his second and final imprisonment there (2 Tim iv. 7), he may have preached in England. This cannot be decided, but it is quite possible, not improbable, though not certain. Then, too, the

[1] Fuller's "Church History Brit." p. 4.

[2] See on the passage Scott, Doddridge, "Poli Synopsis;" Canon Wordsworth's Greek Testament, on v. 34; Burgon's "Plain Commentary;" also Col. i. 23.

[3] Lewin "Life of St. Paul," p. 121; "Anglo Saxon Chronicle" A.D. 47.

[4] Southey's "Book of the Church," p. 6; "Chronicles of the Ancient British Church," p. 31, (a very interesting work). Notice, too, Lewin, p. 321; Palmer's "Origines Liturgicæ," p. 180.

"Claudia" mentioned (2 Tim. iv. 21) is thought by some to have been the daughter of Cogidanus, king of the Regni (Sussex and Surrey), and by others, a daughter of Caractacus (Caradog) then a prisoner at Rome. She appears to have afterward married "Pudens," mentioned in the same text, and having become a Christian, there can be no doubt that she would try to instruct her fellow countrymen in the faith.[1] By some of these means, perhaps by all of them, and probably by several others now forgotten, we may conclude the words of Christ were accomplished, and that the Gospel was preached in all the *(Roman)* world before the end *(the fall of Jerusalem)* came.

Gildas, (a celebrated British historian, who died 570), says that the Gospel was known in England before A.D. 61, and I believe we assert the truth when we say, that the Church of Christ was set up here in Britain, even before the canon of the New Testament was all of it written, which was probably not before A.D. 80.[2]

Thus ancient then, is the Church of England.[3] It was planted here about the middle of the first century, probably by the efforts of several holy people, a sound scriptural Church, as now. The errors of the Church of Rome did not exist even at Rome, then.

Endowment of the Church early in the British Period.

There are many interesting accounts following the period I have written of, but I must not mention them, for space will not allow it.[4] But there are several reasons for thinking that during the next four hundred years, the Christian Church extended greatly in England,[5] and that towards the end of that period, some pious men began to endow the Church with provision for securing ministers who should not

[1] Lewin's "History of St. Paul," p. 956; Conybeare and Howson's "Life of St. Paul," p. 582; Martial "De nuptiis Pudentis et Claudiæ," iv. 13, and "De Claudia Rufina," xi. 54. See the matter very neatly stated in "Chronicles of the Ancient British Church;" Wordsworth's Greek Testament, 2 Tim. iv. 21.

[2] Wordsworth's Greek Testament, Gen. Epist.; Chronological Table, and Intro. Revelation.

[3] As the Roman Church sometimes claims to have been the first instructor of England in the Gospel, I may refer to Bishop Morton's (A.D. 1628) "Grand importance of the (new) Church of Rome," as given in "Brogden's Catholic Safeguards," pp. 74—110. Specially I would notice pp. 108, 109, where he says—"Your Church, (Roman) is in the next place to be provoked and convinced by a remote nation of Britain, which, by your own accounts, received the Gospel (Cardinal "Baronius and your Jesuit Suarez acknowledging thus much out of the most "ancient records), 'by the preaching of Joseph, of Arimathea, in the thirty-fifth "year of Christ, two years before St. Peter did found the Church of Antioch, where "he was seated seven years before he founded the Church of Rome.' That is to say, "in Britain was planted a Church nine years before Rome, and is hereby so much "her elder sister."

[4] See for these "Chronicles of the Ancient British Church," pp. 34—51.

[5] "Short's History," sec 3 and 4.

be altogether dependent on those they ministered among.[1] Whatever they did, however, was *voluntary*. They did it of their own mind; only, they did it for their posterity as well as for their own time. Accordingly, they *voluntarily gave endowment* for the Church.[2] Some gave lands, some gave tithes, *that is*, they made their property liable for ever to pay a tenth of its produce to the worship of God in the support of His Church. Of course it is impossible to say who gave the first tithe, or when endowments first began. Most men would be perplexed if they had to show their title deeds to property for more than three hundred years, and some would be puzzled to do so for one hundred years; and dissenters have lately obtained an Act of Parliament, securing an endowment to any meeting house which has held it for twenty-five years!! Pray notice, however, that the Churches were endowed on the voluntary principle in all integrity. Men endowed them with gifts from their own property. *Modern voluntaryism*, as held by some men, means a minister dependent on the voluntary will of the people he has to preach to, who may withdraw that support when they choose. It means a dependent preacher to independent hearers! Old voluntaryism consisted (and happily it now flourishes again) in giving a support for a ministry in perpetuity. Lucius, a British king, is thought by some writers to have begun to endow the Church in this way *about* the year 190, or earlier, and to have established several bishoprics.[3] But of course, as Christianity advanced, the converts would do what they could for the extension of its blessings, and when in A.D. 303, the cruelest persecution the Church ever endured began, under the order of the Roman Emperor, Diocletian, (*supposed* by many to be described, Rev. vi. 9—11), many were found in England to suffer under that fearful storm. Churches were demolished, Christians were put to death by all manner of tortures, and every effort was used to drive Christ's religion out of the land. Amongst the most eminent of the martyrs was Saint

[1] Hitherto it is believed the clergy in England were supported, as in other parts of Christendom, by weekly or monthly "oblations," given at the Holy Communion, and in the "treasury," or "alms box."—*Bingham's Ant.*, vol. ii., p. 60. See 1 Cor. ix. 7; xvi. 1, 2; 2 Cor. xi. 8. See Blunt's "History of the Christian Church," pp. 30, 31, 273.

[2] Bingham, vol. ii., p. 84. Brogden's "Catholic Safeguards," vol. iii., p. 588; Wordsworth's "Christian Institutes," vol. iii. p. 110; Hook's "Church Dictionary," Article—Tithes. Jacob's "Law Dictionary;" Burn's "Ecclesiastical Law;" Blackstone's "Commentary," pp. 112, 113, 114; "Dialogue concerning Tithes," Comber; Soame's "Anglo Saxon Church," pp. 95, 96. See also a most important paper by Dr. Corrie, Camb. Church Congress, p. 130.

[3] "England's Church in Saxon Times," p. 4. Fuller, p. 13, speaks of St. Peter's, Cornhill, being built, A.D. 179, and other churches in London, A.D. 187, perhaps by King Lucius. I doubt if these things can ever be proved, but they seem to be by no means improbable.

Alban, who was put to death for Christ's sake, close to the city which still bears his name. "Many persons, with the constancy of martyrs, died also in the confession of their faith."[1] These persecutions continued till A.D. 313, when Constantine became emperor, and was converted to Christianity, or, *at all events, was favourable* towards it.

The storm thus passed over, and "faithful Christians, who had hidden in woods, and forests, and secret caves, rebuilt the Churches, founded, erected, and finished the temples of the holy martyrs," and peace continued in the Church for a time.[2] In A.D. 314, a council (or meeting) of the Church was held at Arles, a town in France, on the Rhone. Six hundred bishops were present at it; amongst them were three bishops from England, *viz.*, from York, London, and probably Caerleon-on-Usk.[3] Councils of the Church were frequently held at different periods after this time, and we know that bishops from Great Britain were present at many of them. The doctrines of Arius, however, now greatly perplexed the whole Church. He was a priest, living at Alexandria. He was a very eloquent man, but taught that Christ was *essentially* distinct from the Father, the noblest indeed of all *created* things, but still that He was *created*, and that He was inferior to the Father, in nature and dignity. To prevent men who held these errors from having communion in the Church, the Nicene Creed was written, and afterwards the Athanasian Creed. Soon after this (A.D. 405) Pelagius, a Welshman (whose birth name was Morgan), taught other errors. He denied the doctrine of original sin, and asserted that man could be saved by his own merits.[4] The bishops in England opposed these errors. Several more bishops were appointed at this period; a cathedral was built at Llandaff, and Dubricius made archbishop of it. At Cærleon-on-Usk, in Monmouthshire, (present population about 1,200,) was another bishop, who had seven *suffragan* bishops, (*i.e.*, whom he could summon to give their *suffrages* or votes, at any provincial synod, which he called), under him.[5]

Coming in of the Saxons, about A.D. 450.

In A.D. 426 the Romans withdrew their forces finally from Great Britain, which henceforth was left entirely to itself. It is believed

[1] Bede, 313. "Chronicles of the Ancient British Church," pp. 56, 57.

[2] Bede, 316.

[3] Eborius, Restitutus, and Adelfius. Restitutus was a married man. "Chronicles of the Ancient British Church," pp. 58, 59.—*Bingham's Ant.* iii., p. 178.

[4] Pelagius means the same thing in Greek.—*Anglo Saxon Chronicles*, p. 5, A.D. 381. *Beda*, p. 317, A.D. 394.

[5] "Chronicles of the Ancient British Church," p. 79.

that for some years after this the Church was in a state of considerable purity. It should be remembered too, that at this time the Church of Rome was comparatively pure, not having then become tainted by the dreadful corruptions which have since ruined her, and made her apostate.[1] Ireland, too, was so famous for piety at this period, that it obtained the name of "The Isle of Saints." Not many years later, and the Saxons were invited over by the English, to aid them against the Scots. They crossed over to England, but soon seized the country for themselves, causing great troubles and distress. In about one hundred years they conquered England, and by A.D. 547, they divided it into seven petty kingdoms, called the Saxon Heptarchy, one of the seven kings being chief, under the name of Britwalda, (or Wielder, or Ruler of Britain). These Saxons were cruel idolaters, and in consequence of their invasions, Christianity was for a time almost extinguished in a large part of Britain.[2] At the same time religion flourished in Ireland, and some part of Scotland. Iona, one of its western isles, was noted at this time for sending forth many pious missionaries.

And now, just as the truth seemed in danger through the Saxons, an event occurred, which, though accompanied by some difficulties, was undoubtedly a great means of sustaining the truth. I do not at all think the faith would have perished without this, but this occurrence greatly aided it in some particulars. Ethelbert, king of the Saxons, in Kent, had married Bertha, daughter of Charibert, king of Paris; she was a Christian. The Gospel was now received by the people dwelling in Gaul, Italy, and Spain. Gregory the Great was at this time Bishop of Rome. Hearing the low condition the people were reduced to in England, he sent Augustin, a Benedictine monk, on a mission to convert them. Neither Gregory nor Augustin held by any means the errors of the present Roman Church. Some of its plague-spots had begun to show themselves, but this very Gregory, Bishop of Rome, wrote, "Whoever uses or affects the style of Universal Bishop has the pride and character of Antichrist." Ethelbert was converted and baptized. An *old* Church,[3] St.

[1] See XIXth and XXIInd Articles; Homily v.; x. 3; xiv. 2; xxviii. 2.
[2] Churton's "Early English Church," p. 25.
[3] The name "Church" is from the Greek Κυριακόν, whence Saxon "kyrik," or "kyrch," and the Scotch "kirk" and English "church," all meaning *the Lord's house*. All the churches in England were built of wood, covered with reed; afterwards some were covered, sides and roof, with lead. The first stone church was called (I suppose from its appearance) *Candida casa*, "Whitern," or Whitchurch, (Whitechurch). This perhaps suggests an interesting association in connexion with some of the dozen Whitchurches which exist in England. See *Bingham's Ant.* vol. ii., p. 378.

Martin's, was made over for the use of Augustin, at Canterbury, and ultimately he became bishop of that city. After he was settled in England, he sought out the bishops who were now for the most part inhabiting the south western counties, and endeavoured to persuade them to consent to certain alterations which he proposed. Two or three meetings were held, one at "Augustin's Oak," near the banks of the Severn, probably near Aust.[1]

The ancient bishops would not agree to Augustin's proposition, and they separated from him in no friendly terms. A few months later, and 1,200 monks of Bangor, "for the ancient Britons had, long before this, entertained the monastic life,"[2] were cruelly put to death. Some say this was brought about through Augustin, but this is doubtful, although there are reasons for suspecting that it was done with a view to aid his endeavours, even if it were committed without his knowledge.[3] In consequence of this disagreement, the British and Saxon Churches may be perhaps regarded as two distinct families for some centuries, differing, however, chiefly on the question of a few outward observances,[4] until they became united in the twelfth century, in the reign of Henry I.[5] During this period, however, the successors of Augustin were but too ready to encourage the efforts by which the Church of Rome now began to claim supremacy, for there are abundant proofs that resistance to these endeavours was frequent and vigorous; and I must again remind you, that the errors of Rome at this period were far fewer than in later ages.[6] If, however, the Church unhappily chose to adopt any

[1] Churton's "Early English Church," pp. 33, 34; Beda, p. 357 of Church Historians. That the Bishop of Rome acquired no patriarchal right hereby, see Brogden's "Catholic Safeguards," vol. i. p. 387, or Archbishop Bramhall's works there quoted.

[2] Bingham's Ant. vol. ii., p. 265.—The Abbot of Bangor returned an answer to Augustin, wherein he says, "We are all and every one of us, obedient and subject unto the Church of God, and to the Pope of Rome, and to every godly Christian, to love every one in his degree, in perfect charity, and to help every one of them by word and deed, to be the children of God; and other obedience than this I do not know due unto him whom you name to be Pope ***. Besides, we are under the government of the Bishop of Kaerlon-upon-Uske, who is to oversee, under God for us, to cause us to keep the way spiritual. See also Brogden's "Catholic Safeguards," vol. i., pp. 574, 575.

[3] Beda, pp 358, 359.—"It should be said, perhaps, that Beda appears to favour Augustin when he can."—*Bingham's Ant.* vol. iii., pp. 27—36.

[4] Palmer's "Church of Christ," vol. i., pp. 189—194.

[5] "Chronicles of the Ancient British Church," p. 168.

[6] The following statement will show this. For the condition of the Church of Rome, A.D. 60, see St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans i. 8; but in

A.D. 787 Papal Infallibility taught.
754 Invocation of Saints taught by authority.
787 Use of Images and relics sanctioned.
1123 Compulsory Celibacy of the clergy.
1215 Auricular Confession enjoined.

of the errors of Rome, she would be at liberty to throw them off whenever God should give her grace to do so.

The Parochial System and its Advantages.

It was somewhere about A.D. 630 that parishes began to be formed. The idea of a parish is, that a certain district shall possess a clergyman, whose duty shall be to visit and instruct *all* and *every one* within that parish, without favour or prejudice; that he shall minister in the Church of that parish, which shall be free equally to every parishioner; and that in the Church-yard, (often called "*God's-acre*"), the parishioners should equally have a right to be buried free of all costs. If then, the parochial system can be again carried out (as I believe in a few years it may be), the completest system in the world would be in operation for preaching the Gospel to every creature,

For, Notice how, under the Parochial System, the Church ministers to all its Members from the Cradle to the Grave.

Is a child born in the parish?—That child in a few days would be brought to Church and baptized! The Church (which is only a Christian family on a large scale[1]), prays for it, and attests its reception amongst them. Again, the whole Church rejoices with the mother, as she kneels to render praise to God, in public, for His mercies to her. They recognize in her preservation, the preservation among them of one of their own body, and hence unite in praising God for this mercy. From time to time all the youth would be *catechised*, as preparatory to *confirmation*, and that catechising would be so conducted, that parents might know whether they were giving good instruction at-home.[2] At the Con-

A.D. 1215. Transubstantiation established as a doctrine.
1215 Prayers in Latin, whether understood or not.
1410 Cup denied to the Laity, or Communion in one kind.
1438 Purgatory and Indulgences.
1545 Seven Sacraments instead of two.
1551 Doctrine of *Intention*. If a priest does not *intend* or mean to baptize, or perform any sacred act when he appears to do it, it is not done. Thus, no Roman Catholic is sure that he has been baptized, and no Roman priest is sure that he has been ordained!

Many of these errors had been taught some years before they were fully established as part of the Roman Catholic doctrines.

[1] Every office or service in the Prayer-book is in perfect agreement with this truth. The act of faith must be individual, and so we say "*I* believe in God," &c. But acts of prayer and praise are henceforth united acts of communion, "*We* praise Thee, O God," "*We* beseech Thee to hear *us*," "Have mercy upon *us*."

[2] See Rubrics at the end of the Catechism; also Canons lix., lx., lxi. Also, Bather's "Hints on Catechising." Also, Beaven's "Help to Catechising;" especially the Introduction.

firmation, the youth would comprise nearly every young person in the parish, for in such a parish every one being visited by the clergyman, would know its value. Parents and god-parents[1] attend the Confirmation, and with hearts full of love and faith, pray blessings on the newly confirmed. Do persons wish to marry? The family of the Church must first know of it by proclamation of Banns, that the union may not be allowed if it be contrary to Christian principle! The ordinance of marriage is not only legal, but holy,[2] and is treated as a sacred rite. The married parties are invited to the Lord's table, are reminded in the words of the marriage service, that married people are intended to be helpers in spiritual things, as heirs together of the grace of life.[3] If sickness come, the clergyman of the parish is directed not to slack his duty, and when death strikes down one or another in the great Christian family, they are buried, *as Christians, with a Christian service*, recognized as absent from sight, but present in faith, still looked on as one in Him of whom the whole family in heaven and earth is named. Such was, and is, the theory of the parochial system. Were moderate discipline enforced, and improper characters kept from the Holy Communion, and not allowed to be buried with the Burial Service, (see Rubrics, just at the beginning of it), nearly all those specious objections to our Prayer Book which Dissenters urge against it fall through, and the Prayer Book is found to be as correct and Scriptural, as it is devotional and magnificent.[4] Unhappy divisions among Christians in our day render discipline impossible. If a man be excommunicated from one sect of professors, it is only, in too many cases, to be welcomed almost as a martyr, into the arms of another sect; and thus, congregational principles, while giving nothing so good, most injuriously interfere with the working of the parochial system; a system most beautiful in theory, but far more beautiful in practice.

Church Rates.

Together with the parochial system probably came the original idea of the Church-rates, for it seems pretty certain that rates were levied in

[1] See last Rubric but one at the end of the Catechism.

[2] Notice Gen. i. 27, 28; Matt. xix. 4, 5; Ephes. v. 22, 33; 1 Cor. vii. 14; 1 Pet. iii. 7. Who that reads these verses, can regard marriage as a mere civil contract? We might as justly regard the institution of the Sabbath day.

[3] See Rubric at the end of the Marriage Service, and the Homily which forms a part of that service, and indeed the whole service.

[4] I doubt if the Burial Service was intended for any adult who was not a communicant. I feel sure that the Church expected that all who desire *any* of her offices, would be faithful members of her Communion.

this century. It was in ancient times called Church Shot, and there are records of laws effecting it, about A.D. 602 ; and the probable time of the *commencement* of Church-rates is about fifty years earlier. Church-rates appear to have originated in the owners of the land gradually offering[1] to render their property liable to a small rate or charge for the repair of the Church, and for the expenses connected with divine service. This (like tithes)[2] was not done all at once, but gradually crept on in the minds of owners of property, until it became the established custom affecting all parishes, that the people should meet and levy, from time to time, a small rate upon the property of the parish to pay the Church expenses. And nothing could be wiser or better, then, or now. Those who oppose Church-rates, do so because they wish to annihilate, if they could, the parochial system, and to injure the Church. The case of Church-rates stands thus: the Church is free and open to *all* parishioners. Every parishioner has an equal right in Church; every parishioner can equally claim any of the rites and ceremonies of the Christian Church. The sacraments he can claim, without any fee or restriction. It is contrary to law to put even the *smallest hindrance* in the way of those things which are "generally necessary to salvation." With other rites (as Marriage and Burial) an offering was often given; and at a Churching some "*offering*" is, and ought to be, required, but the amount should vary with the will and ability of the giver. These are, unhappily, too often classed now as "FEES," but the old plan was the right plan, and, where possible, should be reverted to. Thus then, the Church itself, the sacraments of the Church, and the services of the Church, and the clergyman of the parish, *being equally free to all, and for all*, it is natural, and right, and proper that all should pay to support the

[1] The modern endeavour to pass an Act of Parliament which should *take away* from parishioners, the power and right to tax themselves in support of the Church fabric, is one of those many proofs we have that *Liberalism* is not *Liberty*. The Church never wanted an Act of Parliament to allow such a right, and it was in the days of usurpation, when Charles I. was in prison, that an Act was passed, enforcing the payment of Church-rates. All the *Acts* (so called) of that period were expunged at the Restoration. At the present time about five hundred old parishes have refused Church-rates, all the other parishes (some thousands) pay them; and some which refused have already come to a better mind. As to the right of Church-rate property, I fancy that many might be glad if their title-deeds were one hundredth part as good. For, to say nothing of the antiquity of Church-rates, is it nothing to point to old parish books, and show that for centuries past the good folk of the parish have met together, and laid a small levy on themselves, to support the Church of God in their parish? What have men done, that they are to be deprived of their ancient right to tax themselves when they please!

[2] At first, Tithes were paid to the general support of the clergy, but as the parochial system advanced, laws were made, requiring their payment to be made to the minister of the parish whence they arose. See Blackstone's "Commentaries," p. 114.

building wherein they may assemble, and defray the expenses of those services which are equally necessary for all, and ought to be used by all. All property became liable to this rate, and has been bought and has been sold with this liability upon it, whenever the parishioners see fit to make the charge. No other person can *force* them to make a rate, but by that admirable principle of *local* government, which once worked so well (and which "centralization" is gradually taking away in too many matters), all parishioners have the right of taxing themselves for the support of God's truth and religion amongst them. Some men in our day object to this tax (as they say "*conscientiously*") because they do not go to Church, or because they do not like Church, or because they think it an injustice to have to pay a tax of which they do not approve. There can be no injustice in having to pay this tax, inasmuch as the property came into their hands with this liability upon it. As to the other objection, why the same argument is used by Quakers against paying taxes for keeping up our army and navy and other means of *warfare*. The same reasoning is used by some persons against gas rates, who assert that they do not use the streets at night, that they do not approve of gas, since it destroys vegetation, and produces bad smells. These objections are never heeded; and the objectors are obliged to pay, because they might use them if they pleased, and the majority of the parishioners determine that gas is desirable for the general good. But there are men now-a-days, who declaim, and some who preach against Church Rates,[1] and who would even so far carry out their intolerance, that they would *take away* from the parishioners their ancient right of securing to the whole parishioners the privileges of the Church building and services and ministry. Yet, with admirable inconsistency, would some of them levy an *Education Rate* at the dictation of the majority of a parish! Why, what is education, but the foundation of all religion in the mind, so far as man can effect it? and what is any endeavour at education without religion, but downright infidelity? Let us be wary how we let men with specious pretexts about conscience deprive parishioners of the right to support, for the good of all, by the ancient trifling tax on all, those means of grace which have been, and ever will be, so blessed. And let us be wary, too, how by subtle dealings, a far heavier tax is forced on parishioners, which may, in some cases, subvert the faith, and is sure to produce fearful heart-burnings throughout England continually.

[1] See S. Matt. xvii. 24, and Matthew Henry's Commentary thereon, *unaltered* editions.

Increase of Endowments and Tithes. Their Equalization amongst all Parishes would be unjust.

As the parochial system extended, the parishes were instituted for the ease and "benefit of the people, and not of the parson."[1] The lord of the soil or manor would erect a Church for the use of himself and of his family and dependents (serfs), and those who generally resided in the vill or village close by (villeins or villagers). To provide an endowment he would usually adopt the scriptural plan (Gen. xiv. 10; Gen. xxviii. 22; Lev. xxvii. 30; Deut. xiv. 22; St. Luke xi. 42; Malachi iii. 8; 1 Cor. ix. 9—14) of giving tithe, by making all the land belonging to him (which frequently comprised the whole parish) liable for ever to a payment of tithe, or a tenth of its produce. He gave this of his own will, and it was his to give. If any one afterwards *rented* the land, the rent was of course one tenth *less* than it would have been without the tithe, so that the tithe, though *paid* by the tenant, actually came out of the pocket of the lord of the manor. Often he built the residence for the clergyman (who was usually called rector), and, in many instances, a portion of land was also given towards the endowment of the Church.[2] This was not done throughout England at once, but was a work of progress through a lengthened period.

It was very natural and proper that the lord of the manor, thus endowing the Church he built, should be patron thereof, and nominate the clergyman to it. But it being decidedly contrary to any scriptural rule, that the people, or any one of them, should select any one to be ordained their priest (or presbyter), so even the patron could give the living only to a person who had been *already ordained in a scriptural manner* by a *bishop and presbyters* to the sacred office. Some men try to prove that all tithes, endowments, and Churches belong to the State, *because the State has made laws about them!* As truly might they say, that all property left *by will* belonged to the State, because the State had enacted laws about *wills!* As well might it be argued that all the few endowments Dissenting ministers possess in right of their meeting house is State property, because certain Acts of Parliament have been passed in reference to such endowments. It is untrue. It is unfair. It is an act of injustice arising from an unholy wish to ruin the Church of England, which, if it fell, would not fall alone. The Crown of England, its sceptre, and its piety, will fall, if ever the Church fall;

[1] Jacob's "Law Dictionary,"—Parish.

[2] Blackstone's "Commentaries," vol. i., pp. 112—115; vol. ii., pp. 20, 21.
I wish that tithes and rates were paid direct from the landowners. It would save many *false grievances*.

just as was the case two hundred years ago.[1] The fact of endow-

[1] As a proof that I have correctly stated the origin of endowments, and that they were not given by the Parliament, and that they were given at *various times* and by *private* bounty, I will quote from Statutes made, A.D. 1225. Year 9th, King Henry III.

THE GREAT CHARTER.

Cap. I.

"The Church of England shall be free, and shall have all her whole rights and liberties inviolable."

Statute A.D. 1340. Sec. 14th, Edward III. "Whereas in the first article of the Great Charter it is contained, that the 'Church of England be free, and have all her rights entirely.'"

Statute A.D. 1350. Edward III....."Whereas the holy Church of England was founded in the estate of Prelacy, by the said grandfather, (referring to the grandfather of Edward III., *i.e.*, Edward I., A.D. 1307), and his progenitors, and the earls, barons, and nobles of his said realm, and their ancestors, to inform them and their people of the law of God....and certain possessions, as well in fees, lands, rents, and advowsons, which do extend to a great value, were assigned by the said founders," etc.

It will be seen here that Parliament interferes (as it has lately done in the case of Dissenters) to *protect* property given to the Church; but it claims no right to do more, and so far from asserting the property to belong to the State, it distinctly declares it belongs to the Church, and was "given by the King and his progenitors, and by the earls, barons, and nobles of the realm, and their ANCESTORS!!!"

The difference in the circumstances and value of the Church livings might alone convince the thoughtful that endowments were not the gift of the Parliament. The owner of the estate of which the parish consisted, built and endowed the church for himself and his people; and often (as may be noticed in rural parishes), placed the church near the "Great," or "Manor" House, for the convenience of himself, and family, and retainers. The endowment depended on the ability and disposition of the founder.

Selden, a learned and clever man, a Dissenter, born at Salvington, in Sussex, in A.D. 1584, wrote a large work ("Selden on Tithes") against the *divine* right of tithes; but in that work he clearly admits, and indeed establishes, the *just* and *equitable* right of the clergy of the Church of England to them. He says (p. 1209), "Afterward when devotion grew firmer, and most laymen of fair estate desired the country residence of some chaplain," ..... "oratories and churches began to be built for them also, and being hallowed by the Bishop, were endowed with peculiar maintenance from the founders, for the incumbents that should there only reside."

In the "Eclectic Review" (Dissenting Mag.) 1832, p. 129, is the following:—

"It is, however, equally fallacious, to talk of Church property as being *vested* in the Legislature. Dissenters who hold this language expose themselves to the charge of being either very ignorant, or guilty of wilful and malicious misrepresentation. The tithes are no more vested in the Legislature, than are the Irish estates of a London Company, or the endowments of our Dissenting Academies and Meeting Houses. The manner in which the abolition of tithes by a simple Act of Parliament is sometimes spoken of, as a thing quite feasible, legal, and desirable, might have suited a French constituent assembly. But that British Christians, nay, ministers of the Gospel, nay, individuals enjoying the benefits of endowments, should be so far misled by party zeal as to join the unprincipled clamour of Church property raised by the advocates of uncompensated spoliation—forgetful alike of consistency, the decencies of their sacred office, and the plain dictates of common honesty—this, we must avow it, has filled us with amazement and shame. The cause of Dissent is under small obligation to those who have brought down upon it this deep disgrace."

Vide also Bingham's "Antiquities," vol. ii., p. 92. Equally to the same effect (incidentally) is the Statute of Carlisle, 35 Ed. I., quoted in Brogden's "Catholic Safeguards," vol. iii., p. 597. Also Soame's "Anglo-Saxon Church," Preface, p. 3.

But of all proofs that anciently the Church was endowed by gifts of *private* per-

ments and Churches being the gifts and acts of *private wealth*, may be attested by several circumstances ; but amongst them I will notice the following. No two Churches are alike, or ever were alike, and scarcely two endowments are of equal value. The size of parishes also greatly varies. Occasionally the smallest parishes are amongst the most richly endowed, while larger parishes have smaller endowments. Would any Act of Parliament have so unequally arranged these things ? Of course not. Another cause of this inequality I may speak of under "*The Reformation*" presently, but one great reason of these varieties in the value of livings, and in the Churches, and in the extent of the parishes, is, that the lords of the soil were, in some instances, very wealthy men, and, in other cases, not so wealthy ; in some instances they were more liberal than in other cases, and hence, some livings are richer than others, while the size of the parish depended on the quantity of land belonging to the lord of the manor. Some men in our day would "*reform*" the Church by equally dividing the incomes. In a few cases, probably, a change for good might be possible. But, in the first place, it would be very disastrous to the clergy, and to the people, to reduce all livings to one equal sum, for if equally divided among all *beneficed* clergy, it would amount to but £285 each a year ; and if equally divided with the curates also, it would give but £178 a year![1] Besides, it would be most unfair to those who endowed the Churches. Where, from peculiar circumstances, the property originally given has become very valuable, there would (perhaps) be reason for somewhat applying the accumulated wealth to the support, or better pay, of more clergy in that neighbourhood,[2] but to do more than this would be

sons, I want none other (though I know not that any have used it), than the Law of Mortmain! In the year 1225, 9th of Henry IIIrd., c. 36, it is enacted, that "It shall not be lawful from henceforth to any to give his lands to any religious house." Why what could have suggested such a Statute as this, unless men not only could give their lands to religious purposes before, but actually, and frequently did so ? This Statute is (I believe) somewhat modified under a Statute passed in 1736 (9 George II., c. 36), so that a gift of land is possible when made before witnesses, *at least twelve months before the death of the giver*. The select Committee of the House of Lords (on Spiritual Destitution, p. 21) recommend a further relaxation in respect of restoring impropriate tithe, or leaving money for the purchase of the same. And I think it would be well if men could be allowed also to leave money by will for the erection or endowment of a Church, and also any quantity of land not exceeding (perhaps) six or eight acres. I know of instances where the Law of Mortmain has acted very injuriously to the cause of religion, and there is no doubt it ought to be somewhat relaxed.

[1] This calculation is from an admirable pamphlet called, "Church Property," (20th thousand,) price 1d, by Rev. T. Eager, Manchester Church Defence Association, which you would do well to read. But it agrees pretty closely with other calculations which I have seen and made.

[2] The idea has been suggested, and is perhaps worthy of consideration, whether those few livings which are *very large* in the present rate of their incomes, might not be taxed on the next avoidance to a certain scale, so as to raise the many very poorest incomes to a "*living*."

an act of injustice and of trifling with vested interests, which might make every landowner tremble for his property. For the law which interfered with the one has quite as good a right to interfere with the other, and the recompence of a man's hand is generally rendered to him even in this life. I say, therefore, it would be an unjust proceeding to "equalize" the livings. This is plain enough if you consider any recent case of Church building. Take the case of this parish.[1] Here are a Church, and schools, and a parsonage built, with an endowment of £300 a year. Now this Church, and schools, and parsonage, with endowment, are the united gift of four brothers now living. Would it be fair to them, if (after my death or resignation) £50 a year were taken from this living, and given to help one or two poor livings? Or, again, would it be right or just if they, having given a burial ground for burying the dead in, *exclusively* according to the rites and ceremonies of the Church of England, Sir M. Peto should step in and say, "*Yes, but you shall allow any person to be buried there with any rites his friends choose, whether he be Baptist, Independent, or Mormonite,*" *even although* the Baptist, the Independent, or the Mormonite may have a place of burial elsewhere *entirely to his own sect*.[2] Every Englishman must feel indignant at such a proposition. And yet, if this be so unjust, that when once fairly presented to the mind, every Englishman ought to be indignant at a thought so monstrous, where is the difference between the injustice of the act in the case of this particular churchyard or endowment, and those churchyards and endowments which were given centuries ago? I own I cannot tell. Or, would any of you think it proper that any Dissenters should claim to have a share in the endowments of this Church given but eleven or twelve years ago? Yet why should they not, if they are to be allowed to claim any share in endowments which were made eleven or twelve centuries ago?[3]

[1] I am thankful to know that somewhat similar cases are now frequently occurring.

[2] The most pious and consistent Churchman might, under Sir M. Peto's Bill, be denied Christian burial, if his legal representative happened to be an ungodly man; or if his legal representative were a Dissenter he could hinder his having Church of England burial!!! Such is the "*Liberation*" which, we are told, is so *very desirable* for us, and which we are also assured would *benefit* the Church!!!

[3] I believe that, *at present*, no one attempts to assert that the Churches of antiquity were erected by public money, or that endowments by land were so given. The tithes are the point at which they chiefly aim, though it is curious if ever a Statute were made to oblige every original owner of property to give up a tenth of it, with or without his consent; it cannot anywhere be found, and nothing is known of it in history. All the Statutes which refer to tithes have respect to them as property already in existence. All gifts to the Church, modern and ancient, have been given *in the faith* that the State will protect them to the purpose for which they were given. It would so protect money given for *(say) disabled jockeys:* it has no right to do otherwise with sacred gifts.

Such, then, was the origin of our Churches, churchyards, parsonages and endowments. Such, too, in many cases, the origin of our bishopricks. I ought just to add, however, that in a few cases, when Churches were built and endowed, owing to negligence or to other causes, no parochial charge was given to them, and, consequently, they were called *extra-parochial*, or *donatives*. Such was the case in the little parish in which I was born. The Church had been built as a Chapel to the "Great House," and though it served as a parish Church to the people, it was without cure (*care*) of souls. Would such things have occurred if (as we are now told, only we know it is an error to say so) all our Churches and endowments were built and given by Act of Parliament? Of course they would not.[1]

THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND, AT THE TIME WHEN MOST OF THESE ENDOWMENTS WERE MADE, IS BELIEVED TO HAVE BEEN THE SAME CHURCH THAT IT NOW IS; IN DOCTRINE, IN DISCIPLINE, IN ITS HOLY ORDERS, AND ITS FAITH.

Well, now, having given you a sketch of the origin of Church building, tithes, church rates, and offerings, at a period when this kind of work was becoming frequent (for, remember, all was not done *at once*, but was the work of centuries), I must hasten onward with my little Church History. About 634, Oswald being Bretwalda, he employed Aidan, an Irish Culdee monk, to teach his people, the Northumbrians, and gave him Lindisfarne, or Holy Isle, as his See. The term Culdee ("*cultores Dei*," worshippers of God) seems to have been given to the first persons who devoted themselves to a monastic life. The Irish and Scotch Culdees maintained their independence of Rome, even when Romish influence had become very dominant in the British Isles. It is stated that at this time there were nine thousand two hundred and eighty four parishes in England. The population probably was not more than two millions. Doubtless there is great need for the formation of a more few parishes now that it is ten times as great. In 653 S. Cedd (Chad) and his three brothers were renowned as preachers. S. Cedd had one Ouini as a great friend (often called Oving) who assisted him. S. Cedd became Bishop of Lichfield. Some places in the West Riding of Yorkshire seem to have received their names in memory of these men. Soon after, Pæda, King of the Mercians, and Oswy, brother of Oswald, agreed to rear a Minster to the glory of Christ. This was the beginning of the Cathedral of Medehampstede, (now Peterborough); and in similar ways other Cathedrals were built. In 664 the Council of the

[1] Blackstone's "Commentaries," vol. ii., p. 23. Jacob's "Law Dictionary," DONATIVE. Burn's "Ecclesiastical Law," DONATIVE.

Church at Whitby decided to adopt the Roman method in some particulars. Thus the Church existed in England long before Roman peculiarities; and had the same right to change these particulars, that she had to adopt them. The Archbishop of Canterbury at this time was Theodore, born at Tarsus, in Cilicia, the birth town of S. Paul. The Saxon kings, while showing some and increasing deference to the Bishop of Rome, did not yield to his authority, and at the Council of the Church, held 694, at Bapchild, in Kent, it was decreed that the Archbishop of Canterbury (*not the Pope*) should exercise a veto at the election of bishops and abbots. Just about A.D. 709, Adhelm, Bishop of Sherborne, translated the Psalms into the Saxon language, and the period is celebrated also by the labours of another remarkable and excellent man, Beda ("*the Venerable Bede*") many of whose writings have come down to us. He was minister of Jarrow on the Tyne, and did much to advance religious learning throughout England. A letter of his to Bishop Ecgberct is most beautiful and excellent, urging him to "preach the word of God in every village and farmstead," and regretting the report that "there are many villages and vills of our nation, situated "in accessible mountains and bushy defiles, which for many years "have not been visited by a bishop," and showing that persons came at a very early age to the Lord's Supper. He concludes, "O "bishop, well-beloved in Christ, may the grace of the Chief Shep-"herd ever preserve you in safety, for the wholesome feeding of "His sheep. Amen."[1] Rome was now increasing in her heresies, and was also doing her best to hold the sway in Britain. It appears, however, that although at the Second Council of Nice, A.D. 787, it was decreed under the Pope's sanction, that images might be used in worship, the Church of England, on receiving these decrees, decided that they contained many things contrary to the faith. I believe it is quite true to say that when the year 800 dawned (above one thousand years ago), the Church of England then substantially agreed in doctrine, discipline, and ceremonies, with the Church of England *now*. Holy Scripture was the rule of faith, and the Apocrypha was not reckoned amongst the books of Holy Scripture. The three creeds were received *in their integrity*. Faith was reckoned the origin of godly power in the believer. Purgatory with its accompanying errors was not recognized. The sacraments were spoken of as two. Transubstantiation was unknown. Marriage of the priests was allowed and maintained (not, however, without opposition).[2] I do not

[1] Beda, p. 656.

[2] Very concisely shown in "England's Church in Saxon Times," pp. 57—72. Palmer's "Origines Liturgicæ," vol. i., pp. 179—317.

say that the whole Church was perfectly pure. Not so; but what I have stated may serve to give us a general idea of its condition.

Lay officers of the Church.

Churchwardens and other lay officers of the Church existed in these times. Their duties then, as now, were highly honourable and important. And I think the day is not far distant when they will be more honourable and important than ever. Churchwardens were called sometimes the Church Reeve.

In addition were the synodmen (often improperly called sidesmen, and sometimes, with greater correctness, questmen). The bishops used to summon creditable persons out of every parish to give information of, and *attest* any disorders among clergy or people. They were called *testes synodales*, and were used as an impannelled jury. They thus obtained the name of *synodsmen*, from attending the episcopal or diocesan synod, and it would (I conceive) be an excellent thing if the practice were renewed. They were also called *questmen* from the nature of their office in making "*quest*," or *enquiry* concerning offences. Really it seems to me that we want not new schemes, but old schemes simply revived and adapted to the times.

The Coming in of the Danes.

The history of the Church must always be mingled with the history of the nation; and accordingly, about the beginning of the ninth century, events occurred greatly affecting both people and Church. The Danes, a bold and fierce people, constantly invaded the country for the purpose of plunder, and held the inhabitants in great terror by their threats. It was in a period of great trouble on this account, that Alfred the Great, in 871, succeeded his three brothers, who in succession had preceded him, as king; and after a time he restored peace and tranquillity to the land. His grandfather Egbert had, in 827, laid claim to be called king of England; and, with some subsequent exceptions, all England was henceforth under one king.

Remembering, then, how on various occasions, the Church has been endowed, and recollecting how the Danes had established themselves in England, it is very suggestive to notice one of the earliest laws (or *Dooms*," as they are called) given forth in the reign of this pious king. We can quite understand that the ruthless Danish settlers would *evade* when they could the payment of the dues already made on land. This, then, gives meaning and force to "*The Doom*" of Alfred which says, "*Thy tithes and thy first fruits render thou unto God.*"[1] There is no giving or establishing of

[1] See Appendix to Brogden's "Catholic Safeguards," p. 588. Also, Blackstone's "Commentaries," vol. ii., p. 26.

tithes here, but merely the stepping in of the law to maintain the ancient rights of all, just as the law protects any Dissenter, or other person, in his rights now. At the conclusion is added, "I then, Alfred, king of the West Saxons, showed these to my Witan (*men of wit or wisdom*, the Parliament of those days), and they then said that it seemed good to them all to be holden." Alfred was a great promoter of learning; he greatly consolidated the University of Oxford, and founded University College there. In North Britain, too (first called Scotland in 934), the Church must have been advancing; a provincial synod being held A.D. 906, under King Constantine III., Kellach being bishop of S. Andrews. During this period the Danes had committed great excesses in Ireland, and almost uprooted Christianity in some parts, but after a while began themselves to embrace it. Most have heard strange tales of Dunstan, archbishop of Canterbury. I must here say a word about him. In A.D. 959 Edgar, a licentious man, was king. Dunstan excommunicated a powerful earl for an incestuous marriage. The Pope was appealed to, and was won over to write to Dunstan to remove the excommunication. Dunstan refused, "*whoever might sue*" for it, until the sin were forsaken. Dunstan was not, in many things, what one could wish, but he here showed and maintained the independence of the Church of England, *at least to some extent*, though Popery was gaining influence in England continually. The old British Church may now be regarded as amalgamated with that which Augustin commenced in 600.

The incursions of the Danes being renewed, the payment of a tax (called *Danegelt*) was enforced to keep the Danes away. However, in 1011, a formidable band of Danes, known as "Thurkill's Host," ravaged the land. Alphege, archbishop of Canterbury, defended the city, but it fell, and the archbishop was taken captive and afterwards murdered. In the words of the Saxon Chronicle:—

"He was then captive — Who erewhile was
The head of the English race — And of Christendome."

He was Head, *not the Pope!* King Malcolm, in Scotland, founded the bishoprick of Aberdeen at this time; but in Ireland Brian Boru, or Brian the Brave, king of Munster, and at last king of Ireland, was killed by the Danes at the battle of Clontarf.

The Norman Period. William the Conqueror.

I must not, however, dwell longer on this period, but hasten to the next great event in our history. In 1065 Edward the Confessor, king of England, died, and Harold was crowned as his suc-

cessor by Archbishop Stigant. William of Normandy landed near Hastings, to sustain what he said was his just claim to the throne, and Harold falling in the fight, William became "The Conqueror" of England. Archbishop Stigant and others tried to make Edgar (son of Edmund Ironsides) king, but William was crowned in Westminster Abbey by Aldred, Archbishop of York. Many errors and practices of the Church of Rome began now to take deep root. William consents to pay "Peter's Pence;" but refuses to do so *as tribute, and gives it as a benefaction:*[1] he also refuses homage to the Pope. The opposition of Stigant, and the support which the Pope gave to William, tended to increase the Papal influence. Stigant (Stigand)[2] being deposed, Lanfranc became Archbishop of Canterbury, with the approval of the Pope. The style of architecture called "NORMAN" began now, and lasted about one hundred and twenty-five years. It is very massive, and rich in bold decorations.[3] Soon after William the Conqueror's death two singular and important events occurred. The first was that, in 1096, the first crusade began. Jerusalem and the holy land were in the power of the Mahommedans, and no less than six hundred thousand persons, besides priests and monks, went forth, to what they regarded as a holy war, to wrest the holy city from the "Saracen infidels." The other event was, that the Danes in Ireland becoming converted to Christianity in large numbers, but being unwilling to submit to the Irish Church (because they would not submit to the Irish people) sent over to England, now very greatly under Romish influence, and obtained holy orders here. We shall see presently what followed from this. In 1099 Jerusalem was taken by the Crusaders, and was held by them for a short time. Anselm, (A.D. 1106) Archbishop of Canterbury, endeavoured to enforce celibacy on the clergy. This met with great opposition, but it shows the advance which error was making within the Church. He was, however, in many respects a great man. In Scotland the Church still increased, and Dunkeld, which in 729 was a monastic establishment of Culdees, was made into a bishoprick.

A second crusade was begun in 1147, and in the following year, while great disputes were proceeding between Stephen and the Empress Maud, both of whom claimed the throne, half the churches of the kingdom were closed. Thirteen years later great disputes arose

[1] Brogden's "Catholic Safeguards," vol. iii., p. 79.
[2] "Church Historians," vol. iv., p. 342.
[3] Rickman's "Gothic Architecture." His dates for architecture are taken throughout. Population estimated at 2,150,000. "Ch. Congress, Cambridge," p. 22.

between Henry II. of England and the Pope. Thomas à Beckett was then Archbishop of Canterbury. He was a man of great power of mind, but not of high principle, and strongly attached to the Pope, and desirous to further his sway in England. Henry was an imperious man and clever, but no match for Beckett in ability. At length the council of the nation assembled (in A.D. 1164), at Clarendon, near Salisbury, when certain articles, known as "The Constitutions of Clarendon" (they were considerably modified in 1176 at Northampton) were agreed upon, although it is not clear that Beckett signed them. Beckett certainly did not like them, and presently excommunicated those who were the chief promoters of them. Much irritation occurred between him, Henry, and others, and in 1170 Beckett was murdered in Canterbury Cathedral, by four of the king's knights. Beckett was a man of great ability and intrepidity.[1] He feared no man, was bold as a lion, and in many respects was a great, but alas, an unforgiving man. There is no doubt, that in his disputes with the king he was very far from right; but, on the other hand, the king was in many particulars greatly in the wrong. The fact that for years after his death, pilgrimages to the shrine of Beckett at Canterbury, were regarded amongst the most holy acts of the time, and that thousands crowded thither to worship at the steps of his tomb, attests both the popularity of the man, and the sad growth superstition had made in the minds of the people; for, though shameful artifices were used to increase his popularity, there seems pretty good proof that he was generally a favourite amongst the people.[2]

But if Beckett was great in life, he was greater in death. The king actually submitted to scourging at his tomb, and spent a whole night on his knees almost naked, to obtain pardon!

And now follows a sad blot in our history. Henry, anxious to turn the minds of the people away from the death of Beckett, resolves to conquer Ireland. To strengthen his claim and to please the Pope, he asks the Pope to aid him. Adrian (Nicholas Brakespeare), an Englishman, was (probably) Pope at that time, the only Englishman who ever yet became Pope. According to others, however, his successor now ruled at Rome. Whichever it was, he granted to Henry a "*Bull*" for conquering Ireland, in which he artfully declares that "all islands converted to Christianity were the property of the Roman see," thus craftily *claiming* England while seeming to *give* Ireland!

[1] "Pictorial History of England," pp. 449—452, 455, 456. Southey's "Book of the Church," pp. 71—110.

[2] "Pictorial History of England," p. 450.

You will remember I have stated already, how the Danes in Ireland, on their conversion, had sent to England for their holy orders, rather than take them from the Irish whom they had fought with. Besides this, the once pure and established Church of Ireland had been greatly injured by the oppression of her princes and nobles, while her priests and people had "left their first love." It was not then a difficult matter, after conquering Ireland, for Henry to decree in a council at Cashel, that the Church of Ireland should be conformed to that of England. Thus did Ireland temporally and spiritually yield to British ascendancy, and fell, in proportion as England fell, before the craft of Rome![1]

A third foolish crusade took place in 1187. Two years later Richard I., son of Henry, became King of England, and the beautiful "*Early English style*" of architecture dates from this period, lasting (including the *transition* period at the end) through one hundred and eighteen years. More accurately, the reign of Richard is the *Transition* period from Norman to Early English, which was perfected a little later. Great cruelties were practised on the Jews at this time,—fearful massacres of them being extremely common. With the last year of the twelfth century (1199) John, brother of Richard, ascended the throne. A weak, worthless man, he was destined at once to complete the degradation of his country, and withal to become unwittingly the beginning of a far greater advance, in its laws and liberties.

Langton was archbishop. He is said to be the first person who divided the Bible into chapters. John and the Pope having quarrelled, John was excommunicated. The wily act of Pope Hadrian, in the reign of Henry II., now discovers itself. The Pope, taking advantage of the weak and pitiful character of John, claims England as his own, deposes John, and favours the barons! Langton swears the barons in London to maintain the Charter of Henry I., to be true to one another, and to conquer or die in support of liberty.

John submits to the Pope, surrenders the kingdom to him, and receives it back as fief to the see of Rome! But still, let it be remembered, this was AN UNCONSTITUTIONAL ACT, being done without the knowledge or consent of the barons.

MAGNA CHARTA.

The influence of Rome had now probably reached its height in England. In the next three hundred years it maintained that mighty and crafty influence; but its power was often disputed, and never, I

[1] Canon Wordsworth's Occasional Sermons, Fourth Series, known as "History of the Irish Church," a book which every clergyman and statesman ought to read, p. 104, etc. Mant's "History," Second Edition, vol. i., p. 3.

believe, was it constitutionally established.[1] The court of Rome changed sides now, against the barons, but Langton continued true to them, and they remained resolute, and in A.D. 1215 Magna Charta was signed in Runnymede. In 1257 the University of Cambridge was either founded, or was greatly enlarged. In 1265 the Commons were first admitted into Parliament, under Henry III. His son, the great Edward I., succeeded him in 1272, and his reign was the period of *transition* from the Early English to the "*Decorated style*" of architecture, the most beautiful style of all, and which flourished through the reigns of his successors, Edward II. and III., and is often known as "*the Edwardian*" period. In his reign lived that great divine, Roger Bacon; and when, after the death of Edward I., and of his son, Edward II., the grandson, Edward III., reigned, John Wycliffe, Fellow of Merton College, Oxford, and afterwards Rector of Lutterworth, began to expose the errors of the clergy, many of whom were improper characters, and especially the unholy doctrines which under Romish craftiness had been gradually instilled amongst them. Wickliff (Wy=cliffe, born at a place of that name on the Greta, in Yorkshire) lived into the reign of Richard II., son of

[1] See the Appendix, containing Anglo-Saxon Dooms, and many Statutes, Provisors, etc., in that valuable work, Brogden's "Catholic Safeguards." (Edit. 1851.) Note especially, pp. 585—587, 592, 593, Laws of King William the Conqueror; and where William II. appoints Anselm, Archbishop of Canterbury, A.D. 1087. See indeed the whole of that excellent work, (3 Vols. 8vo. John Murray, London,) from whose pages, however, I must give a few extracts.

Vol. iii., p. 54, William I. "Hurbert, y^r legate, came to me, warning me, from y^r Holiness, that I should do fealty unto you, and to y^r successors, and warning me also to consider better of that money [*this was Peter Pence, which consisted of* '*voluntary alms given to the Church of Rome, partly for the use of some English church* '*there erected, partly for the relief of English pilgrims and travellers who came* '*thither*,'—'Brogden,' p. 79] which my ancestors used to send to the Romish Church. 'I have yielded to the one, I have not yielded to the other. I neither would do fealty to you, neither will I.'"....

(p. 56.) Henry II. "called a great assembly at Clarendon, in which was confirmed the ancient customs, that no archbishop, bishop, or other person of this kingdom, might go out of this realm (to wit, to the Pope) without the king's leave." Any appeal was from the archbishop to the king.

(p. 57.) Edward I. Complaint is made, that the Bishop of Rome usurping the seigneries in ecclesiastical dignities and benefices, such oppressions shall not be from henceforth suffered.

(p. 59.) Statutes (in Edward III.) to restrain the usurpation of Rome.

(p. 61.) When, in the reign of Henry VI., "the Pope wrote letters in derogation of the king and his regality, and whereas Churchmen durst not speak against it, Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester, cast them in the fire.

(p. 61.) In Henry VIIIth's reign the Papal usurpation was utterly extirpated.

(p. 63.) "Thus, from the Conquest to the beginning of Queen Elizabeth, the Pope's sovereignty hath been ever rejected by this most renowned kingdom."

I would add, many of the errors of Rome abounded, and took fast hold on many; but, from time to time, there seem ever to have been some more or less protesting against them.

Edward the Black Prince (and grandson of Edward III.); and when the Pope ordered Wycliffe to be imprisoned, John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster, and others interfered and saved him.

Wycliffe and the Lollards.

A society of men were sent out by Wycliffe as itinerant preachers, called Lollards, who were often cruelly persecuted. Wycliffe translated the Bible into the English language as then spoken, and preached boldly against Transubstantiation. He retired to his rectory, and spent his later years in writing against the abuses and corruptions in the Church, (but not against the Church, as some would represent, for he ministered and preached in it all his days, and received its tythes, etc.,) till the day of his death. The good providence of God is seen in raising up Wycliffe at this time. A man less resolute would have made no impression. A man of his determination and opinions might in later days have carried reformation into deformation and revolution.[1]

The "*Perpendicular style*" of architecture began about 1377, and continued about one hundred and sixty-eight years. It is inferior in richness to the decorated, and in elegance to the Early English. It has, however, some fine features, and some of the roofs of this style and period are remarkably beautiful.

With a spirit of reformation was developed a spirit of persecution by the opposers of reform, *i.e.*, the Papistical party. Great sufferings were endured in these days, and many were burnt for heresy; and when, in 1485, Henry VII. came to the throne, the minds of men were ripening in opinion for any events which should enable them to unfetter themselves from the mental servility by which Romanism had enchained them, and so their Church.

Henry the VIIIth a Papist, but obliged in some things to yield to the advance of Reformation.

In the reign then of his son and successor, Henry VIII., some of those events arose. Henry the VIIIth was not a religious man, but licentious and self-willed. He lived and died a Papist in doctrine, and was a Reformer, or Protestant, only as far as Popery thwarted his selfishness, and the rising spirit of the age obliged him. His lust was the great spring of his actions. With all this, the time was come for reformation. Martin Luther was thundering forth the truth in Germany, Tyndale was translating the Scriptures into the English, and when Wolsey, the Popish cardinal, and Chancellor of

[1] Admirably shown in Blunt's "Reformation," p. 86.

England, was disgraced by Henry, there were plenty of clergy ready in convocation to acknowledge Henry supreme earthly head of the Church. Four years later the three estates of the realm, the lords spiritual, the lords temporal, and the commons, did the same. In 1536 many clergymen were found anxious for yet further reform, while others opposed it. It was not likely that the Reformation would be the work of a few months, or even years. If it began in the reign of Henry VIII. it was not completed till after a struggle of nearly one hundred years, through the reigns of Edward VI., and of Mary, and of Elizabeth. The principles of the Reformation began however some years before Henry VIII., and were perfected when the Church regained (changes in circumstances excepted) her original freedom and position in England. In A.D. 1536 a Bible was put up, and chained for safety, in every church. Fresh translations were published, and people flocked to the readings. Three years later the Act for the Suppression of Monasteries was passed, when great good, and some harm, was effected. This needs explanation. We have seen that monasteries existed long before Augustine came from Rome, as at Bangor, and at many places where the Culdee monks dwelt. Monasteries consisted of colleges, or collections of men of professing Christianity who were (usually) in holy orders, who lived together, both for the enjoyment of society, and at first for the sake of economy. They had many religious services in their abbeys, and gave up their time to study, to writing manuscripts before printing was known, and to ministering as missionaries around the country. In later times, especially after Papal corruptions had gained ascendancy, the monasteries became too often the scenes of great abominations. Rapacity for wealth took the place of economy, and neglect of religious duties characterized many of the monks. There were exceptions however to the last; and I doubt not, that in the resurrection day, some pious monks will be found to have reposed, amidst many obloquies, in the quiet ruins of our dismantled monasteries.[1] It had become a shameful custom among the monks to obtain possession of many parishes, and to appropriate to themselves the rector's tithes and emoluments. In order, however, to supply the spiritual wants of the people of the parishes, they usually put a man in the parish, to whom the small tythes were given, the monks taking the great tythe to themselves. This man, then, was *vicariously* placed, that is, *vice*, or *in the place of*, the rector. Hence he obtained the name of "Vicar." It is much to be lamented, I think, that all the monasteries were dissolved. Far better had it been to

[1] The idea of restoring some of these places, as retreats for a number of aged and worn-out clergymen, has already been suggested by more than one writer, and, may we not hope, will yet be accomplished. See "Camb. Ch. Cong.," p. 128.

have "cleansed" them of their impurities, and made them schools of religious instruction. But human reforms are never perfect. They too often cure by annihilation. The remedy is *effectual*, but it is *destructive*. But, any how, the monasteries were dissolved. You would have thought that the wealth which the monks had gained from the rectories being, beyond any dispute then, church property, it would have been restored to the pious purposes for which it was at first given. Unhappily, and most unjustly, it was given away to *private persons*, for their own private uses! Never was a greater act of spoliation![1] There was no more of right or justice in the proceeding, than there would be in seizing on any other property. Hence it is that *some* of our large and important parishes are now very badly endowed. Hence it is that many clergymen have to struggle against poverty all their days. In the commencement of the yet blessed and great Reformation, the Church was robbed of a large portion of her property. All the tithes thus taken from the Church are now called "*tithes impropriated*." Some men try to assert that this proceeding would justify the Government seizing the Church property now. The argument is quite as sound as that because Dick Turpin robbed you once he had a right to rob you again! Of late years some of this rectorial property has been restored to the Church *as a free gift*. Some has been sold for Church endowments at a low rate by the owners; and a most valuable society (*the Tithe Redemption Trust*)[2] every year becomes the means of restoring a portion of these tithes to the Church.

In 1545 the English Book of Common Prayer was published. It was compiled almost entirely from ancient prayers and offices of the earliest periods of Christianity. George Wishart, a man of deep piety, but very extreme views, was cruelly burnt to death for his religion in Scotland. The period of *Perpendicular architecture ceases*; many changes in the mode of buildings are introduced, and *a very debased style* prevails, and has continued almost ever since, though of late years good taste has taken us back to better styles of building.

When, in 1546, Edward VI. succeeded his father, the Reformation made yet further progress, and there were not wanting symptoms of those extremities in opinion, which in after years worked much evil, and which brought about those dissensions which are now so deplorable and pernicious. In Scotland the Reformation was carried on with a violence on both sides which was discreditable to both, and Cardinal Beaton (Regent) was assassinated.

[1] Spelman's "History of Fate and Sacrilege" tells some curious tales on this subject.

[2] Office, No. 1, Adam Street, Adelphi. Annual Subscription, Five Shillings. Well deserving all possible encouragement.

The first Book of Homilies was put forth in England A.D. 1547, and children were taught the Creed, the Lord's Prayer, and the Ten Commandments. Let not children of this day think this was very little. I wish all children were taught these still; but in those days printing was a new invention, and extremely expensive, and few, except the clergy, could even read. Bonner and Gardiner, who were Roman Catholic bishops in Henry's reign, were sent to prison, under his son and successor, Edward VI., not because they were Roman Catholics, but because their political influence rendered them very dangerous men for the peace of the country. But they were not tortured or burned to death![1]

Two fresh editions of the Prayer Book were published in Edward's reign,[2] each of them having some alterations and amendment: but when Edward died, and his half-sister, Mary, reigned, she used all her influence to undo the Reformation. The Book of Common Prayer and Catechism were declared heretical. The married clergy were driven from their parishes. Gardiner, liberated from prison, persecuted the Reformers most bitterly. Several bishops, Hooper, Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer, were burned; and in her short reign of five years, two hundred and seventy-five persons were put to death, for adhering to the old faith of Christianity and the ancient Church of England.

But when Elizabeth succeeded her half-sister, Mary, Protestantism completed its work, and the Church of England was free from

[1] It was distinctly avowed by James I., that neither in his reign, nor in that of Elizabeth, was any one put to death on account of their religion, but only because they had rendered themselves traitors to the State, and unsafe to the country.

[2] *Notes on the Forms of Prayer before the Reformation.* At the time of the Reformation the forms and ceremonies used in England were different in various dioceses. See "*Concerning the Service of the Church*" at the beginning of the Book of Common Prayer.

It appears (Bingham's Ant., vol. i., p. 111) that every bishop had the right, in the early days of the Church at large, to form his own Liturgies.

Most likely the Liturgy first used in England was borrowed from the Gallican, which had been in use in Spain and Gaul from a remote period. Doubtless, Augustin and his followers would introduce the Roman Ritual (as then used) on their mission to England. That of Ireland differed seemingly from all these in some few particulars. I must remind you again, that at the time of Augustin few errors existed in the doctrines, or rituals, of Rome.—*Palmer's* "*Origines Liturgicæ*," vol. i., pp. 176, 189.

In later times the Services were pretty much adapted to those of Rome till the Reformation; and the present Prayer Book "more resembles the ancient Gal-"lican, Spanish, Egyptian, and Oriental Liturgies than the Roman." "Ro-"manists are loud in their hostility to our Liturgy."—"*Pal. Orig. Lit.*," vol. ii., pp. 1, 2.

This ought to satisfy those who try to persuade themselves and others that the Prayer Book is a part of the Romish offices. Even if it were, provided it be Scriptural, it matters not. But it is not taken from Rome.

Popery,[1] and the Prayer Book and Orders and Rites of the Church were restored. Alas! some few were still dissatisfied! Puritans began to arise and to give great trouble. They, however, differed in many things from Dissenters of our day, whose origin is yet later. The Puritans were zealous for an established church, but it must be a church of exactly their own idea! They would have others obey them, but were not disposed to give way *in the least* themselves. The unfortunate extremes to which matters were carried in Scotland greatly encouraged the Puritans in England. For it cannot be denied, on a calm review of the proceedings, that even the Reformers manifested no spirit of forbearance or charity. Urged on by the bold, pious, inflexible, but too impetuous John Knox, devastation accompanied Reformation. Some of the noblest Church buildings in the world were destroyed, and though the accomplishment of the Scotch Reformation was an undoubted blessing, it is much, and ever to be regretted, that the Reformers, with great precipitation and little reflection, established *a new thing*, viz., Presbyterianism, instead of that Episcopal form which had hitherto existed in Scotland, and which seems to me the only Scriptural form.[2] In constructing their (novel) form of Church government (for I believe Presbyterianism to be a

[1] Here let me add a note about "*pluralities*," and also about the "*repetitions*" in our Services. For some time after the Reformation there were not a sufficient number of clergy to do the work of every parish. Consequently, one clergyman held two or more livings. In order to perform his duties at both livings, he united the Communion Office with Morning Prayer. Thus what was then a *necessity* became, at length, a *custom*, though there is neither Canon nor Rubric to authorize our using these Services together. And yet is this usage of them almost the entire cause of any *repetitions* in the Service. In this way, too, the *abuses* of pluralities began, for too often the "*pluralist*" (or holder of more than a *single* living) contrived to have all his livings of the richest sort, and thus *abused* what at first was meant for a *convenience*. But this is now impossible, and though this is a matter of thankfulness, I cannot help thinking if the clergyman of a dense population in a low part of a town, with a small income, could *also* hold a country living of a very small population with a good income, under arrangements which should secure his services at each during part of every year, and which should secure that his curates should also participate in the occasional change, it would be a very excellent plan.

[2] See "Church Orders." By Presbyter. Price 2*s*. Wertheim & Co. London. Or, a very superior pamphlet, "Episcopacy, Apostolic and Primitive." By the Rev. G. D. Grundy, A.M. Price 2*d*. Morris. Oldham. It is very convincing.

"Great efforts have been made, on two or three occasions, to show that the Culdees were non-episcopal. This, however, has not been done. There are good and sound reasons for believing them to have been, in common with the whole Church, episcopal."—*Chronicles Ancient British Church*, p. 97, etc.

When, at the Reformation, several sections of the Church began on the Continent, they did so, *without episcopacy*, because they could not obtain it, and with regret. Great harm has ensued in consequence.—*Wordsworth's Occasional Sermons, Third Series*, pp. 248, 249.

On the introduction of the Gospel into Scotland see Palmer's "Lit. Orig.," vol. ii., pp. 252, 253. And on the antiquity and genuineness of our Orders see pp. 254—257. Also some admirable remarks in Townshend's "Arrangement of the New Testament," p. 170—173. *Fourth Edition*. Also, Hooker's "Polity," book vii.

novelty) in 1561, the Scotch assume to themselves all the powers of forgiving sins, which they had denied to Roman priesthood. Their forms of excommunication and absolution prove this, though it is the fashion now-a-days not to remember such things about them. But their proceedings had great influence on the Puritan party in England, who were greatly encouraged by the bold proceedings in Scotland. In Ireland, a well-meant policy of Elizabeth fearfully retarded the Reformation. Wishing the Irish to speak the English language *only*, English bishops and English clergy were chiefly appointed for Ireland. The result was disastrous. But England, in Henry the Second's day, had *thrust* Papacy on the Irish, and from the day of Elizabeth's bad policy to the present, we have been reaping the crop which we had sowed.

In 1571 Thomas Cartwright, a good and very able man, wrote strongly against the Church ceremonies. In his later years he conformed, but his early opinions spread considerably, and greatly aided Puritanism, and in A.D. 1572, or rather more than one thousand five hundred years after the introduction of Christianity, the first Dissenting meeting-house was built in England. It was Presbyterian. Thus one sort of Dissent commenced. I doubt not the piety of many of its promoters, but I doubt their prudence, their propriety, and their humility in this particular, before God. We are often told now-a-days that there is no real difference between the Church and Dissent, that we differ only about minor, insignificant points,[1] and that, therefore, we should sink them. Very good; and why not do so? If they be *so insignificant*, why make dissension about them? It seems to me that the error and wrong of Dissent is so much the greater by how much these points of difference are so insignificant! Why rend the seamless garment into shreds when it is *seamless*, as if to show it ought to be all one? Even the soldiers preferred to lose their share of it that it might not

[1] I cannot, however, conscientiously declare them to be altogether so insignificant. For instance, I cannot think it is a thing insignificant, whether you bring up your child baptized, or unbaptized. Surely *no one* would bring up an unbaptized child on the same principles as if it were baptized! I do not think any one would, on reflection, do so. Philip Henry, the pious Nonconformist, would not. Well then, it is surely *not unimportant* whether of the two be right. Is it insignificant to the man himself, is it insignificant for the people, whether the minister be rightly ordained to his ministry, or otherwise? Is it of no moment whether the Presbyter be ordained by a bishop and presbyters, or whether he be (*so to speak*) ordained by laymen, and *ruled over* by "deacons," who are themselves not properly ordained, and are inferior in order to the presbyter?

I have no wish to say hard things, but I cannot call those things insignificant, which I deem to be Scriptural and essential differences.

be rent! Why rend it, and thus too often cause great injury? I grant the Church is not spotless, or faultless, and I gladly hail the slow revival of Convocation, and of other means for improving her condition; but I may ask with confidence, if any of the constantly increasing sects of Dissenters, now some sixty-five in number, show us amongst their novelties anything as Scriptural, sound, and useful, as the Church from which they are dissenters, (for things "*non-essential*" as they say), and to which I yet trust many of them will return. Other strange opinions began to prevail. Socinus, an Italian, promulgated his errors in Poland, which afterwards spread in England, leading to the setting up of the sect called Socinians, and by some Arians, and by others Unitarians.[2]

[1] The unsatisfying nature of Dissent is proved by the fact that there are upwards of sixty different sects in England and Wales at present. Some of these sects are small, consisting of one or more congregations. But they exist, and must therefore be enumerated. These "unhappy divisions" are surely to be lamented! "Is Christ divided?" Is such division then "of Christ?"

1. General
2. Particular
3. Seventh Day
4. Scotch
5. New Connexion General

(Anabaptists)

6. Believers.
7. Benevolent Methodists.
8. Brownists, or Independents.
9. Brethren (*"Plymouth Brethren."*)
10. Calvinists.
11. Calvinists Supralapsarian
12. Christ's Disciples.
13. Dissenters.
14. Doubtful.
15. Evangelists.
16. Evangelical Protestants.
17. Episcopalian Seceders.
18. Friends (*"Quakers."*)
19. Free Gospel Christians.
20. Free Thinking Christians.
21. Free Church.
22. General
23. Gospel Pilgrims.
24. Gospel Refugees.
25. Huntingdonian.
26. Inghamites.
27. Irvingites *(Catholic Apostolic Church.)*
28. Israelites.
29. Christian Israelites.
30. Millennarians.
31. Moravians.
32. Mormons (Latter Day Saints.)
33. New Church (Swedenborgians.)
34. New Christians.
35. New Testament Christians.
36. Non Sectarian.
37. No particular denomination.
38. Orthodox Christians.
39. Original Christians.
40. Protestant Christians.
41. Protestant Free Church.
42. Primitive Christians.
43. Protestant Dissenters.
44. Predestinarians (not Protestant)
45. Roman Catholics.
46. Rational Progressionists.
47. Sandemannians, or Glassites.
48. Socinians.
49. Southcottians (Joanna)
50. Stephenites.
51. Teetotalers.
52. Temperance Wesleyans.
53. Temperance Christians.
54. Trinitarians.
55. Trinitarian Predestinarians.
56. United Christians.
57. Universalists.
58. Original
59. New Connexion
60. Primitive
61. Bible Christians
62. Association
63. Independent
64. Reformers

(Wesleyans)

65. Welch Calvinistic
66. Countess Huntingdon

(Whitfield)

However excellent many of the people belonging to these sects may be, we must all feel that this list is a sorrowful contrast to Acts iv. 22, "The multitude that believed were of one heart and of one soul;" or to 1 Cor. i. 10, "Now I beseech you, brethren, by the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, that ye all speak the same thing, and that there be no divisions among you; but that ye be perfectly joined together, in the same mind and in the same judgment."

[2] Unitarians make, in many cases, a distinction between these three divisions.

Robert Brown, the Originator of the Brownists, Independents, or Congregationalists.

In 1580 Robert Brown put forth new views on Church government and orders, contending, in fact, that any body of men could select (in spite of the New Testament teaching[1]) any man they chose to be their minister, and could ordain him, to preach and administer the Sacraments (!) Strangely enough, this man afterwards conformed, and was presented to the Vicarage of Achurch, in Northamptonshire. He was, however, not a man of high principle, and was a credit neither to the sect he originated, who have possessed, and still possess, many far better men, nor to the Church to which he conformed. This was the beginning of the Brownists, afterwards calling themselves Independents, and of later days Congregationalists. It is curious, however, that while Independents adhere to Brown's errors (for I cannot use a milder term) in reference to ordination, and fancy they can, and do, ordain their teachers; their teachers generally hold another opinion, and (following the Presbyterians) require the presence and ministrations of other ministers to "*ordain*" them! A tacit compliance with both schemes compromises the matter;[2] the *people* believing *they* ordain their teacher (a case without precedent in the Bible, and for seventeen centuries) while their teacher believes that *he* is ordained by his

[1] Apostles were chosen by Christ, and, after His Ascension, the Church *ordained* them. (Acts i. 23—26; Acts xiii. 1—3; Gal. i. 1).	Bishops (their successors) were set apart by the Apostles. (1 Tim. i. 3, 4.) Instructions to him as Bishop, chap. ii. to end. Especially note chap. v. 1. (Titus i. 5.)	Presbyters or Priests were ordained by the Apostles or Bishops. (Acts xiv. 23; 1 Tim. iii. 2; Titus i. 5.)	Deacons were by the Apostles or Bishops. (Acts vi. 3, 6; 1 Tim. iii. 12.)

See also Bingham's Ant., vol. i., pp. 50—104.

There is not an instance in the New Testament of any congregation choosing their own ministers, much less of ordaining him. And so in the Church of England, the patron of a living must select a man *already ordained* by a bishop, to fill any church in his disposal.

On these subjects see "Treatise on the Church of Christ." By the Rev. W. Palmer, vol. i., pp. 132—145. Third Edition. Also, in Wordsworth's "Christian Institutes," vol. iii., under "The Authority of a Threefold Ministry." By W. Hey, Esq. "The Apostolical Institution of Episcopacy Demonstrated." From the Works of William Chillingworth. "Bishop Sanderson's Judgment Concerning the Divine Right of Episcopacy." "Du Moulin and Bishop Andrews on Episcopacy." Notice, in connexion with Acts xiv. 23 and 1 Tim. v. 22, our Collects for Ember Week.

[2] See "Church Orders," p. 20, Note. Also a clever article in the "Christian Advocate," for June, 1862, entitled, "Who is a Dissenting Minister?"

brother teachers (though it may well be questioned when and where *their* authority began).

In 1591 Queen Elizabeth granted a charter to Trinity College, Dublin, which has since become famous as one of the Universities of the United Kingdom.

In 1594 the "judicious" Richard Hooker published his "Ecclesiastical Polity," partly in answer to Cartwright, and in defence of the doctrine, and discipline, and ceremonies of the Church of England. It has never been answered. Perhaps it is not too much to say that it is unanswerable, while for dignity and holiness it is almost without a rival.[1] The second year of the seventeenth century (1602) saw James I., son of the unhappy Mary Queen of Scots, on the throne. Two years later a conference was held at Hampton Court, to revise the Prayer Book, when a few alterations were made, and Convocation framed a body of canons (rules) for the direction of the clergy.

In 1605 a conspiracy was discovered, known as the Gunpowder Plot, to blow up the Houses of Parliament at their next assembling, and which was attributed to the Popish faction who were still busy and powerful[2]. James had been brought up in *now* Presbyterian Scotland, and the Puritans hoped that under his rule they would meet with some encouragement. So long as Elizabeth ruled they had found little favour. Archbishop Grindal, it is true, did all he could to secure toleration for them, and was suspended by the Queen in consequence (he died almost directly after), but Whitgift, his successor, too readily fell in with the Queen's wish to put down Puritanism by coercion. Many of the Puritans were pious men, and up to 1572, not one of them ventured to quit the communion of the Church. Their chief objections referred to the wearing of *vestments*, which they confounded with Papacy, because Papists had worn them! As well might they have objected to baptism or prayer, or to reading the Gospel because Papists did these things! King James, I regret to say, treated them with contempt; and many of them emigrated to the continent, and thence afterwards to America.

INCONSISTENCY OF "THE PILGRIM FATHERS." THESE SUFFERERS OF INTOLERANCE BECAME INTOLERANT THEMSELVES WHEN THEY HAD THE POWER.

They had not received toleration in England, which of course is to be lamented; but it must be added, they were in all their peculiar opinions remarkably obstinate (even to stubbornness), and difficult to deal with. But, far from being opposed to church establishments,

[1] Bridge's "Christian Ministry," p. 38.

[2] One of the Conspirators, Oldcorn, was canonized a Saint by the Romish Church. "Pictorial History of England," p. 31.

they warmly supported them; only they wished the establishment to be entirely on their own model. In America they had every opportunity of *showing* that toleration they had failed to *obtain* here. Landing in a country almost unoccupied, and with a resolution to carry on all they did as a religious deed, they commenced a sort of Church polity very similar to Presbyterianism. But no people ever showed more intolerance. They entrapped and destroyed a whole race of Indians in a most savage way, or rather in a way peculiar to themselves, praying and fasting before the deed, and giving thanks to God afterwards! Quakers, who went over to America, were treated with cruel rigour, fined and banished if found guilty of "Quakerism." Some were even hanged for returning, as they thought, under the influence of God's Spirit! Banishment was inflicted on any one who ventured to read the Book of Common Prayer; and it must be owned, that no men, calling themselves Christians, ever displayed more stolidity in cruelty when they reached America, than did those sufferers of intolerance in England. Their successors are now, I believe, almost without exception, Socinians or Unitarians.

When, in 1625, Charles I. succeeded his father, he endeavoured to force the Scots to recognize episcopacy (the rule of bishops). It ever had been the church order in Scotland till John Knox's time. Episcopacy is scriptural and apostolical, but ought not to have been *forced* on any one, and the attempt was as unsuccessful as that of Presbyterians, a few years later, to force Presbyterianism on England. After many and fruitless disputings, the Scots, in 1638, bound themselves by a solemn league and covenant to keep Presbyterianism as it is. Disagreement also began between the King and the House of Commons. The latter wished to rule England themselves, and forced Charles to consent to the execution of Lord Strafford. On the other hand Charles was too desirous to rule like an Emperor, not reign like a King. The dispute becoming more violent, war ensued, and in A.D. 1642, the first battle occurred at Edge Hill. And now began a time of anarchy and trouble which we ought to pray may never recur. It was an awful period, and for which all parties are blameworthy. They certainly did not understand one another. Ten bishops were sent to the Tower, the clergy were turned out of their livings under the *pretended* charge of *immorality*, their crime consisting in some thousands of cases in their having been episcopally ordained, and in supporting the King. Many were cast into prison, and many died of want. Of several thousands thus cast out, only one hundred were proved and *recorded as immoral*, in the true sense of the word: but if they had been 500,

this was not the way to reform the Church. But the truth is, that another object was in view. Another motive was at work. Under the specious pretext of "*improving the Church*, and *making her more useful*"—under the pretext of wishing *to extend godliness;* (MARK THAT!!! because it is an oft-used argument now) all, or nearly all, the Church ministers were put out, and Presbyterians, Independents, Ana-baptists[1] and ministers of other sorts and sects, and not a few laymen, were put in! This was the "*improvement*"! This was done by the Commons House of Parliament, and was not a constitutional act. It was one of the first results of their usurping the whole power of government.

In 1647, after many heartburnings and mutual recriminations. Charles entrusted himself to the protection of the Scotch, amongst whom he was born, but he and they did not agree together; and they sold him to the House of Commons for £400,000, which they had claimed in respect of war expenses. The English army now obtained the sway, and ruled in spite of the Parliament. Oliver Cromwell now became conspicuous. In 1649 Charles was beheaded at Whitehall. The sufferings of the clergy at this time were immense. In some instances *one-fifth* of the *whole* of that which they had a right to was promised, but *was seldom given*. They were forbidden even to teach in a public or private school; and to read the Book of Common Prayer was punished by imprisonment[2]. The Common-

[1] Ana-baptists, because they baptize AGAIN (in Greek ανα) those who have been baptized in infancy. Usually they call themselves "Baptists," but "Ana-baptists" is the correct term, unless we allow that infant baptism is not baptism, which of course we do not.

[2] The Puritans, in the day of their power, had undoubtedly given cruel provocation.... "They interdicted under heavy penalties the use of the Book of Common "Prayer, not only in churches, but even in private houses. It was a crime in a "child to read by the bedside of a sick parent one of those beautiful collects which "had soothed the griefs of forty generations of Christians. Severe punishments "were denounced against such as presume to blame the Calvanistic mode of wor-"ship." Macauley, p. 160. Macauley says (p. 161), "The Puritan hated bear-bait-"ing, not because it gave pain to the bear, but because it gave pleasure to the "spectators. Indeed, he generally contrived to enjoy the double pleasure of tor-"menting both spectators and bear."—"Hume (vol. vii. p. 166, Hughes' Edition) "The severities exercised against the Episcopal Clergy naturally affected the Roy-"alists, and even all men of candour, in a sensible manner; by the most moderate "computation, it appears that above one-half of the established clergy had been "turned out to beggary and want, for no other crime than their adhering to the civil "and religious principles in which they had been educated....But what excited the "most universal complaint was, the unlimited tyranny and despotic rule of the "country committees....instead of one star chamber, which had been abolished, a "greater number were anew erected, fortified with better pretences, and armed with "more unlimited authority." He says (vol. vi., p. 296) of THE COMMITTEES OF SCANDALOUS MINISTERS, "They began with harassing, imprisoning, and molesting "the clergy; and ended with sequestrating and ejecting them: in order to join

wealth did not bring *common weal* to all. Every new sect and party in religion strove for the mastery, and persecution was rife against all who were not strong enough to persecute in return. The endurance of the Quakers (one of the many new sects which then sprang up) will be a disgrace to that age as long as its history is known; and none urged this on more fiercely than the Presbyterians and Independents, who then governed the House of Commons and the army.

When, in 1660, Charles II. returned, every clergyman who had been turned out of his charge was allowed, under certain conditions, to return. Many, very many, were no longer there to avail themselves of the opportunity. The *death rate* in that fearful age of trouble and suffering would doubtless be very great; and several *hundreds* only, returned to their old possessions and duties. Amongst those who returned was the old Vicar of Kidderminster, so that Baxter, who had enjoyed that living for several years, was obliged to leave it. He was offered, however, the bishoprick of Hereford.

The Act of Uniformity, 1662.

The next year but one, 1662, a few slight alterations were made in the Prayer Book, and it was necessary to do something to secure uniformity in the Church. For all the livings which had not in 1660 been claimed by the original clergy were still in the hands of men who had been brought in during the rebellion. Accordingly, *The Act of Uniformity* was passed; which allowed any of the men then in possession to remain so, if they were or would become Churchmen; for it was not right they should minister in the Church and take her payments, if they did not hold her sentiments. They had three months for deliberation; and on the 24th August several hundreds left their livings rather than conform to the terms of the act, which required them to receive episcopal ordination, to assent and consent to all and everything, then[1] in the Book of Common

"contumely to cruelty, they gave the sufferers the epithet of 'scandalous,' and "endeavoured to render them as odious as they were miserable: the greatest vices "however which they could reproach to a great part of them, were, bowing at the "name of Jesus, placing the Communion table in the east, reading the King's orders "for sports on Sunday, and other practices, which the established government both "in Church and State had strictly enjoined them." (P. 167.) "The sanctified hypocrites, who called these oppressions, 'the spoiling of the Egyptians.'" I will not, however, withhold my conviction, that many of the Puritans were men of personal piety, while it is equally undoubted that many of them were far otherwise. Thomas Edwards, a Presbyterian minister of those times, in his "Gangræna," attests many cases of great uncleanness among many of the Independents and Sectaries. *e. g.*, Part iii. p. 18 (Edition 1646), or p. 188.

[1] "There was in the ordinances abolishing the Book of Common Prayer," *(i.e.*, during the Rebellion) "and in the measures they occasioned, something so offensive "to the consciences of many devout persons, so tyrannical in the estimation of reasonable men, and so profane in the licentiousness of public worship, which

Prayer, and of course to renounce the league and covenant by which they had declared they would do all in their power to uproot prelacy (that is, episcopacy). Clearly *some guarantee* was necessary, and if the terms of this act were needlessly strict (as perhaps they were) who can wonder at their strictness, when they think on the cruel doings of the Nonconformists and their party during the previous seventeen years? The number who left is variously computed. It is called two thousand. Probably fifteen hundred is pretty near the mark. A much larger remained in the Church, and conformed; so that if some of these men did not conform to the terms, the greater part saw no difficulty in it. The Nonconformists suffered in some cases very severely, which of course is lamentable; yet it must be remembered they left that which they never had a right to; and we must not forget how the rightful clergy had been persecuted when they were unjustly deprived of their livings. A few hundred places of meeting were erected for these Nonconformists to minister in, but some attended church, and brought up their sons to be clergymen in it. Stringent laws tended to restrain them from increasing their places rapidly. Yet not so stringent but that some of their best men consented to them, and preached in the new meeting houses. Even these laws were enacted for political reasons, and not by the Church; for the civil power, alarmed at what they had done in the time of Charles I., were resolved to hold such men in check for the future. A recent lecturer (a Dissenter) however, is reported in the newspapers to have stated that in 1672, 3,500 places were licensed for the Dissenters to preach in. I fancy that in this calculation there must be a great blunder; if not, since Dissenters show that in 1829 they had but 2,435 meeting houses, they must have lost over one thousand during the intervening period, which is not likely. Nearly all the places built for the "ejected" ministers are now SOCINIAN, and a Socinian minister has stated lately that "Unitarians are more their descendants in various ways than any other religious body in the country.

In Scotland Charles II. endeavoured to force Episcopacy in a most unfortunate way, and failed; the covenanters who resisted him, however, showing a spirit as lacking in true principles of piety as that which marked the proceedings of the men they opposed. They murdered Sharpe (Archbishop of St. Andrew's) in a manner perfectly atrocious, quoting Scripture as they did the bloody deed.

"followed as their natural consequence, that, as soon as the Presbyterian feeling "began to subside, the wish for a prescribed ritual returned with additional strength, "and the prohibited Liturgy was regarded with a degree of veneration such as is felt "for a saint who had suffered martyrdom."—*Stephens'* "*Book of Common Prayer*." Introduction, p. clxviii.

[1] Lecture at Wakefield, on Sunday, 13th April, 1862, by Mr. Goodwyn Barmby.

When James II. succeeded his brother Charles, it soon became evident he was a Papist, and seven bishops were sent by him to the Tower to be tried for treason, because they objected to a "declaration of indulgence," which really had for its object the re-introduction of Popery, and they kept true to the old Church of England.[1] They were acquitted amid the acclamations of the people; and James, soon after, was obliged to abdicate, and was succeeded by his daughter Mary and her husband William III. Many relaxations of laws affecting Dissenters were effected in their reign, the circumstances which at first suggested the need of such laws (whether truly or not) no longer continuing. In 1691, the Society for promoting Christian Knowledge was established.[2] It is the oldest religious society in England, if we except the Corporation of the Sons of the Clergy, which is just twenty years older. Then followed, in 1701, the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts:[3] and, in 1704, "Queen Anne's Bounty" was commenced. Its history is just this. In the days when, as I have stated, the Papal power had great influence here, the clergy were accustomed to make a payment of the first fruits of their livings on entering on them to the Pope. This disgrace began, I believe, in the reign of John. In addition, the clergy gave a tenth part of their living. At the Reformation, these sums were improperly seized by the Crown, which had no more right to them than the Pope. Queen Anne felt this, and established a charter, by which the receipts from these sources are vested in trustees, who receive from all ancient livings the first fruits and tenths of them, and appropriate them to assist the poorer livings of the Church. This is Queen Anne's Bounty, but *all the funds are from Church property.*

The Revolution of 1688. Supineness of the Church. Multiplication of Dissenters' Meeting Houses.

From the time of William III. however, and onward for many years, a gradual torpor crept over the Church and almost suffocated it. With the great increase of population, now over five millions, no increase was attempted in the number of churches or ministers. Immense difficulties seemed to obstruct the few who would have promoted Church extension; and though Dissenters increased very considerably in numbers, and built many chapels, it was rather on account of the supineness of the Church than from any love for Dissent that the increase took place. In the succeeding period (the

[1] "Pictorial History of England," 790; Southey's "Book of the Church," 445—453.

[2] It has increased enormously, and is one of the most excellent institutions of the day.

[3] It is the great Mission Society to our Colonies, and deserves support. Income about £80,000 a year.

Georgian age) matters did not improve. Religion slumbered, and it almost slept the sleep of death. Whether in the Church, or amongst Dissenters, lethargy prevailed, and the sects continued to increase simply because the growth of population was not provided for by the formation of new parishes and churches.[1] The Church had forgotten the principles of its origin. Had she acted on them and increased her parishes, her ministers, and her churches, it had been well for England and the world. As to Dissenters, though they increased in numbers, still, "After the death of Dr. Doddridge in 1751, and Dr. "Lardner in 1768, we look in vain for names of any lustre to light "up to the dreary interval between the period at which Dr. "Calamy's memoir breaks off, and the close of the century; except, "indeed, a few which shed a baleful gleam. The most eminent "Dissenter of the reign of George the Third was *Dr. Priestly*," a scientific man, very clever, and at last, a Unitarian.[2] Amidst this apathy, however, three pious men started to their feet and startled their country. Whitfield and the two Wesleys, in 1738, organized societies *within the Church of England to promote religion.* Originally the movement arose within the Church, and it is to be sadly lamented that the zeal of the men had not entirely discovered itself there. But there was much to oppose them, and they could not endure this. They ought to have been encouraged, and would be now, but they were opposed, not indeed by the Church, but by too many Church people. It takes a long time to set a large vessel in motion, but when once moving, it keeps on a long time. It is a pity these three men of piety had not thought on this. They found it easier to quit *(to some extent)* the Church, and to set a much smaller vessel in motion, than to wait and move this far larger one. Great good, however, was effected by them. They kindled a flame where fire never existed before, and they fanned the almost extinct embers of the Church itself by a side wind. I believe, had they kept their energies within the Church, they might not have seen effects so rapid as they did see, but then those effects would, I conceive, have been far more solid, permanent, and extensive. The whole body of Christians would have been far more united than now. It would not have been so true as it, alas! now is "There are divisions among you." These three pious and devoted men preached with astonishing fervour and success in England and America. They formed two separate bodies, whereof Whitfield may *(I suppose)* be regarded among the Lady Huntingdon's connexion, and the Welch Calvinistic. Many schisms from the old Wesleyan connexion have

[1] Population: George I. 5,345,351; George II. 6,039,684; George III. 7,814,827; in 1811, 10,164,256; George IV. 12,000,236.

[2] "Eclectic Review," 1832, p. 103, a leading Dissenting Magazine.

from time to time occurred, so that at the present time there are at least seven different kinds of Wesleyans.[1] J. Wesley, in his last days, as well as throughout life, avowed his attachment to the Church, of which he declared himself a member; and his instructions provided that all Wesleyans should attend Church for baptism and the Lord's Supper at the least, and should not hold meetings during the hours of divine service at Church. Had John Wesley lived in our day, I am persuaded he would have been an active minister in, and ornament of, the Church of England. In 1772, Emmanuel Swedenborg founded a new sect called Swedenborgians in "New Jerusalem Church."

In 1781, Sunday Schools were commenced. The intention of them was excellent, and good has resulted from them, though far less than was expected. The unhappy neglect of the clergy during the days of lethargy I have mentioned, had led to an omission of a lively course of catechising in the Church, and this gave occasion to what has not yet proved so useful as the other might have been. The great thing now will be, to render the Sunday School a preparation class for catechising and for confirmation.[2] The century

[1] There is about one officer of *some* kind among every seven Wesleyans (three men and four women). Dr. Hume's "Address at Newcastle-on-Tyne," March 24, 1862.

[2] Isaac Taylor, in his "Wesley and Methodism," p. 63, says, "But where there is no "church, where children are not thought of as members of Christ, and where they "come under no discipline as such, the rite of baptism administered in infancy is a "five minutes' operation, profitless, perplexing, unintelligible, and out of harmony, "as well with the Christian scheme, as with the system under which it takes place." This remarkable passage leads me to observe, too, how much wrong to themselves and to us Dissenters often commit, by quoting mere isolated passages of the Prayer Book, or by misinterpreting the meaning of words. It is as unfair (just to give *one* example out of many) to assert that the Church teaches that the body and blood of Christ are verily and indeed taken and received in the Lord's Supper (last question but two in The Catechism), as it would be to declare that St. Peter asserts that *baptism is salvation* (1 Pet. iii. 21) or that St. Paul says *that hope is salvation* (Rom. viii. 24), or that St. James and St. Paul *contradict* one another. (Romans iii. 28, and St. James ii. 24.) Every one feels that, in the words of our 17th and 18th articles, "we must receive God's promises as they be generally set forth in Holy Scripture, and it is not lawful for the Church to expound one place of scripture, so that it be repugnant to another." Surely no less may be demanded in interpreting Church doctrines. Let the passage quoted be taken with article 28, or with the Communion Office, and all is perfectly clear and simple. Just so with the meaning of words. Is it not a known truth that Regeneration has been used for ages to signify *a change of state*, and never till some moderns here thought proper to give it that meaning, *a change of heart?* And I must add the observation I have frequently noticed, that Dissenting writers on baptism, who are content with the *negative view, i.e.* with asserting that baptism is *not* this and is *not* the other), get on easily enough. But when any of them attempt to write *affirmatively* on the subject, or are pressed to say, what are the benefits of baptism, they invariably declare very strong things about it. I have read, within the week, copies of two little works, given me by two friends. The one, called "The Sacrament of Responsibility," by the Rev. M. F. Sadler, (Bell and Daldy, 6d) and which would probably be called the *high* view. The other, called "Infant Baptism," by the Rev. Charles J. Brown, of Edinburgh, (John Maclaren, Edinburgh, 6d.) and which

closed with the establishment of that now enormous and noble society known as the Church Missionary Society. Its present income is £160,000 a year, and God has marvellously brought on and blessed it. In 1804 the Bible Society was founded. Three years later the Society for Promoting Christianity among the Jews; and in 1811, the National Society for the Education of the Poor.

In 1814, died one Joanna Southcott, who strangely enough had deluded many with a belief that of her Shiloh would be born; and and what is stranger still, some followers of her delusion are yet existing.

In 1815, the Bishopric of Calcutta was founded, since which two other bishoprics have been erected in India, and two or three more, at least, ought soon to follow.

The British Parliament, in 1818, granted a million of money towards building more churches. This is (I regret to say) about the only instance of Parliament granting money for church purposes; and even this money was not derived from taxation. Some have argued that because government did this, it can claim all the churches in England!! Why, has not Government, for some years past, been giving grants in aid of school buildings? Does that give it a right to claim those buildings? On the contrary, does it not require that in every case, the deed of conveyance shall specifically convey the property to a corporation, binding it to educate on the principles which that corporation are presumed to represent? Just so, I conceive, ought the Government to act now in church building. If the young need instruction, do not the old? If schools are wanted for youth, are churches not wanting for all? It will not occur, I fear, but it would be *only a fulfilment of its duty* if our Government were to encourage church extension by some such grants year by year.[1] However, hitherto, in the history of the Church, her churches have been built and endowed, almost entirely without such assistance, and the spirit of church extension which dawned with the beginning of this century will, I trust, break out in yet greater splendour, till the Church of England become again what she once was, large enough for all, and with ministers for all.

In 1826, Edward Irving, a Scotch Presbyterian minister, left the Presbyterians, and the "Catholic and Apostolical Church" was the result of his labours.

would probably be called the *low* view. Yet I verily believe they mean the same thing, only that the former applies home his view affirmatively, while in the other, also a very nice work, there seems to be an attempt at guarding against an inevitable result. Of course, I may be mistaken herein, but such is my impression; and without holding any high view of baptism myself, I cannot but see the straits they are driven to, who have no *affirmative* view whatever upon it, when pressed by the question, "*Then, what is the good of Baptism?*"

[1] See Isaiah xlix. 23.

In 1829, the Catholic Emancipation Act was passed, and the British Parliament ceased to be exclusively Protestant. In 1833, a commission for the better distribution of church property in England began, and has continued to the present time. Probably it has done good, and is in a fair way of effecting more good: but its expenses (which are paid out of the Church property) are enormous.

Unfortunate Suppression of Bishoprics in Ireland. A hopeful Reaction on this subject.

In 1833, ten bishoprics were suppressed in Ireland, a most deplorable and injurious proceeding, but which has happily led to a reaction of sentiment on the subject of bishoprics in general, which has greatly increased the number in the colonies, and will ere long do the same at home.[1] In 1836, the Church Pastoral Aid Society was formed, followed by a similar society (Additional Curates) the next year. This age is peculiar for acting by means of "Societies," but it seems to me that it is a result of the langour which prevailed so long in the Church, and that they will ultimately give place to more solid methods of promoting church extension, in a systematic way, existing in every parish and through which contributions for all missionary purposes will, *as a matter of course*, be made. For, just as the acorn may be said to contain the oak which shall spring from it; so the Church, *wherever it is planted*, should display the *propagating principle*, and proceed, in a missionary spirit, to *extend* still further.[2]

Many things in the present day are exceedingly hopeful for the Church of the country, while not a few things tend to make one anxious. Thus, in 1858, the Jews were allowed seats in the House of Commons, whereby the British Legislature ceased to be any longer *exclusively* a Christian Legislature! Surely such changes as those of 1829 and 1858, whether forced on us as "expedient," or not, should make one anxious when we remember, "Doubtless there is a God that judgeth in the earth." Again, the growing spirit of secularism, if not checked, will produce great disasters to the country, and hitherto it appears to advance rather than to retrograde.

But amidst all this, whoever contemplates even this brief history of the Church, will see many causes of encouragement. It is true, that a history, whether of a church or nation, must consist rather of

[1] See Bingham's Ant., vol. iii. p. 222—6 on this, valuable. Also, Ch. Congr. Cambridge, pp. 55—77. Also, "Report of Committee of the Lower House to Convocation," Ecclesiastical Gazette of March, p. 236. Also, 26th Henry VIII. cap. 14

[2] St. Paul did not approve of collections under the exciting influences of the the *celebrated* man or *popular* preacher. Observe his order, 1 Cor. xvi. 1—2.

of its faults and defects than of the blessings it confers. One *verse* in the Acts tells of three thousand added to the Church, but it takes *chapters* to record the errors within, and troubles without, in those days. The Church is increasingly rooting itself in the hearts of the people, the sure road to *modern nationality*. It increases in number, at home and abroad, every day. It has at least forty-three bishoprics in the Colonies; between one and two hundred new churches are yearly erected at home. Many old churches are beautified, the accommodation of them increased yearly, and there is a strong feeling growing up in favour of a general synod, with lay representatives in *some* way; and in favour of having more bishops. Both are absolutely wanting.[1] The former, to secure the adaptation of the Church to the altered times and circumstances of the nation; the latter, to enable the bishops to do all that the increased population of England demands.[2] Much still remains to be done; many "*livings*" are only "*starvings*," chiefly owing to the alienation of tithe at the Reformation, which I described; and these ought, by the pious munificence of the people, to be augmented. Active and zealous men are wanted, and the formation of not a few new parishes would prove very beneficial. Yet the history of the past may well encourage the people of England to loyalty to their Monarch, and affection to the Church. No other land can point back to the history of her church and kings and queens for eighteen centuries! No other land (except Israel's land) has enjoyed such blessings from above as Great Britain! The history of the Church of England is an history of God's recognition of her. She grappled with heathenism and she conquered. Arianism threatened her, but Christ was with her, and she still chants the truth, "Thou art the King of Glory, O

[1] Nothing convinces me of the importance of Convocation and of an increase in the episcopate, so much as the opposition and ridicule which enemies of the Church manifest in reference to them. I would remark here, that the Church of England has been termed, and is still rightly termed, "The National Church," (Vide "Replies to Essays and Reviews," p. 199) for a thousand years. Such she will continue, but then she must adapt herself to the requirements of the day. This must be done, not by giving up one single truth or by compromising any principle, but by simply altering her machinery so far as she may do so scripturally. The Nationality of the Church in the time of Anselm and King William Rufus, and in the period of Beckett and Henry II. differed in many particulars from any nationality that is possible or desirable now. But we are not to think it was wrong in those times because it would be now impracticable. It was probably the best form of nationality then possible, and shifting with the alterations of the age. Of course now that the population is *ten times* as great as it was then, when almost every one can read and write just as in those times scarcely one in a thousand could do either, the way of the Church's nationality must be different. So, too, lay agency can be used now, even as it is more wanted than in those times; for I believe the great secret of a blessing on lay agency depends entirely, under God, in being a co-operation with the clergyman of the parish and under his guidance, instead of being without his sanction, or in opposition to it.—See *Cambridge Church Congress*, p. 140—150.

[2] Now 20,061,725 in England and Wales, nearly double what it was in 1811.

Christ; Thou art the everlasting Son of the Father!" Pelagianism sought to poison her, but Christ was with her, and still she confesses that "except any one be born again, he cannot see the kingdom of God."[1] Rome tried her subtlest blandishments; and smiled, and threatened, and wept by turns. Here for a time she was enchanted and enthralled, but she never loved her chains, and by her Saviour's strength at length she snapped them, and with a voice of thunder she protests against that apostate church: "*She has erred in matters of faith.*" She has acted on apostolical injunction and has "purged out the old leaven," and while, also, "avoiding them which cause divisions," she "endeavours to hold the unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace.

When the Jewish priests became fornicators and corrupt; when many errors fettered the whole Jewish church, at the time Christ visited and cleansed the temple, *twice*; when the churches of Asia Minor were threatened for their imperfections; the people were not told to leave[2] the Church, but to cleanse it of its deformities. Where, throughout God's word, is a line to justify or to encourage separation from, or division within, the Church of Christ? Where is an example or text to *encourage* schisms, heresies, or divisions? Would that my dissenting countrymen would ponder over this. Is division good? If not, then it should have some strong, nay, some *good* reason to justify it! Where is that reason? Is any sect or party purer than the Church? If not, what is gotten by joining, or by supporting, that sect?[3] I say all this with no unkindly feeling

[1] See also Article ix. of the Church.

[2] 1 Sam. iii. iv. viii.; St. Matthew xxi. 12, and xxiii. 2; St. John ii. 13; 1 Cor. i. 11, etc.; xi. 17—19; Rev. ii. 3. The offending Churches were often *punished*, but the people are duly urged to *repentance*, not *dissension*. In the case of APOSTACY ALONE are the people to leave the apostate Church. Rev. xviii. 4. A few years ago a bitterly written book against the Church was published, in which many cases of unholy doings (chiefly civil!) were held up to notice by striking pictures! The author might have known, that had he taken the *inspired* history of the Church of God in the Old Testament, he could have filled many pages with equally thrilling stories, and equally attractive "sensation" pictures! The abuses and sins of the Church are to be lamented and cleansed by Christians, and not held up with a view to her injury. What pictures *(e.g.)* he could get from Jer. v. or xxiii., and so in many other places of Holy Writ!

[3] Very remarkable, in connexion with this subject, is the case of the ten tribes which revolted from King Rehoboam. They were in the wrong. They proceeded to great improprieties, and set up idolatry. And yet when the two tribes proposed to *coerce* them to return, God forbade this, saying, "THIS THING IS FROM ME." 1 Kings xii. 24.

On the other hand we must not forget, that all the blessings on Israel descended through the faithful tribes (Judah and Benjamin), and that the ten tribes acted rather as a scourge on the true Israel than as earnest rivals.

Again, the miracles of the fish nets, the one *before* the Resurrection of Christ (St. Luke v. 4, etc. and Dean Trench on "The Miracles,") broken and with an *unknown* multitude of fishes, and the other *after* the Resurrection (St. John xxi. 11), when the net is full, drawn to land, *unbroken*, full of *great* fishes, and the number *known*, seems to point to the *fact*, that there would be divisions, rents, and schisms, in the Church; although the foretelling of an event does not justify it, for if so, the Crucifixion would be justified.

towards Dissenters, but with a deep and increasing conviction of the evils of Dissent. I have known Dissenters intimately. I have been on friendly terms with at least one of their most eminent ministers, and have had good opportunities of acquainting myself with their many systems. Far as I am from claiming infallibility for the Church, I am quite sure that in addition to the fallacy of the ordination of their ministers, and the errors which attach to their systems in this and other essentials, Dissenters are not gainers, in any religious sense, by their dissent. I lament them; but they occurred in the Jewish Church, and in the little band with whom Christ commenced the Christian Church, and Dissent is not free from such calamities. These things are sure to happen in any branch of the Church, and are one of the many proofs that "*in the visible Church the evil is ever mingled with the good!*"[1] I fully believe that many Dissenters who have become such, left the Church in the hope of finding a perfect one in this wicked world, and I am equally sure they have been wofully disappointed.[2]

Well, there is now a great want of Unity and Union, and (in due moderation) Uniformity; and these we ought to try to obtain. If there be errors in the Church, let us seek to remove them. If the altered circumstances of our time require alterations, there is little doubt that, with Convocation, we shall secure them. And if troubles arise and perplexities distress our land; or if, amidst a wild roar of confusion the Church itself be assailed, we have the satisfaction of knowing that we belong to that Church of which Christ has said, "Lo, I am with you alway," and to which He has promised, "The gates of hell shall not prevail against it."

Let us, then, regarding the history of our Church and country through eighteen centuries, lift up a voice of praise and thankfulness to God for preserving them through many dangers, and for cleansing instead of destroying them, when corruption crept in among them. Let us try to do "justice to Ireland" by helping her to free herself of the blighting influences of that Popery which we forced on her in the reign of Henry II. And let us show our gratitude to God, not only with our lips but in our lives, by a future career of more holiness to Him, more loyalty to our Sovereign, and by a never ceasing effort to promote church union and extension, at home and abroad.

[1] Article xxvi.

[2] What, indeed, would be the true history of almost every Dissenting meeting house, but a history of disputes, heart-burnings, strivings for the mastery, and contention? Is there not also much in the system which tends to foster hypocrisy? If in the Church there is not enough of *profession* (though assuredly Confirmation and Holy Communion ought to be deemed sufficient), does not the vast amount of profession which attaches to Dissent necessarily tend to hypocrisy?

ANNO DOMINI.	*Chronological Table of a few of the Principal Events in English Church History.*	PAGE.
33	Jesus Christ, having sent forth His Apostles to preach the Gospel in all the world to every creature, and having promised to be with them alway, even to the end of the world, ascends to heaven, in the act of blessing. The Apostles go forth and preach everywhere	4
58	Bran the Blessed, a King of Britain, after seven years' captivity at Rome, returned to Britain, bringing three Christian teachers, said to be Israelites, with him	4
61	Gildas, the celebrated British historian (who died 570) asserts that the Gospel was known in England before A.D. 61	5
65	It is possible, but by no means certain, that St. Paul preached the Gospel in Great Britain about this period.....	4
66	Claudia (2 Tim. iv. 21) is believed to have been daughter of Cogidanus, King of the Regni (Sussex and Surrey). This Christian lady (who probably married Pudens) would be another means of bringing the Gospel to Great Britain	5
190	Lucius, a British king, is said to have endowed the Church richly, founded Archbishoprics and Bishoprics, and built seven new churches. Christianity took deep root	6
303	Great persecutions under Diocletian. St. Alban martyred.	6
314	Three British Bishops go to the Council of Arles	7
347	Bishops from England attend a Council at Sardica	
380	Tithes are now paid: often voluntary, but in some cases as a due[1]	

[1] Of course it is impossible to say when Tithes began to be given in England. It should be remembered that the Saxon Dooms and Acts of Parliament did not create them, but only treated of them as already existing. But the above date is

ANNO DOMINI.	*Chronological Table of a few of the Principal Events in English Church History.*	PAGE.
About 450	The Church believed to be in a state of considerable purity	6, 7
	Saxons depopulate the country. Great troubles ensue	7
598 to 606	Augustine lands from Rome—is made Archbishop of Canterbury, and vainly endeavours to induce the British Churches to submit to Rome	8
613	Twelve hundred monks slaughtered at Bangor in consequence of their resistance to the Papal dominion, and the introduction of Roman ceremonies	9
716	The Venerable Bede, minister of the Church at Jarrow, greatly advances theological learning in England	
995	Alfric, Archbishop of Canterbury, translated several portions of the Bible.	
1066	William the Conqueror	21
1200	During the three centuries ensuing the Papal influences on the Church and Realm of England, already large, became *very great*, but were never fully recognized by law...	23
1356	Wycliffe, Rector of Lutterworth, the morning star of the Reformation. Many signs of resistance to the Papacy continually increasing.	25
1533 to 1549	Reformation—during Reigns of Henry VIII. and Edward VI.	27
1535	Miles Coverdale, Bishop of Exeter, translated the Bible	
1539	A revised translation of Bishop Coverdale's and John Roger's translations, by Archbishop Cranmer, called "*The Great Bible.*"	
1553	Mary, Queen of England, restored Popery, and burnt Protestants	29
1558	Elizabeth, Queen of England	29
1564	Symptoms of Dissent begin to manifest themselves	30

given as *probably* setting forth a time when Christians in England possessing property were from time to time rendering their property liable to this payment.

ANNO DOMINI.	*Chronological Table of a few of the Principal Events in English Church History.*	PAGE.
1572	A Presbyterian place of worship built	31
1611	Present authorized translation of the Bible published.	
About 1616	The first meeting-house built in England. For two centuries and a-half Dissent has existed, the Church for eighteen centuries.[1]	
1630	Robert Browne, founder of the sect known as Brownists, or Independents, now calling themselves Congregationalists. He afterwards conformed	32
1641	Rebellion commences in England: Bishops deposed, and robbed of all their property.	35
1643	The solemn League and Covenant forced on Parliament by the Scotch. Assembly of Divines at Westminster.	
1645	August 23. Eve of St. Bartholomew Day. The Ordinance passed, forbidding any one to use the Book of Common Prayer, under a penalty, for the 1st offence, of £5; 2nd offence, a heavier penalty; and 3rd offence a year's imprisonment, and perchance the gallows!	35
1649	Charles beheaded. Anarchy. Cromwell ultimately rules as Dictator. The sufferings of the bishops and clergy very great and bitter.	35
1660	The Restoration. The "Act for the Confirming and Restoring of Ministers" is passed, restoring the ejected clergy, upon certain conditions, to again occupy their parishes. Many were dead. A few hundreds return. A strong reaction against Puritanism prevails, and leads, in the House of Commons, to a spirit of persecution, rather than of an endeavour to win the Dissenters by mild measures	36

[1] Some have used this to prove how rapidly Dissent has grown, and hence argued that it must be right! The same style of reasoning would prove awkward things about Mormonites and any new rapidly increasing sect, and would show these to be right!

ANNO DOMINI.	*Chronological Table of a few of the Principal Events in English Church History.*	PAGE.
1662	St. Bartholomew's Day. The Act of Uniformity comes into operation. Some two thousand ministers retire. All the others CONFORM, and REMAIN. Note what happened on the Eve of this day seventeen	4
0	years before!	36
183	About this time great changes came over the Dissenting tactics. Hitherto the term "Church" had been preached at as offensive and popish when applied to a consecrated building. Organs were objected to for the same reason. Ecclesiastical vestments also were regarded as essentially popish. Now the word "Church" is engraven on the walls of many of the meeting-houses. Organs are used in many of their places of worship, and their teachers are clothed in gowns. Such changes are remarkable, and show the ever shifting nature of Dissent, and the yearning of many of the Dissenters to return to the Church.	
About 1844	Great commotion amongst Dissenters. Certain charities had been given by Lady Hewley to the endowment (!!) of sundry Presbyterian Chapels at the time of the Restoration. Every one of these Chapels had become a place of worship for Socinians. Dissenters, after many efforts to secure these funds, lost them; but obtained an Act of Parliament, enacting that the undisputed possession of an endowment in charity for twenty-five years should entitle the possessors to its use. By their own confession the Church of England has had undisputed possession of her endowments through *many* "twenty-five years," and yet these strange moralists would take them if they could!	6

ANNO DOMINI.	*Chronological Table of a few of the Principal Events in English Church History.*	PAGE.

1851

THE CENSUS.

Morning at Church	2,541,244
„ Dissenting places ..	2,106,238
Total 4,647,482	
Excess at Church..	435,006

In some cases Services were so arranged that the people were enumerated at two different meeting-houses in the morning.

Afternoon. At Church	1,890,764
„ At Dissenting places	1,293,371
Total..... 3,184,135	
Excess at Church	597,393

Evening. At Church	860,543
„ At Dissenting places.	2,203,906
Total..... 3,064,449	
Difference	1,343,363

N.B. Only 2,439 Churches open *at night*, whereas 11,794 were open in the morning, and 9,993 in the afternoon. This fully accounts for the excess *at night* at meeting-houses. In the morning, when the total attendance was 4,647,482, (or 1,463,347 more than on any other part of the day) the excess at Church was 435,006.

At page 91 of Horace Mann's abridged Report he states the number of *attendants* at places of worship to be, out of every such 1000, 520 at Church, 125 Old Connexion Methodists, 109 Independents, 65 Particular Baptists, 42 Roman Catholics, 37 Primitive Methodists, 21 Welsh Calvinistic, 8 Wesleyan New Connexion, 8 Wesleyan Association, 7 Wesleyan Reformers, 5 Unitarians, 5 New Connexion Baptists, 4 Lady Huntingdons, 3 Quakers, 3 Mormons, 2 General Baptists, all others

ANNO DOMINI.	*Chronological Table of a few of the Principal Events in English Church History.*	PAGE

1851 each about 1. Dr. Hume[1] has shown the proportion of the *population* to be as under:—

Churchmen proper	42 per cent.
„ nominal.....	25 „
Wesleyan Methodists	13 „
Independents and Baptists ..	9¾ „
Other Sects	6¾ „
Roman Catholics	3½ „
	100

1860 When the new Census Bill was contemplated, Dissenters opposed, in every way they could, the obtaining of any religious statistics. They were afraid of the scrutiny.

1862 Dissenters, though men of very different opinions from the Nonconformists of 1662 (being opposed to Episcopacy, which few Noncomformists were—being opposed to a Liturgy, which many Nonconformists preferred—being opposed to tithes, and endowments, and Church rates, which Nonconformists held, levied, and enjoyed as long as they could), celebrate the retirement in 1662, of 2000 (or fewer) Nonconformists from the Church to which they never belonged.

Dissent becomes a fierce political engine. Very little of the earnest personal piety which once characterized many of its supporters any longer exists among them. 17,320 clergy of the Church, and 6,405 Dissenting ministers in England and Wales. A change of minister, or dissatisfaction of some kind exhibited in one out of every 4½ meeting-houses of "Congregationlists or Independents" in 1860 throughout England and Wales.[2]

[1] Evidence, House of Lords, Church Rates, 1859, p. 135.

[2] From Dr. Hume's unanswerable statistics in the pamphlet, "The Church of England, the Home Missionary to the Poor," 9d.

Population of England and Wales, 1861 . . .		20,066,224
Marriages, 1860		170,156
Of these by the Church . . .	137,370	
By Registrars at home . . .	11,257	
By Registrars at Meeting Houses .	21,529	
	170,156	
Children educated in Church Schools . . .		1,187,086
,, Sects' ,, . . .		362,226
Burials *in cemeteries* by Church		110,050
,, the Sects		46,722

RETURN,[1] 1856.

Parishes where Church Rate refused,[2] about . .	408
,, ,, made ,, . .	8,280
,, ,, dubious replies . .	444
,, provision from other sources . .	544
	9,676

RETURN,[1] 1859, FROM 10,706 PARISHES.

In 1,367	Parishes,	landowners	all Churchmen.
,, 7,436	,,	,,	generally Churchmen.
,, 1,050	,,	,,	numbers about equal.
,, 353	,,	,,	not stated.
,, 500	,,	,,	not analysed.
10,706			

[1] The above "Returns" are taken from "Church Rates a National Trust," by Archdeacon Denison, p. 280.

[2] Some of these have since granted a rate, and probably most would, if the new parishes were set free from paying rates for any Church except their own edifice. The formation of more parishes would soon rectify our difficulties in this particular.

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A LECTURE

DELIVERED IN THE HALL OF

THE MECHANICS' INSTITUTION, MANCHESTER,

ON TUESDAY, MARCH 12th, 1861,

ON THE

Efficiency of Voluntaryism Tested by Facts.

BY THE

REV. MARMADUKE MILLER.

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GARIBALDI.

The Efficiency of Voluntaryism Tested by Facts.

I HAVE but little love for controversy. Without great care, it will produce party feeling among friends, and leave a withering influence upon the heart. The time is generally better spent in searching out our own faults, than in exposing the faults of others. Nevertheless, there are times when it is the duty even of a quiet man, to enter the field of strife, and manfully contend for the truth. Peace is good, but righteousness is better. The great Apostle wished to live peaceably with all men, but he would not sacrifice the truth for the sake of peace—neither must we.

It is said by some, that the course we are now taking will destroy that Christian union which was springing up between the Evangelical clergy and the Dissenting ministers. If this be so, I shall regret it; but I am not responsible for it. If a clergyman of the Church of England will not live in Christian union with me, unless I will be silent on what I believe to be God's truth, why then, there can be no union between us; for I dare not. I will not do this, however painful the result. Rather than belie my conscience, and prove recreant to truth, I would go through the world like Ishmael, with my hand against every man, and every man's hand against me.

It is my duty, to-night, to lecture on "The Efficiency of Voluntaryism Tested by Facts," in reply to a lecture delivered in the Free-Trade Hall, on "The utter Inefficiency of the Voluntary System," by the Rev. Dr. Hume, of Liverpool. But before I proceed to discuss the main point at issue, I wish to say a few words on one or two minor points, in which, during his lecture, Dr. Hume made an attack upon Dissent. So long as the Doctor kept to his text, there was no great room to complain of the spirit and feeling manifested; but every now and then he went a little out of his way to aim a blow at Dissent, and then invariably showed both bad feeling and bad taste. For instance, when speaking of the fact that every parishioner had

the right to demand the sacraments from the clergyman of the parish, he said he knew cases among the dissenters, where the Lord's supper was refused on political grounds, "because the man had voted for a certain candidate at an election." Now, I believe that most persons in this room know far more about dissenters than Dr. Hume, and I question whether there is one present who ever heard of such a case. Again, he says that he once had a conversation with a dissenting lady, who told him of a "Nonconformist minister who would not administer spiritual consolation to a person who had offended him." But, still worse, he referred to the case of a dissenting minister refusing baptism to a father because he had not paid his seat rent. Possibly Dr. Hume's informant on all these matters was the "Dissenting lady" before referred to; and she might be some discontented, fidgetty, old woman, with too great an aptitude to give heed to "profane and old wives' fables;" and I feel quite certain, if the reports were bottomed, they would be found to rest on that flimsy sort of evidence upon which Goldsmith's mad dog was convicted:—"The report was received from a neighbour, who had it from another, who was told it from one, who had it on excellent authority." But suppose these facts were true; I think that even Dr. Hume will admit that they are extreme and very exceptional cases; and it is therefore absurd to reason upon them. We could, if we thought fit, *say far worse things about scores of clergymen*, but we forbear. Our controversy is not with *men*, but with *systems*.

Never does Dr. Hume appear to so little advantage, as when he tries to be witty. The Doctor, I believe, is a Scotchman; and it is not every Scotchman who is gifted with wit. Moreover, it is evident that Dr. Hume's *forte* is statistics. He is nothing, if not statistical; and is most in his element when trying to break a lance with Horace Mann. He certainly shows considerable talent in the way he can deal with figures; indeed he tells us that he amuses his evenings with "arithmetical calculations." And yet, every now or then, he tries to be witty; but they are the smallest attempts at wit it has ever been my misfortune to listen to. For instance, when referring to the practice of dissenting churches hearing their ministers preach before they engage them as their pastors, he tries to raise the laugh by describing such preachers as engaged in "preaching matches." Whereupon there was a small titter; and it could be seen by the twinkle in the Doctor's eye, that he thought he had made a

good hit. But before the Doctor refers to dissenting preachers again, he may be recommended to read a leading article in one of the church's own newspapers. Not very long ago there appeared a leader in the *Record*, on—How the Establishment trains its ministers, beginning thus:—"Aptness for teaching is a qualification which St. Paul twice specifies as a necessary requirement in a Christian minister. One would suppose, therefore, that it would be one of the tests by which to prove the fitness of a candidate for holy orders. Strangely enough, this is the very qualification, the presence or absence of which is overlooked. * * * Aspirants to the ministry are rejected for other deficiencies; but who ever heard of one being sent back because he could not write a sermon? * * * When this is the case, who can wonder that the Church of England abounds with many indifferent preachers, and some very bad ones. * * * If fitness for this very important branch of their work is any test, we need but listen to them, to be convinced that they have entirely mistaken their vocation." The writer proceeds to describe how great numbers choose the church as a profession, without any proper qualification, either of head or of heart, for its important duties: and he concludes by saying:—"And so the church is crippled in strength, impaired in usefulness, and often disgraced, by inefficient and idle preachers, and careless and ungodly pastors." Now mark, these are not my words, but the words of one of the most influential organs of the Church of England; and if this be the true state of the case, Dr. Hume may be asked whether what he calls "preaching matches" might not be of some slight service in his own church? Whether, before a parish has a minister settled upon it for thirty or forty years, it is not desirable to know whether he has the gift of utterance, and is "apt to teach?"

But I need not dwell any longer on these small points: to take up the whole, would absorb the time allotted for a lecture. The title of Dr. Hume's lecture, as advertised in the Manchester papers, was, "The utter Inefficiency of the Voluntary System." It was reported, at length, in the *Courier* newspaper under that title. But the lecture when printed, had the title of "The Insufficiency of the Voluntary System." Since then, the Doctor has delivered the said lecture at Oldham, under the title of "The Necessity of a National Church to provide for the Spiritual Wants of the People."

I confess, I read the advertisement announcing the lecture

with surprise. I was curious to know the course he would take, in proving, "The utter inefficiency of the voluntary system." And my surprise was increased ten-fold before he had uttered three sentences. He commenced by saying, that the title of his lecture was a simple truism—scarcely needing proof. But I will quote you the first two sentences. He began thus:—"My subject is 'The insufficiency of Voluntaryism or Dissent to provide for the religious wants of this great country.' This sounds like a truism, for church and dissent together are at the present moment insufficient to provide for the spiritual wants of the people." Now, that is the strangest logic I ever heard come from the lips of an educated man. Suppose I had announced as the title of a lecture, "The utter inefficiency of the Church of England," and then commenced by saying,—that the subject scarcely needed proof—that it was a simple truism; for we had only to look upon the present degraded state of the people, and it would be admitted at once. Or, suppose an infidel were to announce as the subject of a lecture, "The utter inefficiency of Christianity to convert the world," and then commence by saying,—that the title of his lecture was a simple truism, for notwithstanding Christianity had been in the world for eighteen centuries, it had not yet spread over half the globe. What would Dr. Hume say to an argument like that? Yet that is precisely the ground he takes at the opening of his lecture. He says, the insufficiency of Voluntaryism is proved by the fact, that notwithstanding all it has done, and all the establishment has done, there is yet, a large amount of heathenism amongst us. I admit the fact, but deny the conclusion. The question before us, is not to be decided in such an easy off-hand manner as that. We had better at the beginning, get a clear, and exact understanding, as to the point at issue. When Dr. Hume says the voluntary system is utterly inefficient, what does he mean? What is it utterly inefficient to effect? Does he mean, that it is utterly inefficient to originate, and to sustain, such organisations as are necessary for the conversion of the world to Christ? If so, I join issue with him on that point. I ask for the proof. It will not be sufficient to say,—"Look at the state of our country and the world, and see how much still requires to be done;" for precisely the same objection might be urged against Christianity itself. When Dr. Hume says the voluntary system is utterly inefficient, we must understand him to mean, that it is inefficient, as compared with some other principle of

supporting the Church, and extending the Redeemer's kingdom. What that other, and more efficient principle is, Dr. Hume does not distinctly tell us. In the first page of his lecture, he says, "we will use the voluntary system without committing ourselves to it exclusively; we will avail ourselves of any man's benevolence and generosity for the spread of church principles; we will do what you do, and something more." But he does not tell us what this "something more" is. Again, he says, "We, with a moderation which the Church of England always exhibits, are inclusive; and we take in endowments, voluntary gifts. and so on, and we are thankful for any means of doing good." Now I understand very well, what "endowments" and "voluntary gifts" are, but I don't exactly know what is meant by—"and so on." Neither do I exactly understand what the Doctor means, when he says, "we are thankful for any means of doing good." The church in past times has employed many means of doing good, which I hope Dr. Hume is not prepared to use. At least we Dissenters will not use them. "To do a great right," we will not "do a little wrong." We remember that God has said, "I hate robbery for burnt offering." However, by this "something more," and "so on," and "any means," I suppose Dr. Hume does not mean prisons and thumbscrews; probably, he refers *only* to tithes, church rates, Easter dues, and the like. Then the question shapes itself thus:—Is the voluntary principle inefficient as compared with the establishment—or, as I shall call it,—the compulsory principle? Dr. Hume in reply, says yes, and I say, No! Dr. Hume's lecture was to prove the voluntary principle weak, I am here to prove that it is strong. If you have been at the trouble to read Dr. Hume's lecture, I need not tell you, that a large portion of it is wide of the question. He commenced by laying down a series of propositions, most of which would be admitted as soon as stated, by every intelligent man in England. The first was, "That the population of England and Wales, is increasing at the present moment with enormous and unusual rapidity." Surely Dr. Hume need not have come from Liverpool to tell us that. His second proposition was, "That the population was rapidly becoming a town population." This fact is about as common-place as the first. The third proposition was, "That the town population is rapidly outgrowing all its religious provision." There perhaps may be a little difference of opinion as to the amount of truth in this statement. But suppose it is strictly correct, it tells no more against the volun-

tary than against the compulsory principle. It only shows that it is high time for us to bestir ourselves. His fourth proposition was this, "That our town population has a tendency to classify itself." Well, I suppose it always has been so. Now the discussion of these propositions occupies one half of Dr. Hume's lecture; the other half is occupied with throwing a little mud into the face of the dissenters; and, after persuading himself that it is their natural complexion, he concludes by lauding the church of England to the skies. While listening to his extravagant adulation of the church, I was reminded of what Sydney Smith jocosely said, at the time of the formation of the Free Church of Scotland—"I see you are destroying the Scotch church. I think we are a little more popular in England than we were. Before I form any opinion on establishments, I *should like to know the effects they produce on vegetables?* Many of our clergy suppose that if there was no church of England, cucumbers and celery would not grow; that mustard and cress could not be raised. If establishments are connected so much with the great laws of nature, this makes all the difference; but I cannot believe it."

Now Dr. Hume manifestly belongs to this class. He thinks if the church of England were to be separated from the state, true religion would soon die out; we should become a nation of heathens, and he would then have to go down to the grave, crying, Ichabod! Ichabod! the glory has departed. Now, I entertain no such opinion; indeed, I entertain an opinion just the reverse, and am about to give you a reason for the faith I hold; and, in the course of forty or fifty minutes, I will put before you such facts and figures, which I think even Dr. Hume will feel it his duty to grapple with, the next time he lectures on "The insufficiency of the Voluntary System."

And, first, I must ask you for a few moments to look at the past. History is a book of demonstrated problems. Men may speculate about the future; but what is done, is done, and there is no gainsaying it. It will be admitted that, before Constantine's time, the Christian church was sustained by voluntary principle. "During the first three centuries," says Dean Waddington, "the clergy were supported by the voluntary oblations of the faithful." Tertullian, describing the way in which this was done, says, "Every one brings a moderate contribution once a month, or when he chooses, and only if he chooses, and is able; for there is no compulsion, but the gift is spontaneous, being, as it were, the deposit of piety."

Seeing the church for so long a time acted on the voluntary principle, it is very natural for us to ask how it worked? Was the church then weak or strong, efficient or inefficient? Let us go back and see. Think of the first disciples, in that upper room at Jerusalem. There they are, base born, low bred, ignorant and unlearned in the world's wisdom. They are despised at home, and unknown abroad. They have no philosophy in their heads, no eloquence on their tongues, no money in their purse. They are collected together in the name of their Master, who has lately been crucified. Could you conceive of men less likely to hand down their names to distant ages. What can a society accomplish for the world that has to put Simon Peter, a Galilean fisherman, as its foremost man. Suppose a proud Roman had been passing, arm in arm with a polished Greek, through that street in Jerusalem where the disciples were assembled, and they were told that, in that upper room, there were a few ignorant people, who professed to believe that the Jew, whom Pilate lately crucified, was to be king over the whole earth; and, that this handful of Jews really believed, they were going to sweep away every god from Greece and Rome, and bring the hearts of all men into loving subjection to their crucified Master. With what profound contempt they would have treated the whole story! We can fancy them saying, "If some of the princes of the earth had taken this new creed under their protection, or if the emperor would condescend to patronise it, possibly it might live for a time; but these few fishermen, who have rocked its cradle, will soon follow its hearse, and we shall hear no more about the matter." But it did not so happen. The Master said that, His kingdom should be like a grain of mustard seed,—small, and apparently insignificant at the beginning; but, by little and little, it should become a great tree. Again, he said, it should be like leaven, *hid* in three measures of meal; but, although hidden, it should go on and on, until the whole was leavened. In obedience to their Master's command, the disciples went forth, from city to city, and nation to nation, everywhere leaving behind them a little of the true leaven. Converts were soon found at Athens, Corinth, and Rome, even in Cæsar's household. And now, Nero lights his martyr fires, makes it a capital offence to be a Christian, and the mob delights to hunt them down. All the evils that befel the state were charged upon them. "If the Tiber overflowed its banks, and damaged the suburbs; if the Nile ran within its bed,

and refused to water the fields; if there was drought, an earthquake, famine or plague, forthwith the cry was, 'Away with the Christians to the lions!'" But, in spite of Jewish hate and Pagan scorn, in spite of Nero and Diocletian, in spite of Roman armies and imperial edicts, in spite of the gladiator's circus and shirts of burning pitch, in spite of the dark dungeon and the bloody axe, the Galilean's creed lived; and, like the avalanche coming down from the mountain top, it rolled on and on, till at length it smote the Roman gods.

"(They felt) from Juda's land
The dreaded infant's hand,"

and departed, like an unsubstantial pageant faded, leaving scarce a rack behind.

Now mark, all this was done before the church received a single jot of state patronage, or a farthing of state pay. Nay, it was done when the whole power of the state was arrayed against the church. This voluntary principle, which the bishops and clergy now sneer at, and deem so utterly inefficient, was then so mighty, that no opposition could stand before it. Nothing could restrain the church's onward march when thus supported. She spread with marvellous rapidity, and triumphed over her deadliest foes.

But perhaps it may be well here, to quote an authority or two, and they shall be such as no churchman will dispute. The Rev. J. J. Blunt, B.D., in his history of the Christian church during the first three centuries, after referring to some of the triumphs of the gospel in the latter part of the third century, says:—"I revert to this subject again and again, in order to demonstrate the utter unsoundness of the sceptical theory, that Christianity owed its establishment to its recognition by the state; the truth manifestly being, that the development of its force was progressive, and that the state did not give its countenance till it could no longer withhold it." And again, after stating many facts showing the triumphs of the church, when sustained by the voluntary principle, he sums up in the following words:—"Thus it would seem, from a review of the details we have exhibited, that before the accession of Constantine, or at any rate before the favour he manifested for the gospel could have produced any effect on the dispersion of it over the world, it had established itself in Spain, France, Britain, Germany, Scythia, Dacia, Sarmatia, Italy, Greece, the islands of the Mediterranean, the whole of Asia from the Ionian Sea to the

Euxine, Palestine and the bordering countries eastward, Mesopotamia, and the Elamites; the whole of the northern part of the continent of Africa stretching far inland; the testimony of one or other of the Fathers prior to Constantine bearing witness to these facts; its possession of these regions being, no doubt, in some instances more, in others less, complete; but the whole of them covering a surface which would bear no unfavourable comparison with that occupied by Christianity even at this moment, America being left out of the reckoning; and several of those regions even far more effectually occupied by it then, than at present."

Now, if what this late distinguished Cambridge Professor says be true,—which I am sure Dr. Hume will not question,—then, I ask why the voluntary system should be so utterly inefficient to grapple with the heathenism of our day? Has the church of Christ more powerful enemies to contend against now, than she had then? No man will say that. Persecution against the church, backed by civil power, has ceased. Is it because the church of our day has not the wealth to send forth ministers and missionaries, to carry out the merciful purposes of the Redeemer. It cannot be so. The church was never so rich—her coffers were never so full. Then, has the Great Head of the Church forsaken us? We dare not believe it, for His word is, "Lo, I am with you alway, even unto the end of the world." Then why all this unmanly and unchristian fear? Why should the clergy go about the country, moaning their doleful forebodings at the ruinous consequences that would follow, if the church were left to her own resources? If the voluntary principle, when contending against such difficulties, triumphed so gloriously, surely we have no need to fear its efficiency in our day. I can only conceive of one way, in which this conclusion can be avoided, and that is, by saying, that the Primitive church had supernatural aids which we have not; that her ministers had power to work miracles. But it is the opinion of the best Protestant historians that this power did not extend beyond the first century. There can be little doubt, that these miraculous aids ceased at the close of the apostolic age.

But early in the fourth century, we come to a change in the method of the church's support. She had hitherto relied on voluntary gifts,—on the free-will offerings of the people; but now she accepts the compulsory principle. Constantine links the church to the state. The Emperor becomes the nursing

father of the faithful. And if the theory of Dr. Hume, and his clerical brethren, be sound, you would expect great things to be done. The poor, weak, inefficient voluntary principle, is to be superseded; and mighty results will surely be accomplished. But do you find it so? Nay, do you not find it just the reverse? From that very time was not the church smitten as by paralysis? The fostering hand of the state, like the torpedo's touch, benumbed her energies. Her priests were soon filled with pride and ambition. They now began to lord it over God's heritage, and to

> "Play such fantastic tricks before high heaven
> As make the angels weep."

Losing confidence in the sword of the Spirit, they grasped the sword of the magistrate; and the appetite for carnal weapons, like other things, grew by what it fed upon. Believing that they might use "any means" in doing good, they soon filled the state's prisons with heretics and unbelievers. The bishops, who professed to be disciples of Him, whose emblem was a lamb, and the type of whose spirit was a dove, thundered forth their anathemas against any who dared to differ in the smallest matters from their decisions; and, according to the seed they sowed, was the harvest reaped. The grossest ignorance soon marked alike both priest and people. An old writer has quaintly said, that, "prior to Constantine's interference, the church had wooden cups and golden ministers; but after it, she had golden cups and wooden ministers." He might have been further from the mark. For read the history of the church from Constantine's time, and for several centuries, is it not one long, dark tale of corruption? The heart gets sick in turning over the pages, and we close the book in disgust, feeling assured that if Christianity had not been a divine thing it must have been choked and strangled long since by some of its blood-stained Nursing Fathers and Defenders. You are all aware that soon after Constantine's time, the celibacy of the clergy was strongly contended for, and ultimately established. The doctrine of purgatory was adopted. Images began to be used, and prayers offered for the dead. Instead of worshipping deified heroes, they worshipped martyred saints, and the Virgin Mary took the place of Diana of the Ephesians. But I care not to dwell on the centuries of darkness and corruption that followed the union of church and state. English Episcopalians admit it. Jeremy Taylor, in his sermon on "Growth in Grace," has said:

"For Christianity lasted pure and zealous, it kept its rules and observed its own laws for three hundred years or thereabouts, so long the church remained a virgin; for so long they were warmed with their first fires, and kept under discipline by the rod of persecution; but it hath declined almost fourteen hundred years together."

Still more emphatic is the testimony of Bishop Lowth. In his visitation sermon at Durham, 1758, he said, "Constantine embraced the Christian faith; he became the nursing father of the church. * * * Alas! from the very era of the security, splendour, and prosperity of that church, we must date the decay of the true spirit of Christianity. It still continued, indeed, to increase for sometime outwardly in extent and numbers; but daily suffered within a much greater loss in the visible diminution of faith, holiness, humility, and charity. However, wealth and power, soon excited pride, avarice, and ambition."

Equally strong are the words of John Wesley. In his sermon "On Former Times," he says:—"I have been long convinced, from the whole tenor of ancient history, that this very event,—Constantine's calling himself a Christian, and pouring that flood of wealth and honour on the Christian church, the clergy in particular,—was productive of more evil to the church than all the ten persecutions put together. From the time that power, riches, and honour of all kinds were heaped upon the Christians, vice of all kinds came in like a flood, both on the clergy and the laity. From the time that the church and state—the kingdoms of Christ and of the world—were so strangely and unnaturally blended together, Christianity and heathenism were so thoroughly incorporated with each other, that they will hardly ever be divided, till Christ comes to reign upon earth."

I should not have thought it necessary to quote so many authorities on this point, if it had not been for the extraordinary statements made by the Rev. James Bardsley, in his arrogant and abusive reply to Dr. M'Kerrow. According to the Rector of St. Ann's, we are altogether wrong in supposing that the church became corrupt soon after Constantine's time. But Mr. Bardsley must excuse us if we decline accepting him as an authority on these questions. We recognise the right of such men as Neander, Mosheim, Waddington, Blunt, Taylor, Lowth, and Wesley to speak with authority, and we are not in the least disposed to disbelieve the statements of these men, on the *ipse dixit* of the Rev. James Bardsley. The only authority Mr.

Bardsley refers to is Guizot, but he does not quote even him. He tells us that Gŭizot "declares, in his second lecture 'on European Civilization,' that the connection of the church with the state saved Christianity itself from extinction." Does Mr. Bardsley believe that; if so he has less faith in the vitality of Christianity than any Christian minister I ever met with. But the fact is, Guizot makes a very important qualification to his opinion, which it did not suit Mr. Bardsley to give. Guizot thus introduces the paragraph referred to:—"If it (Christianity) had not been a church, it is impossible to say what might have happened to it amid the fall of the Roman empire. I confine myself to purely human considerations. I put aside every element foreign to the natural consequences deducible from natural facts," &c. Now mark the words "*I confine myself to purely human considerations.*" He is manifestly looking at the subject from the stand point of the statesman, not that of the Christian; and, looked at in this light, it is wonderful that Christianity lived for a single century. But if Mr. Bardsley believes that Constantine saved Christianity from extinction, I don't know why we need disturb him in his belief. He has many other notions about the church equally strange.

On the whole, I think I have proved that the time of the church's greatest purity and power—distinguished churchmen themselves being witness, except the Rector of St. Ann's—was, when she was solely sustained by the voluntary principle; and that, from the day she received state patronage and state pay, she sank into lethargy and corruption.

I must now pass on. Within the limits of a single lecture it is impossible, even briefly, to sketch the history of the Christian church, from the age of Constantine to the present time. To attempt it would only be to imitate the Greek pedant, who showed his brick as a sample of his house; therefore, I will at once come to our own time, and to our own country. I wish you to look at the rise and progress of Methodism as an illustration of the marvellous vitality and power of the voluntary principle. I have one or two special reasons for selecting this example. In the first place, I am a Methodist myself—both by birth and conviction—and I know the history of Methodism pretty well. Secondly, it is easier to get exact results from the Methodists, than from any other denomination of Christians, in consequence of the minutes of their annual meetings being regularly published. And thirdly, I shall have certain statistics

to present, some of which will probably be both new and interesting to Dr. Hume—whether he will thank me for them or not, I cannot say.

It is generally admitted, that during the first half of the last century, the cause of both morality and religion was at a very low ebb in this country. We might quote strong testimony from Bishops Burnet, Gibson, Butler, Warburton, Archbishop Secker, and many others, to show the feebleness of the church and the wickedness of the nation at that time. You must remember that George II. was then king, and the less we say about him the more he will shine. He polluted the throne, and would have disgraced a tavern. The state of the nobility was not much higher. To be as drunk as a lord, was a common proverb. Few of the working classes could read, and tens of thousands had never heard a gospel sermon. Southey, who had studied this period well, and who was an ardent admirer of the established church, has said—"There never was less religious feeling either within the establishment or without, than when Wesley blew his trumpet and awakened those who slept."

Such then was the state of the nation when Wesley and Whitfield commenced their great work. Neither of these men were dissenters. Wesley, indeed, was a high churchman. All his tendencies were conservative. He was a great stickler for church-rule and order, until he saw that church-order would not allow him to do God's work in the world. On theory, he had a strong objection to laymen preaching. And when he first heard that Thomas Maxwell, a young layman, had commenced to preach, he hastened to London to stop him. When he arrived at his home, his mother saw that he was a little excited, and having heard his errand, she said, "John, take care what you do with respect to that young man, for he is as surely called of God to preach as you are." He always paid great deference to his mother, and he resolved to take her advice and hear Maxwell. And he found that Maxwell could preach, and that sinners were converted under his preaching. Must he now, like the bigotted Pharisees, deny the work to be good, in order to save his theory. No! Wesley was not the man to do that. Apostolical succession was a beautiful theory, but the facts were against it. Those who were doing the apostle's work must be in the true succession. Again, Wesley had at first a strong objection to field preaching. He said, "I could not at first reconcile myself to this strange way, having been all my life, till very lately, so tenacious of

church-order, that I should have thought the saving of souls almost a sin, if it had not been done in a church." But when he found that the church arrangements did not suit his purpose in bringing the ignorant and poor under religious teaching, he broke through them. Church-order was good, but Christianity was better: When engaged in field-preaching near Bristol, the bishop desired him to desist and to quit his diocese. (We hear of similar facts in our own day. If one clergyman goes into another clergyman's parish to try to do God's work, he is warned that he must desist. No matter that the population is ten times greater than the clergyman can possibly superintend, still no other man must interfere—"the beautiful parochial system" must not be disturbed.) But when the Bishop of Bristol desired Wesley to quit his diocese, he replied:—"My business on earth is to do what good I can; wherever I think I can do the most good, there must I stay as long as I think so. At present, I think I can do the most good here, therefore here I stay."

According to the "beautiful parochial system," which Dr. Hume and his friends are continually belauding, John Wesley ought to have been located for life in the little village of Epworth, in Lincolnshire. No matter, that in hundreds of parishes, the clergy were notoriously ungodly; no matter, that in hundreds more, a gospel sermon was never heard from Christmas to Christmas; no matter, that the blind were leading the blind, and both falling into the ditch; still, Wesley must stick to his parish. It was not his business to interfere. So the clergy of that day said, they raised a great outcry against Wesley's intrusion into their parishes. Let him stay at home and mind his own parish, and not wander about disturbing the peace and quietness of the men. But, with the courage of a prophet, and the zeal of an apostle, Wesley said, "THE WORLD IS MY PARISH!" He felt called upon by a voice which he dared not disobey, to go through the length and breadth of the land, calling sinners to repentance. Societies rapidly sprung up in various parts; and lay agents were soon employed to superintend them during Wesley's absence. As the societies increased, Charles Wesley was very fearful, lest they should ultimately separate from the church, and often wrote to his brother on the matter, John replied, "church or no church, we must attend to the work of saving souls;" and again, in another letter, he said; "I neither set it up, nor pull it down, but let you and I build the city of God."

In 1791, God called the good man home to his reward. And now I wish to state a few facts and figures, showing the rapid rate at which these despised and persecuted Methodists have increased. But I must first remind you, that there have been three large secessions from the original body of Methodists, apart from minor slips from the parent stock. First, in order of time, was what is now called "The New Connexion Methodists," who seceded in the year 1798. There was another large secession in 1835, which took the name of the "Wesleyan Association." In 1849, there was the largest secession, numbering about 100,000 members, who took the name of "Wesleyan Reformers." In the year 1857, "The Wesleyan Association," and a large portion of "The Wesleyan Reformers" amalgamated, and are now known as "The United Methodist Free Churches." Besides these secessions, there are two other bodies of Methodists, chiefly originated by devoted men, who thought that the parent body—or Old Methodists, as they are often called—had lost their first love and zeal,—particularly in reference to out-door preaching. They are known as "The Primitive Methodists" and "Bible Christians." Now all these denominations of Methodists hold fast to the doctrines as taught by John Wesley. They all maintain his organisation of an itinerant ministry, class meetings, band meetings, love feasts, and so on, for the purpose of deepening and quickening the spiritual life. The only important point in which they differ is, the extent to which the lay element should share in church government. All these denominations are classed under the head of Wesleyan Methodists in the religious census returns of 1851. I do not wish to intimate that they all object to the principle of a church establishment. Possibly some of the ministers in the original connexion approve of the union of church and state; but I believe that the Wesleyan laity have but little sympathy with their ministers on this point. All the other denominations of Methodists,—both ministers and people—almost to a man strongly disapprove of the establishment principle. But what I wish to impress upon your mind, is this,—that from the first, they all have invariably acted on the voluntary principle. And I will prove to you that they have increased far more rapidly than the Church of England, with its "beautiful parochial system," and all its numerous advantages of learning, wealth, and station. And first, let us take the increase of accommodation for public worship.

In the year		Places of worship.		Sittings.
1801	the Methodists had	825	containing	165,000
1811	ditto	1,485	"	296,000
1821	ditto	2,748	"	549,600
1831	ditto	4,622	"	924,400
1841	ditto	7,819	"	1,563,800
1851	ditto	11,007	"	2,194,298

This table I have copied from the Religious Census returns of 1851. And before I proceed further, I must pause a moment to notice the unfair way in which Dr. Hume referred to the statistics, which show the rapid increase of dissent in the last few years.

Dr. Hume states in his lecture, there are in Liverpool nine dissenting chapels, which have occupied in all twenty-six different sites, and yet they were all put down in the census returns, as having been built at their last settlement. But I had better quote you the Doctor's own words, he says:—"Many of you perhaps have read Mr. Horace Mann's account of the number of churches and chapels built during the last fifty years, and in each period of ten years. But let me tell you a curious fact, which shows, as somebody has said in reference to one of my favourite subjects, that nothing could be more fallacious than figures, except it be facts. And certainly one might almost say, respecting something which Mr. Horace Mann has produced * * * that nothing could be more fallacious than some of his figures, taken as they usually are, without the modifications he designed. For example, these nine places of worship that I have told you of, were all struck like tents and carried to other parts, where they were pitched again, having occupied in all twenty-six different sites, and every one of these chapels was regarded as having been built at the *last settlement*! That was quite true, but the latent false principle is, that the congregation was formed then. Mark what a remarkable increase of dissent seemed to be there; large chapels erected, some of them say ten, others twelve or fifteen years ago, yet several of them dating away back into the last century." In this passage, Dr. Hume says these tables are "fallacious," "taken as they usually are, without the modifications he (Mr. Horace Mann) designed." Now you would conclude from this, that Mr. Horace Mann took the same view of these tables as Dr. Hume, and that he had suggested modifications similar to those Dr. Hume suggests. But Mr. Horace Mann does no such thing; in fact, he does just the contrary. He admits that

strict accuracy cannot be attained as to the number of dissenting places of worship erected each ten years; but he is nevertheless of the opinion, that dissenting chapels have increased faster in the last few years than the tables show. I will read you a sentence or two with which he introduces the table I previously read, he says:—"But great reliance cannot safely be reposed in inferences from dates in the case of dissenting places of worship, since a certain number (merely rooms) have undoubtedly, though only occupied in *recent* years for religious purposes, been returned with the date of their erection—not of their first appropriation to such uses * * * The effect, as explained already, is to throw upon the earlier years a number of chapels which should properly be reckoned as the offspring of our own day." And in a foot note, Mr. Horace Mann gives some striking instances of this. He mentions the returns from 512 chapels, belonging to the different bodies of Methodists, that ought to have been returned at a much more *recent* date than they were.

Then, I submit, that it was unfair in Dr. Hume to refer to Mr. Horace Mann's "modifications" in the way he did. The statement was calculated to mislead those who were not fully acquainted with all the facts. However, although there may be some inaccuracy in the stated amount of increase in any ten years, yet I cannot suppose that even Dr. Hume will say, that there is much with respect to the whole half century. Then in the year 1801, the Methodists had 825 places of worship, which provided 165,000 sittings; in 1851 they had 11,007 places of worship, which provided 2,194,298 sittings:—that is to say, in fifty years the Methodists increased their accommodation for public worship more than thirteen-fold, while the population during the same time had little more than doubled. And this increase is still going on. I have no hesitation in saying that the increase in the past ten years, is fifty per cent. greater than in the ten years previous.

But let us now ask what the church of England did during the first half of this century. If Dr. Hume's theory be correct, it is fair to expect that she made rapid strides during this period, and increased in a much greater ratio than the poor Methodists. But I am sorry to say, it is not so. Let us look at the facts of the case. The church of England had in the year

	churches.		sittings.
1801	11,379	containing	4,289,883
1851	14,077	"	5,317,915

Thus the case stands,—During the first half of the present century, the sittings in places of worship belonging to the Church of England increased at about twenty-four per cent., while the sittings in the Methodist places of worship increased more than 1,300 per cent.! Now, if the voluntary principle is the inefficient thing that churchmen believe, I should like Dr. Hume to explain how it is that the Methodists, with all their poverty, have increased so much faster in religious accommodation for the people than the Church of England, "with all its appliances and means, to boot."

I will now briefly call your attention to the increase of ministers among the Methodists during the last half century. Dr. Hume, in his lecture, refers to the fact that for the 14,077 churches returned in the census of 1851, there were 17,390 clergy of the Established Church; while for the 20,390 chapels there were only 8,696 "professional dissenting ministers." I suppose the great difference between the number of chapels and the number of "professional ministers" to which the Doctor refers, will be chiefly found among the Methodists; and presently I shall have a word or two to say respecting it. But I would here ask, whether the number of dissenting ministers has not increased at a far greater ratio during the last half century than the clergy of the established church. I do not know how many clergymen there were in the year 1801; we shall perhaps not be far wrong if we put them down at 12,500. And as the population has more than doubled during the half century, it follows that the clergy should number 25,000 in 1851, to have kept the ground they occupied. But Dr. Hume tells us that the number was 17,390; it follows, therefore, that they ought to have 7,610 additional clergymen in order to maintain the relative position in which they stood to the people at the beginning of the century. Let us now look how the Methodists have increased in this particular. In the year 1801 there were—say, in round numbers—330 ministers employed in England and Wales. There are now upwards of 2,000; the increase being more than 600 per cent. But there are some other facts connected with the large number of chapels as compared with the "professional ministers," which I must now state. Dr. Hume being a Scotchman, would in early life have but few opportunities for becoming acquainted with the working of Methodism; for Methodism has never flourished in Scotland. And in England clergymen of the Established Church and Methodist ministers,

are like the Jews and Samaritans—they have no dealings with each other. They, of course, are the orthodox Jews, and we are the poor Samaritans; and therefore a clergyman may be excused if he knows but little of Methodistical organisation. Perhaps Dr. Hume is not aware that there are among the Methodists upwards of 32,000 local preachers! These are generally the most pious and intelligent laymen in the various societies, whose hearts God has touched, and who, more or less, supply the pulpit on the Sabbath, and pursue their secular calling during the week. I know it is customary for some clergymen to sneer at these tradesmen preachers. To all such sneers I reply in the words of John Milton:—"It were to be wished they were all tradesmen; they would not then so many of them, for want of another trade, make a trade of their preaching." In the early days of Methodism, many persons found great fault with Wesley for allowing these laymen to preach; not excepting his brother Charles at one time. It seemed to them shocking—an outrage upon all ecclesiastical order and discipline, and not to be tolerated for a moment. But Wesley replied in his own laconic way:—"Soul-damning clergymen lay me under far greater difficulties than soul-saving laymen." I readily grant that many of these local preachers are deficient in scholastic learning. They know little of Latin, and less of Greek, but they understand what a poor sinner is to do to be saved. Their language, if not refined, is intelligible. They use no "long-tailed words of Latin origin," as Archdeacon Hare said the clergy did; they stick to their good old Saxon mother-tongue. Their illustrations are taken, not from classical history, but from common every-day life, as are those of the Great Teacher. Place them before a congregation of working-men, and then I most thoroughly believe that they will preach a more *effective* gospel sermon than half the professors at Oxford. And it is chiefly owing to the voluntary unpaid services of these men, that there is such a disparity between the number of chapels and "professional ministers." But further, Dr. Hume must not judge of the amount of visitation done in connection with the chapels, by what takes place in his own church. In the Church of England, if the clergyman does not visit the sick, they are neglected. Who ever heard of the churchwardens gathering a few poor people together in a cottage, for reading the Scriptures and prayer? The laity are not taught that it is their privilege to engage in any such duties. This is *professional* work, and none

but those in the profession can perform it aright. But the case is very different in the voluntary churches. Take the Methodists as an example. Each society, or church, is divided into classes of about a dozen members each, and over these is placed a man of experience and piety. It is his duty to meet them once a week for prayer and religious conversation. If they are sick, it is his duty to visit them, and also inform the minister of their case. If any member is very poor, and needs relief, it is his duty to bring the case before the leaders' meeting, and relief is granted. Now in the various Methodist bodies, there are upwards of 40,000 class leaders! Each class the "professional minister" meets once every three months, and converses with all the members separately on their religious state. Therefore, in those chapels which Dr. Hume calls mere "preaching stations," there is more spiritual oversight, and pastorial visitation, than would at first sight appear.

Allow me now to bring before you a few figures, which will help you to realise the present working power of the various Methodist denominations in this country. In some small matters, absolute accuracy is not attainable, as no annual returns are made; but, in the cases where I have not the authority of official documents—and they are very few—I have laid my calculations before men of wide experience in Methodism, and I am quite certain they are very near the truth.

Then, in England and Wales, the various bodies of Wesleyan Methodists have :—

Members in Society	537,248
Itinerant Ministers	2,021
Local Ministers	32,307
Class Leaders	41,106
Sunday School Teachers	150,032
Sunday School Scholars	841,182

It is difficult to ascertain the number of persons who profess to worship at Methodist chapels. But we shall not be far wrong, if we assume that there are three worshippers for one member; and this would give, 2,148,992, as the number of worshippers. On the Census Sunday, in 1851, the total number of attendances, at all the services in the Methodist chapels, was 2,417,353. Of course, many persons would be found at more than one service, and, therefore, he counted twice. However, on the whole, we may safely put down the number of worshippers

in Methodist chapels at 2,000,000! Now we may, in a rough way, estimate the strength with which a belief grasps a man's heart, by the amount of labour he will undergo, and the money he will give, in order to spread it. Try the Methodists by this standard. It is presumed—and Dr. Hume will perhaps admit it—that Methodist ministers work, at least, as hard as Church clergymen. It is also presumed, that the Methodist people—the laity—work much harder than Church people, to extend the Redeemer's kingdom. But let us look at the money they yearly raise. I cannot trouble you here with lengthened details—which I have by me—but, I have no hesitation in saying, that the Methodists annually raise for the support of religion, upwards of one million two hundred thousand pounds sterling! And, remember that, as a whole, the Methodists are a poor people. When, therefore, Dr. Hume and his clerical brethren talk about the utter inefficiency of the voluntary system, and fear that we should become a nation of heathens, if the church were separated from the state, I commend to their notice the history of Methodism. Let them look at its origin, and think of the opposition it has had to meet with,—not a little from the clergy of the established church; let them remember that, during the first half of this century, the Methodists have increased their accommodation for religious worship, at more than 1,300 per cent.; and that, during the last ten years, they have increased more rapidly than for many years previous; let them remember that their increase in church members has been nearly 600 per cent., and that their increase in "professional ministers" has been 600 per cent.; let them remember the Methodist chapels and schools, which are to be found in almost every nook and corner of our land; I say, let the clergy study these facts, and remember that all has been done on the voluntary principle; and then, surely, they will have a little more faith in the inherent vitality of the truth they preach.

But in stating what Methodism has done during the last half century, you must remember that I have only stated a very small portion of what has been accomplished by the voluntary principle. The Independents and Baptists have also increased much faster than the population, and very much faster than the church of England. My time will not allow me to go much into detail, neither is it so easy to get exact statistics from these denominations as it is from the various branches of the Methodist family. However, take the increase of accommodation for religious

worship. In this particular, neither the Independents, nor the Baptists, have increased so rapidly during the last half century, as the Methodists; but mark, the Independents have increased more than fourteen times faster than the church of England, and the Baptists more than sixteen times! Or, in other words, the church of England has increased its accommodation for religious worship 24 per cent., the Independents 350 per cent., and the Baptists 400 per cent.! If we put the whole of the Dissenters together—Methodists included—the case will stand thus:—In 1801, the church of England provided 82 per cent of the whole of the religious accommodation which then existed for England and Wales; but, in 1851, the Church had sunk down from 82 to 52 per cent. The Dissenters, in 1801, provided 18 per cent. of the religious accommodation; but, in 1851, they had risen to 48 per cent.!

Then, when Dr. Hume next repeats his statement of the rapid increase of the population, and expresses his fear lest Englishmen should soon become heathens, I would ask him to tell his audience where the blame rests. How is it that the prospect looks so dark? Does the blame lie at the door of the Methodists? I answer, No! Failings they doubtless have, but still they have increased ten times faster than the population. Does the blame fall upon the Independents and Baptists? Again I answer, No! Doubtless they might have done more, but still they have increased much more rapidly than the population. On what portion of Christ's church, then, in this land, does the blame chiefly rest? I reply, it is the church, with which Dr. Hume stands connected. It is the church of England that has lagged far behind the increase of population. And yet, with all these facts before them, clergymen are going about the country lecturing, on the "The utter inefficiency of the Voluntary System;" and, in the simplicity of their hearts, they expect people to believe them. But, before I leave this part of my subject, allow me to say a word or two upon the voluntaryism in the church of England. It is an admitted fact that, in the last twenty years, the church of England has made great progress. Probably the church was never wielding a greater spiritual power for good than at the present time; and, with all my heart, I rejoice in the fact. It does not disturb my mind in the least, that many of the clergy do not recognise the validity of my ordination, and think that I have no right to preach. They are quite welcome to their opinion. I shall go on preach-

ing all the same. But I would ask Dr. Hume, whether the progress the church has made, during the last twenty years, has not been chiefly the result of the voluntary principle? Forty years ago, probably there was not a single clergyman supported by the voluntary principle. The idea would then have been laughed at as absurd. But now, it is stated, there are upwards of 1,300 clergymen supported by it. Canon Stowell said, in his recent lecture, "that on the voluntary principle alone, the church, during the last thirty years, had built 3,000 churches, at a cost of more than £15,000,000." And you may mark, that this increased development of spiritual life, in which we all rejoice, has gone hand in hand with the development of the voluntary principle. Does Canon Stowell believe, that if the state had granted that £15,000,000, and built those 3,000 churches, and richly endowed them, placing the patronage in the hands of the Premier of the day, that the spiritual results would have been equal to what they now are? I trow not.

Let us suppose for a moment that we could blot from the history of the last half century, all that has been done for the religious improvement of the English people by the voluntary principle; let us suppose the history of the Methodists, Independents, and Baptists is all a blank; and what has been accomplished by the voluntary principle in the church of England is also a blank; and then I ask, what have we left? How much spiritual work has been accomplished by the compulsory principle? Dr. Hume talks about our town population becoming heathen; verily if it had not been for the voluntary principle, it would have been strictly true.

I will now briefly direct your attention to Scotland.

You are all aware that in that country, during the last seventeen years, an experiment has been made on a large scale of the power of the voluntary principle, and made, too, by men who had but little faith in it at first. Of course I now refer to the "Free Church of Scotland." I need not stay to narrate the cause of the "disruption;" suffice it to say, that the alternative was placed before the Church of Scotland, to give up their right of self-government or to give up state pay. And 478 ministers and professors said, we will give up the pay, we will be free, whatever may be the result. They left their homes, and the churches in which their fathers had worshipped, trusting in God to provide for them. And what the results have been I am now about to lay before you.

And let us first look at what they have done, in sixteen years, in the way of providing accommodation for religious worship. They have built—

			£.	s.	d.
1.	800 Churches, at an average cost of	£918 6 0 total	734,641	1	2
	565 Manses, " "	600 0 0 "	339,000	0	0
	620 Schools, " "	335 0 0 "	207,700	0	0
2.	Edinburgh College, total cost		38,879	5	1
	Glasgow College, "		11,220	0	0
	Aberdeen College, "		2,360	0	0
3.	Edinburgh and Glasgow Normal Schools		22,564	9	6
4.	Assembly Hall and site, Edinburgh		8,500	0	0
	Church Offices in Mound-place		7,500	0	0
5.	Churches, Manses, Schools, erected at the expense of individuals, not appearing in the public accounts		50,000	0	0
	Aggregate cost of buildings		£1,422,364	15	9

From this large amount of money spent in buildings, there are two small deductions to be made. First, the existing debt upon them is estimated at £90,000; and second, towards the erection of the schools they have received £20,000 from the government. Deducting these, there is the noble sum of £1,312,364. 15s. 9d. left, which, in sixteen years, the Free Church of Scotland has invested in lime, stone, and land! Let us now look at the ministry of the Free Church. There were 478 ministers who left their emoluments and status in the Established Church. In the first year of the Free Church each of these received a stipend from £105. and upwards. In the year 1859 the number of ministers had increased to 784, and the lowest stipend was then £138. Besides which, 565 of them had a pleasant manse, built by the free-will offerings of the people.

But perhaps it may be thought that all the energies of the Free Church have been confined to building churches and schools, and providing for their own wants at home; but this has not been the case. They have been doing much for others in various ways, and in many lands. Allow me to read you the income, for the year 1859, for various religious objects:—

Building Funds General and Local	£50,519	16	0½
Sustentation Fund	126,282	14	6
Congregational Fund	94,481	19	6
Education Fund	17,764	15	3
College Fund	9,000	8	5
General Trustees and Miscellaneous	36,619	4	7½
Glasgow Evangelisation	2,539	11	1

Missions.	Missions to the Highland	1,314	3	2
	Missions to the Colonies	4,487	15	9
	Missions to the Continent	2,456	19	8
	Foreign Missions	19,210	2	6
	Missions to the Jews	7,673	13	3
	Making a total income for 1859 of.....	£342,723	12	4½

Now you will see from these figures, that the zeal of the Free Church is expansive. If they begin at home they do not stay there. From the year 1843 to 1859, a period of sixteen years, the Free Church raised for all purposes £4,883,132. 12s. 6¾d. And mark well this fact, that after sixteen years' experience, the income of the Free Church still increases. "Leaving out of view the building funds, which are temporary, the aggregate of all the other funds has been steadily, year by year, increasing; so that the yearly average of the last five years is twenty-five per cent. above the yearly average of the first five yeaars."

Then, I put it to you, I put it to Dr. Hume, whether the experiment made in Scotland does not prove the efficiency of the voluntary principle. If in a country like Scotland, so much can be done in so short a time, does Dr. Hume really think that we should become heathens and infidels, if the church were to be separated from the state? Surely not.

I confess I was much surprised at the slip-shod, off-hand way in which Dr. Hume referred to the Free Church of Scotland. I submit, that so noble a passage in his country's history deserved a more respectful treatment. But I will read his words and you shall judge. "If we turn to Scotland," said the Doctor, "I am old enough to remember before the time when what is called the 'disruption' took place in the established church of Scotland, and I remember a great conflict raging on the subject of establishments. I said to a friend, before seven years were over many of these men, the warm friends of an established church, would espouse voluntaryism; not in *practice* merely, but as a *principle* also, and would advocate it. 'Impossible,' was the reply. More than seven years have passed and what has happened? A very large number of the ministers of the free kirk, who were establishment men to the back-bone a few years ago, are now all for voluntaryism; that is to say, our side is always the right side, whether we are on the ministerial or opposition benches, and yours is always the wrong one." This passage I call ungenerous and unfair. It ill-becomes any man, and especially any clergyman in the church of England, to throw

out insinuations as to the sincerity or conscientiousness of the opinions expressed by the ministers of the Free Church of Scotland. They have given such proof of their loyalty to conscience that few men in this generation have done beside. Of this I am quite certain, that if they occupied the place of the evangelical clergy in the church of England, they would very soon either reform the church, or leave it. And I think Dr. Hume might have found a more probable reason for this change of opinion, which he says has taken place in many of their minds, with respect to the voluntary principle. The world always gives Scotchmen credit for being shrewd and clear-headed, and if the experience they have had the last seventeen years, had not convinced many of them of the superiority of the voluntary principle, I should have thought them very dull scholars indeed.

I will only bring before you one other illustration of the efficiency of voluntaryism—and that is, the aspect of religion in America.

There is no country that could present a severer test of the voluntary principle than the United States. The population has increased more rapidly in that country, than in any other country in the world. Dr. Hume tells us how fast the population of England is increasing, and unless a Reform Bill can be got for the Church which shall adapt her machinery to the necessities of the times, he cannot tell what will become of us. I commend to his notice the statistics I am about to present. The population of the United States in the year

1790	was.....	3,929,827
1800	„	5,305,925
1810	„	7,239,814
1820	„	9,638,131
1830	„	12,866,920
1840	„	17,062,566
1850	„	23,191,876
1860	„	31,648,496

Or, we may state the increase in another way. In the year 1775, the population of the United States was a little above 3,000,000. In the year 1860, it was 31,648,496. That is say, in eighty-five years, the population has increased more *than ten-fold*. Surely if in any nation the voluntary principle will be inadequate to provide for the religious instruction of the people, this is the nation. We should not much wonder at good men being appalled of the greatness of the work, and saying, " Woe

to the cause of religion if the government does not put its shoulder to the wheel." And yet we shall find that the voluntary principle has fully proved itself equal to the task. You must remember that the union of church and state which existed in many of the States, was dissolved shortly after the revolution. In Connecticut it terminated in 1816, and last of all in Massachusetts, in the year 1833. And now let us look at the progress made. We will first take the increased accommodation for religious worship, and see whether it has kept pace with the population. In the year 1835, the places of worship numbered 12,580, which would give one church for about every 1,100 of the population. The number of church edifices given in the census returns of 1850, was 38,183, and in 1855, Dr. Baird estimated them at 42,359, which would give one church for every 624 of the people. And supposing one-half the population to be the number who are able to attend at any one time, it will be a church for each 312 of the population. Thus, you will see, that during this period, church accommodation has increased nearly twice as fast as the population.

Let us now ask, How are these churches supplied with ministers? Dr. Baird in his celebrated work on religion in America states, that in 1775, the number of ministers of all denominations did not exceed 1,441, being one minister of the gospel for about 2,428 souls. But in the year 1855, "the number of ordained, evangelical, orthodox, protestant ministers alone, exclusive of licentiates, and of the local preachers of the Methodist churches, was no less than 29,430! That is on an average, "one evangelical Protestant minister of the gospel for 900 souls." Thus you will see, that notwithstanding the population has augmented in a ratio to which the history of the world affords no parallel, yet the number of evangelical ordained ministers—exclusive of local preachers who number about 14,000—is more than twice as great in proportion to the population, as was that of the ministers both of Protestant and Catholic in the year 1775. But the power a Christian ministry exerts in a country, is not to be estimated altogether by quantity, we must take into account the quality. The great prizes in a state church like ours in England, hold out strong inducements for unconverted men to enter the ministry. It is no breach of charity to say that many in the English church have entered the priest's office for the sake of the living. Churchmen have repeatedly confessed this and deplored it. Now, there is no

temptation of this sort in the American churches. There are no great prizes for the man of secular ambition; there are no bishoprics with their £8000 a year, besides rich livings to give to their sons and sons-in-law. Therefore we may fairly conclude that, in the great majority of cases, those who enter the ministry in America do it from the sincerest and purest motives. But if ministers should creep into American churches, who are "inefficient and idle preachers, and careless ungodly pastors," such as the *Record* says, abound in the church of England, they are soon dismissed; they are not settled for life. But the American churches not only demand in their ministers genuine godliness and fervent zeal, but they also require sound education. Hence the orthodox, evangelical churches, have upwards of a *hundred* colleges and theological seminaries in which the ministers are trained for the important duties of their office. Captain Marryatt, who is no admirer of the voluntary principle or of the American churches, has said that "the American clergy are in the mass equal, if not superior, to any in the world." Permit me now to read you a few sentences from a statistical paper read before the Conference of the Evangelical Alliance in August, 1851, by Dr. Baird. They give a brief summary of the progress made by some of the American churches. His remarks are as follows:—"During the first half of this century the Episcopal church has more than quintupled its clergy, and nearly quintupled its members. * * * In sixty years the Baptist churches have increased ten-fold, their ministers nine-fold, and their members more than thirteen-fold. * * * The Presbyterian body has increased twelve-fold, so far as the ministry is concerned; eight-and-a-half fold as to the churches, and nearly nine-fold as regards the members." And Dr. Baird sums up by saying, that "while the population of the United States has increased something less than four and-a-half fold, the number of evangelical ministers, churches, and members of churches has increased nearly, if not quite, ten fold."

If we are to review what the American churches have done, and are doing for the support of missions, bible societies, tract societies, and other kindred objects, we should find that they would bear comparison with the most liberal churches at home. Suffice it to say, that a sum exceeding *five millions sterling* is annually raised in America for the support of religion! And now I ask you, I ask Dr. Hume, whether in America the

voluntary principle has not proved itself to be efficient? It has had a gigantic work to do, and it has shown itself equal to the task. I will only add the testimony of two distinguished men as to the state of religion in that country. The first is from the Earl of Carlisle. In the year 1850, after spending some time in the United States, he said:—"Take the towns by themselves, and I think the voluntary principle appears fully adequate to satisfy all religious exigencies. * * * On the other hand, over their immense tracts of territory the voluntary system has not sufficed to produce sufficient religious accommodation. It may however, be truly questioned, whether any establishment would be equal to that function." The other testimony I will quote is from a distinguished Frenchman, who, when living, had an European reputation. I refer to De Tocqueville. In his work on Democracy in America, he says:—"In the United States the sovereign authority is religious, and consequently hypocrisy must be common; but there is no country in the whole world in which the Christian religion retains a greater influence over the souls of men than in America."

I have now finished my argument. And remember that my facts have been drawn from the history of different churches at different periods, and therefore, the inference from them is more likely to be sound.

1. I have referred you to the rapid progress made by the church during the first three centuries, when it was supported solely by the voluntary principle.
2. I have shown you the great increase made during this century by the voluntary churches in our own country, as compared with the state church.
3. I have brought before you the marvellous results accomplished by the Free Church of Scotland, during the last seventeen years, when acting on the voluntary principle.
4. And lastly, I have shown you, how the churches in America have, upon the voluntary principle, increased much faster than the population, although the population has augmented with unexampled rapidity.

And I think I am now entitled to say, that I have fairly and honestly proved "The Efficiency of Voluntaryism as tested by Facts;" which was to be done.

If time allowed, there are several parts of Dr. Hume's lecture that I should like to analyse; such, for instance, where he says:—

"We (church people) remove our places of worship that they may do *more* good; others (dissenters) remove theirs, knowing that they must necessarily and naturally do *less* good." Dr. Hume ought to be ashamed at having made such a charge. He may think that dissenters act unwisely in removing some of their chapels, but to say that they remove them, "knowing that they must necessarily and naturally do less good," is a slanderous statement. Archbishop Whately tells us :—"When no charge can really be substantiated, and yet it is desired to produce some present effect on the unthinking, there may be room for the application of the proverb, 'Slander stoutly, and something will stick :' the vulgar are apt to conclude, that where a great deal is said, *something* must be true." Whether it is upon this principle that Dr. Hume and his clerical brethren have repeatedly charged the dissenters with leaving the poor, I will not say. But let us for a moment look at the facts of the case. In a *few* instances the dissenters have removed their chapels, and the question is, what has been the cause? What motive has induced them to remove? In several cases, it will be admitted that the population has left the locality. Take Cannon-street chapel, Manchester, as an illustration of this. Or, take the Wesleyan chapel, Oldham-street. Forty years ago the chapel was regularly crowded; persons had to wait for months before they could be accommodated with pews; but now the congregation is comparatively small. The reason is obvious; to a very large extent the dwelling-houses round the chapel have been converted into shops and warehouses. Now suppose the Wesleyans were to sell that chapel; they would be able, with the proceeds, to build three or four more in other parts of the city, whither the population has gone. But if they do this, are they to be told that they will be leaving the population, and forsaking the poor? Surely not. But further, I grant that in some cases chapels have been removed, not because there was no population, but because it has been deemed, after a long and fair trial, that the locality was not the most suitable for a place of worship. Allow me to give you a case as an illustration. In the town of Oldham, the denomination to which I belong has for several years possessed a chapel in Grosvenor-street. I suppose that it is the most degraded part of the town. I am told that the chapel is surrounded with brothels on every side.

Now we have done our best to get a good church in that place, but, I am sorry to say, we have not succeeded; and all who are acquainted with the site of the chapel have lost hope of

succeeding there. If, through the efforts of the minister, a workingman has been reclaimed from wickedness, he has soon objected to take his family to such a place. He has thought that his children would receive no good by passing down a narrow lane, to chapel and school, occupied chiefly by drunkards and prostitutes; and has therefore soon joined some other church. Now, our minister at Oldham has a salary of less than £100. a year, and yet during the last twenty years £885. has been paid from our connexional funds for his support. Doubtless, during this time much good has been done, but still, there are now twenty members less in the church than there were fifteen years ago, and that does not satisfy Methodists. We do not call it a *spiritual* success. Well, having tried the place seventeen years, the members in our church at Oldham have decided to build a new chapel. They have sold their present one for a Ragged School, and have selected a more eligible site. Now if Dr. Hume says that by removing our place of worship we shall do less good, I reply, we can judge better of that matter than he; but if he says that we remove it "knowing that we must necessarily and naturally do *less* good," I reply, "Judge not, that ye be not judged." If necessary, I could give other cases like the one at Oldham, in connection with the United Methodist Free Churches; and I doubt not similar cases occur in other denominations. But I would ask whether the clergy have always selected some dirty back street as the site of the churches they have built during the last thirty years? Dr. Hume admits the contrary; he says, "Our churches are intended more for the rich, in many cases, than they are for the poor." I don't believe that could be said of a single chapel in the denomination to which I belong. They are all intended more for the poor than the rich; and are nearly all filled by the poor.

There is just one other passage in Dr. Hume's lecture upon which I must say a few words, and then I will conclude. On the sixth page of his lecture, you will find the Doctor refers to the number of persons who attend the places of worship belonging to the Church of England, the Roman Catholics, and Protestant Dissenters, and he finds that twenty-five per cent. of the people go to no place of worship; he then says:—"What comes of those twenty-five per cent. 4,466,000, who do not attend any place of worship, who, to use an expression of Professor Wilson's, 'never darken the door of the house of God?' We reply these are cared for by the established church of the country. We are *ministerial* to the forty-two per cent. who come to our

churches, and who worship sabbath after sabbath in the beauty of holiness; and we are *missionary* to the twenty-five per cent. who will not come to us at all. Are these to be neglected and deserted? Are these to be left to the tender mercies of the evil one? Are these to be run away with by the mormons, the secularist, and the infidel lecturer, whose poisonous systems are spread over the land by those who go about like so many roaring lions seeking whom they may devour? Are not poverty and ignorance sufficient misfortunes; but shall we also brand the poor man and visit him as if he had been guilty of a crime, and leave him to corruption more dangerous than disease neglected, or pestilence unchecked? I thank God, therefore, that we have still in England an established church. Cobbett thanked God, that we had a House of Lords. And our established church, including both those to whom she is ministerial, and those to whom she is missionary, claims the allegiance of sixty-seven per cent. of the gross population of the country, or more than two-thirds. O, this is a fact like a dagger for some of our opponents. They would not believe it; it did not suit their bag as sportmen say."

Now, if the "Manchester Church Defence Association" will continue to send forth lecturers, who will talk in this style, I am quite sure they will hasten the day when the church will be separated from the state. *Does Dr. Hume really believe* that the voluntary churches make no *missionary* efforts to bring that twenty-five per cent., who go to no place of worship under religious influences? If so, I would ask him to explain how it is that they have increased so much faster than the established church. Is Dr. Hume aware that there are a few Christian people in England called Methodists? Does he know that this people for the past century have visited the back lanes, and slums, and allies, and all the neglected parts of our land preaching the gospel to the poor? Does Dr. Hume know of the existence of a body of Christians called "Primitive Methodists," who, fifty years ago, numbered only eight persons, but who now number more than 130,000; who have 2,267 connexional chapels, and 3,268 rented rooms in which the gospel is preached to the poorest of the poor? Does he know that this body of Christians has ever regarded it as its special mission to go out into the highways, and hedges, and compel men to come in? Does Dr. Hume know that the body of Methodists, to which I have the honour to belong, "The United Methodist Free Churches," has eighty home missionaries stationed in neglected parts of our

country, and more or less supported from the home mission fund? Does Dr. Hume know that another small body of Methodists, "The Bible Christians," has sixty-two home missionaries employed? Does Dr. Hume know that the income of the home mission fund of the Wesleyan Methodists for the past year was upwards of £17,000? Does he know that the Independents and Baptists have also well sustained home missionary societies? Does Dr. Hume know that there are such men as town missionaries? Is he aware that the Manchester City Mission has an annual income of upwards of £6,000, and that ninety-five missionaries are now employed to carry religious instruction to the most neglected of the population; their motto being "not to proselytise, but to evangelise;" and that these men make 8,118 visits weekly? I ask, is Dr. Hume aware of all these facts? If so, how had he the boldness to say that the church of England is *missionary* to the whole of the population that stand aloof from all places of worship, and that other denominations confine their efforts to those who choose to attend their respective chapels? I have no hesitation in saying that the statement is *notoriously untrue!* The fact is, the great majority of the voluntary churches are essentially *missionary* in their character. They are always looking out for new fields of usefulness. In our day it has been thought a wonderful thing that a bishop has preached to working people in the open air. But the Methodists have been accustomed to preach in the streets for more than a century. Archdeacon Hare took a different view of the *missionary* character of the church of England from Dr. Hume. In a charge he delivered some years ago at Hastings, when referring to the condition of our great towns where help was the most need, he said, "For scores of years, next to nothing was done by the church or the state of England; that which was done, being done almost entirely by members of the dissenting communions," and I leave you to judge from the statistics I have presented, whether the archdeacon or Dr. Hume's statement is the correct one. Dr. Arnold, one of the noblest men the church has produced this century, had no such extravagant view of the work accomplished by the church of England, he said, "The more I think of the matter, and the more I read of the Scriptures themselves; the more intense is my wonder at the language of admiration with which some men speak of the church of England."

And now, in conclusion, allow me to say, that I have not the least ill-will in my soul towards the church of England, as a spiritual organisation. I beg to assure Dr. Hume, that it would

not be "like a dagger" to me, to know that the church was *missionary* to all those who attend no place of worship. I wish it were true. In many respects my admiration of the church of England is deep and sincere. I believe in most, if not all, her articles; I admire her prayers, I love her litany, and I cannot tell how much I am indebted to some of her great writers. Nevertheless, I do strongly object to her union with the state, and will ever contribute my peppercorn of influence to bring about a separation. Churchmen may, if they like, charge me with all kinds of bad motives. Be it so. I shall not be disturbed. It is a small matter to be judged of man's judgment: He that judgeth me is the Lord. I do not believe that it is either right or politic to use carnal weapons. They have worked for evil, and only evil, and that continually. I have no faith in the sword of the magistrate; but my faith is boundless in the sword of the Spirit. So long as our hands are clean, and our hearts are pure, we have no need to tremble for the ark of the Lord. Our enemies may be mighty, but God is Almighty. The sons of Anak may be giants, and we may seem but as grasshoppers in their sight; but, in the name of the Lord God, we will go up and possess the land, for we are well able. The walls of our spiritual Jerichos may be strong as brass, but before the blowing of instruments, weak as ram's horns, they shall crumble to dust. "For God hath chosen the foolish things of the world to confound the wise; and God hath chosen the weak things of the world to confound the things which are mighty, and base things of the world, and things which are despised, hath God chosen; yea, and things which are not, to bring to nought things that are; that no flesh should glory in His presence."

Therefore, I fear no foes. I am not disheartened by the fiercest opposition. Were men and devils visibly combined to effect the church's overthrow, I should say, "The gates of hell shall never prevail against her." The Master said so, and His word is firm as a rock, immoveable as the hills; heaven and earth may pass away, but it shall abide for ever. We want neither prisons nor penalties, nor compulsory payments to aid us in our great spiritual warfare. We will rely on the inherent power of the truth, and on God's Almighty Spirit. And with magnanimous Milton we exclaim, "Though all the winds of doctrine were let loose to play upon the earth, so truth be in the field, we do injuriously to misdoubt her strength. Let her and falsehood grapple; who ever knew truth put to the worse in a free and open encounter?"

MANCHESTER TRACTS.

[Edited by the Executive Committee of the "Manchester Church Defence Association."]

No. 1. Price One Penny. (Or 6s. per 100.)

"WHAT SHALL WE DO?"

Awakened to a consciousness of danger, on a memorable occasion, "devout men" addressed to the Apostles the above question. But they did not receive the answer with folded arms. That same day 3,000 faithful men rallied round their leaders and garrisoned the citadel of safety. In unity of spirit and of action they were banded together to adorn, as well as defend, the Church to which they had been "added." Their question and their conduct commend themselves to the imitation of "devout men" at all times and under any like circumstances of common danger. Such a common danger (not indeed alike in miraculous and peculiar circumstances, but alike suggestive of the above question, and of action *consistent* with a rational answer to that question) has recently roused the attention of "devout men," members of the Established Church.

Trusting in the strength of their cause, averse to engaging in agitation, and lulled by specious assurances of peace, Churchmen had for a time disregarded the signs of approaching danger. At

length the successes of an organised conspiracy for the destruction and plunder of the Established Church roused them from their lethargy. They found measures of confiscation, not less sacrilegious than revolutionary, openly avowed before the public and endorsed even by members of the legislature and ministers of the crown. Christian communities were taught that it is a Christian principle to destroy an establishment for the maintenance of national Christianity. When these and other monstrous designs were sanctioned by majorities in the House of Commons, it was high time for devout Churchmen to ask each other the question, "*Men and brethren, what shall we do?*"

They did ask it, and asked it in earnest.

Foremost in the breach sprang the faithful "Committee of Laymen," with their unwearied and undaunted secretary, Mr. Knott. They exposed fallacies, and presented truths to Members of Parliament; they sounded the alarm through the land in addresses and tracts. The Committee of the House of Lords let in a flood of light upon the real character and designs of the assailants; the phantoms of delusion faded before that light; public opinion was enabled to discern the real merits of the case.

Not the people only, but legislators also, awakened by this influx of light, began to see the points at issue in their proper shapes and colours. At each division the majority steadily decreased, till finally truth triumphed; and the reversal of the sentence of the House of Commons nobly attested the force of reason and the value of faithful energy. In the meantime Defence Associations, Church Institutions, individual champions, and operative societies rose on all sides and rallied the people. And, to concentrate their exertions, the Church Institution in London was formed for the purpose of setting in motion the Parochial and Ruridecanal machinery of the Church.

So far so good; but the conflict is not ended. The conspiracy

exists, and threatens the renewal of its destructive and confiscating schemes. Churchmen must not yet abandon the question, "What shall we do?" To obtain the right answer to that question, another should be asked. By what *means* have the assailants of the Church contrived to impose upon the public mind their dangerous delusions?

1. Amidst professions of peace and respect for Church rights, only freedom of conscience and equal civil privileges were asked.

2. These were conceded. Then, step by step, insidious measures, singly seeming of little importance but collectively tending to one object, were silently promoted to sap attachment to the Parish System, Church, and Priest.

3. A premium on Dissent, by exempting dissenting property from the National Christian obligation, (under which, in common with all other like property, it had been acquired,) was demanded as the only infallible salve for the sores of tender conscience.

4. But when this exemption was actually offered, it was rejected with disdain. Church rates were avowedly to be abolished, not for the sake of tender consciences, but as a stalking-horse for seizing the endowments, and the very Churches, dedicated to the service of God and to the means of religious worship for a Christian people.

5. Even these are not the most daring outrages offered to religion and justice. The dedication of property to National Christianity has been set up as a *plea* for its confiscation. Even the *voluntary restoration* of property to the holy purposes for which it was originally given, is to be forbidden upon pain of reconfiscation.* And in the face of these shameless and revolutionary assaults upon the prescriptive rights of all property (secular as well as religious), those Dissenters, who are agitating to plunder Church endowments

* See Evidence of Foster and Morley.

held upon the prescription of centuries of *lawful* possession, have actually obtained an act by which twenty-five years' possession (*even usurped and unlawful* possession) consecrates and secures for ever their own Dissenting endowments.

To harden the public mind for the reception of doctrines and practices such as these, large sums of money were raised to create prejudice and diffuse error. Litigation and strife were by the same means fostered, that vexation might harass, and expense intimidate the defenders of the Church, and thus compel them to abandon rights established by immemorial usage, and sanctioned by reason and religion. The press teemed with misrepresentations and calumnies.

The Church and its Clergy were shamefully reviled. Its revenues were exaggerated; the truly voluntary piety which gave them was falsely represented as a State grant; its doctrines were subjected to profane and senseless ridicule; unjust comparisons were drawn between its usefulness and that of the voluntary system; its numbers were depreciated; the devotion of its endowments to the uses of the poorest localities, contrasted with the migration of Dissenting Chapels to positions in which riches, not poverty, directed the choice, was carefully kept out of sight, and its title to be regarded as the Church of the people was obscured by clamour and tumult.

While this injustice has been done to the relative superiority of the Church, the Liberators have used some extraordinary means of ensnaring religious-minded Dissenters into a participation of their designs. A new creed has been propounded. No one, it is urged, can be a *true* Dissenter unless he enrols himself as a Church *robber*. The robbery has been glossed over as intended for the benefit of the Church robbed. In the ostentatious assumption also of the *name*,—"*Nonconformist*,"—and especially in the recent *parade* of Liberation agitators in the Bicentenary of the ejected

Nonconformists, the public are urged to believe that the Nonconformists of 1662 held opinions and approved of principles *identical* with those of the *Liberation Society*. Regardless of historical truth, this manœuvre amounts in act to an affirmation that men, like Baxter and others, were hypocrites when they denounced hostility to the possessions of a National Church as sin and sacrilege.

The inference which the parade of the Bicentenary invites religious Dissenters to draw is, that the old Nonconformists, who not only asserted the sanctity of religious endowments, but actually *partook* of them, were *prototypes* of those who, under the pretence of "Liberation," would sacrilegiously confiscate them to secular uses.

With these men Dissenters generally are tempted to join, in a a barefaced imposition on public credulity and in transparent pretences, which must bring scandal on Christian profession, and compromise the religious character of all who take part in the imposture. What is the real motive for grubbing out of its two hundred years' dust the exaggerated grievance of Presbyterian usurpers of Episcopalian livings being compelled to restore to episcopal clergy the livings of which the latter had been unlawfully and violently deprived. Whatsoever honour we may accord to the former (and great honour we do accord to many of them) for conscientious faithfulness, it was hardly to be expected, when they refused conformity, that they should be allowed to use episcopal endowments to propagate presbyterian discipline and doctrine? If the Liberators wished to expose to revived execration only by-gone wrongs, surely their pious sympathies might have exhumed a far less questionable bicentenary, in some seven thousand episcopal clergy driven out by violence to beggary and starvation, than in those two thousand presbyterians intruded into the episcopal benefices vacated by that violence. And in the

very term Presbyterians, the antagonism of the old Independent and Presbyterian sects is called to mind. And plain men ask why the Independents of these days, abounding among the "Liberators," are so smitten with admiration of their old opponents; though even now they maintain that not only Church, but also Presbyterian, endowments ought to be confiscated? Do these Liberators sympathise with either the sufferings or the virtues of their antagonist Presbyterians?* What, then, is the real motive of all this hubbub about 1662? It is nothing more than a pious fraud, to stimulate ignorant prejudice and sectarian hatred against a Christian Church and a Christian ministry. It will recoil on the heads of its contrivers. May religious Dissenters be wise enough to avoid the guilt and the consequences.

Is this a time, and are these fallacies, which should induce Churchmen to look on with apathy and without frequently putting the question, "Men and brethren, what shall we do?" To that question the Executive Committee of the "Manchester Church Defence Association" here attempt a *partial* answer, and to the best of their ability will endeavour, by God's blessing, and with the assistance of *other Church societies*, to proceed to suitable action.

In the rise of Defence Associations, and in movements such as the Church Congress at Cambridge, they see signs of general desire for united action. Therefore, believing that Manchester will be *one* important, and convenient, focus, to concentrate the zeal of Churchmen in the general defence, they respectfully propose the scheme briefly set forth in the annexed Prospectus.

* Read the able discussion of this question in "St. Bartholomew's Day, 1662," reprinted from the "English Churchman." Messrs. Batty, 159, Fleet Street. Price 3d.

Tract No. 2 will be published in a fortnight.

THOS. SOWLER AND SONS, PRINTERS, ST. ANN'S SQUARE, MANCHESTER.

PROSPECTUS.

Manchester Tracts.

[Edited by the Executive Committee of the "Manchester Church Defence Association."]

Under this Title will be Issued (as from a central point) a Series of Tracts to Defend the Church and Counteract the Misrepresentations of its Assailants.

The Committee alone cannot produce sufficient writers; but solicit the co-operation of *individuals*, as well as *societies*, zealous in this cause.

Periods of publication regulated by amount of funds and of MSS. placed at the disposal of the Committee.

MSS. must be sent post or carriage *paid*. Those not selected for publication will be returned.

Authors to state whether their names shall, or shall not, be withheld.

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Tracts not to exceed Eight pages, nor to be less than Four pages,—size of this Prospectus.

Spare space, in each Tract, to be filled with Lists of Defence Publications recommended to the people.

Advertisements, limited in number, will also be inserted at a reasonable charge.

As the scheme is intended to promote union as well as energy, and must be commenced at considerable expense, Churchmen and Church Associations are requested to forward contributions of money as well as tracts.

Communications and Subscriptions to be addressed to the Hon. Sec., Thos. Sowler, Esq., St. Ann's Square, Manchester.

TRACTS RECOMMENDED FOR GENERAL PERUSAL AND CIRCULATION.

To be obtained from the Publishers, 4, St. Ann's Square, Manchester; or Messrs. Rivington, or Seeley and Co., London.

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Bradford Church Defence Association.

THE UNION OF CHURCH AND STATE:

What is it?

AND

What does the Bible say about it?

A LECTURE

BY THE

REV. JOHN EDDOWES, M. A.,
Incumbent of St. Jude's, Bradford.

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CHURCH AND STATE.

WHATEVER might have been, in bygone years, the attitude of Dissenters towards that venerable and apostolic Church, which stands like a noble tree, planted by divine providence in English soil, stretching out its branches to the remotest village, and shedding the fruit of moral and spiritual blessing throughout the length and breadth of the land, their present attitude towards it is one of uncompromising hostility: they would fain uproot it or cut it down, though few of them dare to affirm that it is a mere cumberer of the ground. Once they spoke of peace and amity with Churchmen, but now they are undisguisedly for war. They have drawn the sword, cast away the scabbard, and told us openly that they will not cease the strife until their sword shall have severed that sacred knot which, for some seventeen centuries, has bound in one the Church and State of England. This is the end they are aiming at, by their opposition to Church rates, by their attempts to make it legal for dissenters to be trustees of Church endowments, and for dissenting ministers to officiate in churchyards. They seek to weaken the Church; to reduce her, little by little, to a level with the sects around her; to divorce her from the State, and to appropriate her revenues to secular purposes. Their enterprise is really one of Church spoliation, a sacrilegious crusade. It would seem indeed as if our assailants themselves felt that this design to appropriate their neighbour's goods had an awkward look about it, and rather compromised their character for honesty and piety, for now and then we hear an attempt at denial of it, very faint however, or very equivocal. I will therefore at once set the question at rest by calling into the witness box their own chief, Dr. Charles James Forster, chairman of the Parliamentary Committee of the "Society for the Liberation of Religion from State Patronage and Control." He thus stated before the House of Lords' committee the designs of that society: "We wish to separate the Church from the State. We wish to take away all funds and property with which the State has endowed any religious denomination whatever. I may explain my meaning shortly, and it is this; say, for instance, that property which belonged to the Church at the time when this country was Roman Catholic, and which, by virtue of the Reformation, was vested in the Church since it became Protestant, *we* should wish to deal *with all that*." And when asked, "Do you include *tithes* in that?" his reply was "*Yes*." (q. 1507—11.)

Now, what can this evidence point to but undisguised spoliation? Is it not a summons to surrender into the hands of Dr. Forster and his co-liberationists, the tithes and temporalities with which the munificence and piety of our forefathers have enriched our Church? How then should we reply to such a summons? Surely as we are replying, by throwing ourselves between the spoiler and our church, by rallying round our venerable mother, a wall of loving hearts and devoted hands—

> "Hearts resolved and hands prepared,
> The blessings they enjoy to guard."

The separation of Church and State is the point by which, at the present moment, the views of the Church's foes and the Church's friends are both, for the most part, limited. I hesitate not, however, to express my own belief that (notwithstanding all the fair assurances with which we are sometimes favoured,) if Dissenters could separate us from the State, and appropriate our revenues tomorrow, they would still have evil will at our Zion, and I will give you one reason for this opinion. In the United States of America, to which we are so often pointed by voluntaryists, but the statistics from which by no means tell in their favour, there is no *established* religion, and the daughter of our own Church flourishing there has no more connexion with the State than any one of the hundred sects which have sprung up in that land. Yet one of the ablest and most discerning of living men writes thus: "They who have thought that the outcry sometimes heard against the Church at home is excited by its being established by the nation, and not by its bearing witness against the lawfulness of sectarian subdivision, may be surprised to find that, to an English Dissenter, the claims of the episcopal communion are more offensive in America than here. There it appears to him incredible exclusiveness." I believe, with this writer, that no concession we churchmen may make will satisfy our opponents short of "an entire abandonment of all claim to apostolic constitution."

The issue however, at present raised between Dissenters and ourselves is this, Is, or is not, the Union of Church and State sanctioned in Holy Scripture, and serviceable to the cause of godliness? I am here to-night to maintain the first of these points. to show you that this union is in accordance with the will and word of God.

But before we approach the Scripture argument, let us understand what the union of Church and State in England really is; and in order to do so, it will be necessary to clear away a host of misrepresentations and misconceptions. Here are a few of them: That we are a Parliamentary Church, and that the Parliament composed our Prayer-book; that the State pays the stipends of the clergy, and even (as some have gravely imagined) prepares their sermons; and that it is because the clergy are paid out of the taxes of all that they are at the call of all for the offices of baptism, marriage, and burial. Absurd and incredible as such statements must appear to you, there are found people weak enough to believe them. It is necessary, therefore, distinctly to state that they are utterly baseless and untrue. Parliament did not compose the Prayer-book; the clergy do not receive their stipends from the State, nor derive their incomes in any way from the taxation of the people.

A similar mis-statement, and with as little truth in it, is, that the property of the Church was originally voted to her by the State. Now what the State really does is this: she guarantees to the Church the peaceable and permanent possession of her property, just as she guarantees to chapel people the possession of theirs, or to a private individual the possession of his. She sanctions too the ancient territorial divisions of the country into dioceses and parishes for purposes ecclesiastical, and recognizes the bishops and incumbents of the Church as having a special and peculiar authority therein. She has incorporated into her statute-book the Book of Common Prayer, and made it part of the law of the land. Had the State, indeed, voted to the Church, at some period of her history, the property which the Church now possesses, the state would, in that act, have been only doing her duty as a Christian government. But the

State has done no such thing. I do not indeed deny that the Church has occasionally received a parliamentary grant for a special purpose, as in the years 1818 and 1824, grants amounting altogether to £1,500,000 for the building of churches. But neither do I forget that the State has taken much more from the Church than she has ever given to it; and that other bodies of Christians now actually receive *more* money from parliament than the Church does. For the last 36 years, the clergy of the Church of England have not received a single shilling from the public funds, nor any vote of money for the building of churches. The only semblance of pecuniary aid from the state which I can discover, is the payment of two or three professors at the universities, and some £4000 annually voted for the expenses of the Ecclesiastical Commission. But these professors are not necessarily clergymen, and the universities are now thrown open to Dissenters; and this Ecclesiastical Commission was *appointed* by the State, and therefore very properly is paid by the State.

But are they who denounce us receiving as little? Let us see. You have heard, perhaps, some of you, of the *Regium Donum*, and do not know exactly what it is. I will tell you. It is an awkward little matter, affecting the consistency of anti-churchmen, and therefore very seldom referred to by them. It is a sum of money voted annually by parliament, out of the taxes which Churchmen as well as Dissenters pay; it amounts to about £27,000,—the amount voted in 1860 was £31,210—and it goes into the pockets of Dissenting ministers in England and Ireland. Did it never occur to our opponents, that Churchmen might as well refuse to pay their taxes, because they do not belong to the religious denominations whose ministers receive the *Regium Donum*, as Dissenters refuse to pay church rates, because they do not worship within the walls of the Church of England? But this by the way.

We have parliamentary returns on this subject extending over 15 years (from 1830 to 1844 inclusive), and these returns show that during that period, the Presbyterian Church of Scotland received out of the public funds, £349,908 18s. 9d.; the Church of Rome in Ireland £136,152; Protestant Dissenters in England, £27,514 12s. 3d.; and the Protestant Dissenters in Ireland, £424,261 1s. 9d. If, then, it be a sin to receive State aid, our opponents are, at the very least, in the same condemnation with ourselves. But little indeed is the pecuniary aid which the Church has ever received at the hands of parliament; and to assert that the Church's property was derived from the State, is to utter a palpable falsehood. The State did not give to the Church her property, and she has no more right to take it from her, and devote it (as proposed) to secular purposes, than she has to do the like with the property of any public company, or even with the property of those who are trustees of a Salem, a Bethel, an Ebenezer, or a Zoar. Our Church's property was bequeathed to her by the noble piety of our forefathers, and she has a title to it older, and perhaps better than any nobleman in the kingdom to his patrimonial estate, or even the Queen on the throne to the crown lands.

Another misrepresentation—more plausible, but not more truthful—is that though originally derived from pious munificence, the property was taken from the Roman Catholics in the time of Henry the 8th, or Elizabeth, and conferred by the state upon the Church of England. Now what is the fact? There is no act upon the statute-book doing any such thing. The tithes and endowments which the Church enjoys were originally given, not to the Church of Rome, but to the Church of England, for her use for ever. At the period referred to, the Church of Eng-

and simply reformed herself, and there was not, as you may possibly have supposed, one set of men, Roman Catholics, giving up the benefices and property of the Church which they held, to another set of men, who were Protestants. The *doctrines* of the Church were changed; the men who held her property were the same. Of the 9,291 parochial clergymen in the reign of Elizabeth, all except 80 conformed to the new service. The Pope had usurped an authority to which he had no rightful claim; the English Church now rejected that authority. He had brought in doctrines not sanctioned in God's word; she therefore expunged those doctrines from her service-books, and condemned them in her articles. Was then, I ask, her property less her own because she had purified herself from corruptions which a usurper had brought in; because she had translated God's word for the people into their mother tongue, and modelled for them a Book of Common Prayer unrivalled even among the compilations of Christendom, our enemies themselves being judges? After the Reformation, she was what she had been for centuries before; what happily she is now; and what, by the good hand of our God upon us, she shall be to the days of our children and our children's children—a living branch of the Church of Christ established in this realm of England.

Having now cleared away some errors and misrepresentations, let us see what is really the truth in this matter. The revenues—the tithes, rates, glebe, endowments—of the Church were not given by the State, but derived from the pious munificence of our forefathers: the union of the Church with the State was not the result of a vote in parliament, nor is it one paid for by the taxes of the nation; it existed before parliaments were known in the land, or a monarch reigned over united England. Its history may be very briefly and simply told: The Christian faith was preached in our island in the first century; in the second century it numbered amongst its converts some of the Roman rulers and native princes; the union between the Church and the State then naturally and silently formed itself, and from that time to this, that is during seventeen centuries (excepting perhaps a century or so, when the superstition of the Saxon invaders had all but supplanted the religion of the cross,) the kings of Britain have been crowned by the bishops of English sees, and Church and State have been, not two, but one.

It is important to bear these facts in mind, and then you will be able better to appreciate the modesty and kindness of the Liberation Society in requesting Churchmen to sever the connexion which has existed so long, and to give up to secular purposes the wealth bequeathed to her in generations past. Another point I would ask you also to bear in mind—that Church and State have not (at least until recent times) represented two different bodies of people, but one and the same. Churchmen and citizens were only two names for the same persons; for every citizen, in the period before the Reformation, was also a Churchman. Dissent was unknown in England until about the year 1580; and I will venture to predict that if the Liberation Society succeed in overthrowing the Church of England, there will soon be no Dissent again, for the Church of Rome would then once more usurp dominion, and would award only her usual toleration to those who had aided her in obtaining power.

And now, having noticed the nature of the alliance between the Church and the State, and the circumstances of its formation, I must ask you to listen to what some of the chief men amongst our opponents say of it.

The late Dr. Wardlaw compared it to "the union of the Israelites with the Egyptians in the house of bondage." In the Year-book of the congregationalists for 1860, the Church Establishment is said to be "a blunder and a sin." Mr. Dowson teaches the children in the Sunday Schools of Westgate Chapel, Bradford, that "Established churches are invariably corrupt from union with the world, are unjust and oppressive towards those who conscientiously separate themselves from them, and observe rites and ceremonies unauthorized by Christ."—*Catechism, p.* 13. Mr. Binney unhesitatingly declares that "the Church of England destroys more souls than it saves." But Mr. Edward Miall, once a preacher amongst the Independents, then a layman, returned to the Commons house of parliament, then the editor of a dissenting newspaper, and now the great idol and apostle, the Jupiter and Mercurius of the Liberation Society, speaks out with more bitterness still. In his *Nonconformists' Sketch-book*, he says, "No man can be a sound-hearted patriot who advocates the maintenance of a State-church." (p. 70.) "The clergy are men who, of necessity, are inimical to all reform, abettors of every abuse." (p. 72.) "Upon all national churches is enstamped in deep and indelible characters, the mark of the beast." (p. 280.) "Homage, the most indirect, paid to the State Church is, in essence, the recognition of falsehood and the worship of a lie." (p. 289.) "The Church of England is an impious pretence." (p. 16.) "A State Church is the nurse and patroness of war." (p. 82.) "Trace the history of this, or any other State-church, and almost every footstep plashes in the blood of men." (p. 84) "The point blank un-scriptural, or rather anti-scriptural character of the National Church is no less marked a characteristic of it, than is its pitiful vacancy of all significance. As nothing more stupidly unmeaning can be conceived, so nothing more flatly contradictory of Christianity can be devised. After having looked into this ecclesiastical cauldron, into which are thrown indiscriminately

> Eye of newt, and toe of frog,
> Wool of bat and tongue of dog:
> Adder's fork, and blind worm's sting,
> Lizard's leg, and owlet's wing:

One is amazed at the blindness of men, who could ever have mistaken *this thing* for a Christian Church." (p. 246.) "The Establishment, a life-destroying upas, deep-rooted in our soil, undisturbed drinks up fresh vigour: it sprouts again; it puts forth fresh branches; it sheds its noxious weeds in our colonies." (p. 16.) "To shatter this image (the established Church) and give the dust of it to the four winds of heaven, is the sacred mission of protestant dissenting ministers; they are appointed by Providence to this great work; let them but say the work shall be done, and the doom of the Establishment is pronounced." (p. 29.)

These are very hard words, my friends, scarcely could harder be spoken against a temple of infidelity. But what if the Church of England be, after all, a true branch of the church of Christ; what if the union of Church and State be a union sanctioned in Holy Scripture? Then are these bitter words uttered against the Church of the Redeemer, and through the Church against the Redeemer himself. May you and I never be partakers in the utterer's sin!

That the union of Church and State is a union which God hath sanctioned, I proceed now to show you. But before doing so, let me just remark,—If this union be so utterly detestable in God's sight, so utterly repugnant to the Divine will and word, as our opponents represent, why

do they not come honestly forward, and bring chapter and verse to prove it so? In the year 1847, indeed, Mr. Miall met the Rev. Dr. Baylee in public controversy on this very question, but was so completely discomfited, that from that day to this, though he has often drawn arguments in favour of pure voluntaryism from expediency or from experience, he has never, I believe, ventured to bring forward again his argument from Scripture. To the law and the testimony, however, we Churchmen make our appeal; by that we are willing to be justified or to be condemned.

Open then your Bibles, and see whether there was not a union of Church and State instituted by God himself in the case of the Jewish nation. The ecclesiastical establishment in Israel consisted of Aaron, the high-priest; the sons of Aaron, the priests; and the whole tribe of Levi, set apart for the inferior ministry. And how were these ministers maintained? They were not left to depend upon the voluntary offerings of the laity, but had an adequate and certain provision secured to them by the law; they were in fact an endowed ministry, their endowments guaranteed by the civil power. The priests and Levites had, as instructors of the people, duties to perform very much resembling those of our own priests and deacons. Cities, therefore, with spacious suburbs, were allotted to the Levites in all the tribes; and besides the parts of the sacrifices reserved for the Priests, the first-fruits, and a tithe or tenth of all, and these of the very best, were set apart for their maintenance. Thus, in Numbers xviii. 12, we read, "All the best of the oil, and all the best of the wine, and of the wheat, the *first-fruits* of them which they shall offer unto the Lord, them have I given thee [i. e. to Aaron and his sons]; and whatsoever is first ripe in the land, which they shall bring unto the Lord shall be thine. Everything devoted in Israel shall be thine. Everything that openeth the matrix in all flesh [i. e. all the first-born] which they bring unto the Lord shall be thine." And v. 21 and 24: "Behold I have given the children of Levi all the tenth in Israel for an inheritance for their service which they serve, even the service of the tabernacle of the congregation." "The tithes of the children of Israel which they offer as an heave-offering unto the Lord, I have given to the Levites to inherit."

Surely, then, the ancient Church of Israel was as much a State Church and an endowed Church as the Church of England: yet God himself made it so. Dissenters themselves are compelled to allow this; the evidence is too strong to admit of a denial. What then do they do? They affirm that the whole Mosaic dispensation was merely typical, or else that the union of Church and State in Israel was an exceptional case. But these assertions will not help them much. If the State Church in Israel was, as they say, a typical Church, there must be an antitype corresponding with it. Will then our dissenting friends be bold enough to tell us that a *State* Church in ancient times typified an *anti-State* Church in modern times; that when God instituted the *union* of Church and State, in the days of old, He did it to typify the *separation* of Church and State in these latter days? As well might they affirm that monarchy is the type of a republic, or marriage typical of divorce. Surely common sense tells us, that if the union of Church and State in Moses' day be typical at all, it is typical of the union of Church and State in the days of the gospel of Christ. The late Dr. Wardlaw, while living the most eminent champion of anti-churchmen, felt oppressively the weight of the argument deduced from the national character of the Jewish church, and endeavoured to put it aside by saying that the case of the Jews was an exceptional

case. "I grant," he says, "that Jehovah instituted a national church;" (surely this is granting much) "but then," adds the Doctor, "he instituted such a church with *himself as the supreme head* of ecclesiastical and civil government in the nation, conducting His administration by a system of supernatural interposition and immediate manifestation of His presence and authority." This objection is admirably met by the author of *Essays on the Church*, thus, "It is true that the Jewish system of faith and worship was founded by God himself, and carried on, for a considerable period by 'supernatural interpositions and immediate manifestations.' But these manifestations were 'the medicine of the constitution, not its daily bread.' Only at intervals was a prophet sent to the church. In the later periods, Dr. Wardlaw could point out neither supernatural interpositions nor immediate manifestations. How could he maintain then, that these formed 'the most essential element in the Jewish establishment.'? And the Christian system, too, opened, like the Mosaical dispensation, with divine manifestations. We had God speaking to man in the person of Jesus Christ; we had inspired apostles who were greater than the prophets; and we had miraculous proofs of their mission and authority. But under both systems, the Jewish and the Christian, these interpositions and manifestations, after a time, ceased, inasmuch as they were not essential parts of either system. The exaggerated view which Dr. Wardlaw takes, in order to prove the Jewish Church to be wholly distinct from modern establishments quickly melts away, when compared with the facts recorded in the sacred history." (p. 66.)

But, observe this, my friends, were we even to grant that, having God himself for its supreme civil and ecclesiastical governor, the Jewish nation stood alone in the world, and its laws and polity could be no example to kingdoms ruled by men, still this objection could not apply to any period of its history later than that of the Judges. For when the men of Israel demanded a king, it was that they might be "like the other nations of the earth." When therefore Saul was anointed over them, they became like other nations, for God himself then said, "They have rejected me that I should not reign over them." *1 Samuel, viii. 7.*

Pass we on, then, to the times of the kings, for then at all events, Israel was like other nations; but still we see the State hurch principle at work, and hear repeatedly God's approval of it.

In 2 *Chronicles xvii.* 7—9, we read of Jehoshaphat, that "in the third year of his reign, he sent to his *Princes*, even to Benhail, and to Obadiah, and to Zechariah, and to Nethaneel, and to Micaiah, to teach in the cities of Judah, and with them he sent Levites, even Shemaiah, and Nethaniah, and Zebediah, and Asahel, and Shemiramoth, and Jehonathan, and Adonijah, and Tob-adonijah, *Levites;* and with them Elishama, and Jehoram, *Priests*; and they taught in Judah, and had the book of the law of the Lord with them, and went about throughout all the cities of Judah, and taught the people." Here then we have a pious king of Judah sending God's ordained ministers to teach in all the cities of the kingdom, and with these ministers sending also princes, that their teaching might be supported by the civil power. Could there, on our opponents' principles, be a more unjustifiable interference of the kingly power in the matter of religious instruction? *Their* doctrine is (I use their own words,) that "the province of the ruler in matters of religion is, to have no province at all." But surely Jehoshaphat knew nothing of this mo-

dern doctrine; yea, the God of Israel Himself knew nothing of it; in His sight, Jehoshaphat's act was an act of piety, and it drew down upon him and the people whom he governed, the blessing which at that time they longed for most, the blessing of peace, for the very next verse adds, "*and* the fear of the Lord fell upon all the kingdoms of the lands that were round about Judah, so that they made no war against Jehoshaphat."

And in 2 *Chron. xxxi.* 20, 21, *xxxiv.* 33 and xxv, you will read God's declared approval of a similar exercise of the kingly power by Hezekiah and Josiah. And in *Nehemiah ix.* 35, you will find that eminent servant of God, confessing this as a great sin, that the kings of Israel "had not served God *in their kingdom*," a thing which, on the principles of our opponents, they had no right whatever to do.

I will only add one instance more of State interference in connexionwith the religion of God's ancient people It is a very remarkable one, because performed by a heathen monarch, or rather by several heathen monarchs successively. It is one, too, on which God has stamped in an unmistakeable manner, the seal of His approval. In *Isaiah xliv.* 28, we have God predicting by name the rise of Cyrus, the Persian king, and stating that he should "perform all God's pleasure." And what was God's pleasure? "Even saying to Jerusalem, thou shalt be built, and to the temple, thy foundation shall be laid." It was the building of God's house by means of taxes levied upon the people. If you turn to *Ezra vi.* 8, you read the decree which Cyrus made: "Moreover I make a decree what ye shall do to the elders of these Jews for the building of this house of God; that of the king's goods, *even of the tribute beyond the river*, forthwith expenses be given unto these men, that they be not hindered." Such was God's pleasure in the days of old. He was *pleased* to see, what the Liberation Society so much abhors and denounces, the interference of the powers of the State, for the promotion of true religion; and we Churchmen, with this fact before us, maintain that the ruler who, in these modern times, has courage and religion enough to follow the example of Cyrus, performs God's pleasure still. The decree of Cyrus was carried out by his successors on the throne, Darius and Artaxerxes; and a decree which the latter made is especially deserving of notice; you will find it in *Ezra vii.* In verse 20 we read, "Whatsoever more shall be needful for the house of thy God, which thou shalt have occasion to bestow, bestow it *out of the king's treasure house*;" and verse 24, "also we certify you that touching any of the priests and Levites, singers, Nethinims, or ministers of this house of God, it shall not be lawful to impose toll, tribute, or custom upon them;" and verse 26, "Whosoever will not do the law of thy God, and the law of the king, let judgment be executed speedily upon him, whether it be unto death, or unto banishment, or to confiscation of goods, or to imprisonment." Now just mark what we have in this decree: money paid out of the treasuries of the kingdom for carrying on God's work; the ministers of God specially exempted from taxation; and the severest penalties enacted against all who should oppose or hinder the work. What must the Liberation Society think of an exercise of kingly power like this? It is infinitely stronger and more severe than anything of the kind in England. It is just what they must denounce in the strongest terms; men of one religion taxed to support another. It is just what Dr. Wardlaw exclaims against as "a shame, a burning shame, that the subjects of the God of this world should be taxed, and their coffers forcibly unlocked, to replenish the treasury of the God of

Zion." Had Ezra, the pious scribe, shared the views of Dr. Wardlaw, and the Liberationists, he must have been sadly shocked at such an undue stretch of the royal prerogative: but instead of lamenting it, as they would, he rejoiced in it, and gave God hearty thanks for it, for *he* knew nothing of the modern doctrine that kings are not to use their kingly power in the cause of God. Instead of *Ezra* being shocked, methinks our friends of the Liberation Society must be sadly shocked at Ezra, and not a little confounded, when they read his words (verse 27)—"Blessed be the Lord God of Israel, which hath put such a thing as this into the king's heart."

The evidence already adduced in favour of a State Church is so plain and so convincing, that the only way in which the assailants of our national Church can evade its force is by affirming that it all has reference to the dispensation of Moses, which has passed away, and left behind it no model for us. Now this I distinctly deny. The *ceremonial* part of Moses' law has indeed passed away, but the *principles* of that law have not and cannot. Truth is, like its great original, the same yesterday, today, for ever. If a *principle* be true at any time, it must be so at all times; if the principle of a State-Church was true (and our opponents confess it was) in the year of the world 2860, it must be true also in the year of the world 5861.

But so far is the principle of a State Church from being *Mosaic*, that we find it in sacred history long before the days of Moses. There was evidently a settled order of priests, with a settled legal provision for their support, centuries before Aaron lived. In *Genesis xiv.* 18—20, we read of one whose priestly character *Abraham* acknowledged, and to whom he paid tithes—"And Melchizedek, king of Salem, brought forth bread and wine; and he was the priest of the most high God, and Abraham gave him tithes of all." Here we clearly have mention, not only of the union of the royal and priestly power in one person, but of a priesthood supported by tithes; and that mention made moreover in a way which shews that the priesthood was not a new institution, and that tithes were a regular recognized payment. This instance, at all events, our opponents cannot get over by calling it a part of the Jewish law; nor can they affirm that it has no reference to Christian times; for the law was not given till 400 years after, and St. Paul distinctly declares (*Heb. vii.* 21) that the priesthood of Christ was according to the order of Melchizedek. This, therefore, is clear from Holy Scripture, that the priesthood after which our blessed Lord was consecrated was an *established* priesthood, receiving a settled legal payment.

But we have an unquestionable record of State interference in matters of religion in times even earlier than Abraham. The book of Job is supposed to be the oldest book in the Bible; and in *chap. xxxi.* 26—28, we read of the civil magistrate interfering to punish idolatry. "If I beheld the sun when it shined," says Job, "or the moon walking in brightness; and my heart hath been secretly enticed, or my mouth hath kissed my hand; this also were an iniquity to be punished by the judge; for I should have denied the God that is above." This is a very striking instance of the civil power interfering in a matter of religion, and it, at any rate, is one which the boldest and most unscrupulous of our opponents cannot get rid of by calling it Jewish.

Only one kind of evidence more will I bring from the Old Testament and that very briefly. In the writings of the prophets, the kingdom of

Christ, i. e. the gospel dispensation, is foretold in rapturous language ; but throughout, the union of Church and State is pre-supposed. Thus David sings (*Ps.lxviii.*29.31) " *Kings* shall bring presents unto thee, *princes* shall come out of Egypt." (*Ps. lxxii.* 11.) " All *kings* shall fall down before him ; all *nations* do him service." Thus Isaiah (*xlix.* 23,) " *Kings* shall be thy nursing fathers, and *queens* thy nursing mothers." (*Isa. lx.*, 3, 12) " *Kings* shall come to the brightness of thy rising ; for the *nation* and *kingdom* that will not serve thee shall perish ; yea that nation shall be utterly wasted." It would be well if all lovers of their *country* would ponder this last-quoted text, before joining the unhallowed ranks of the Liberation Society.

In summing up the evidence from the Old Testament, let me ask what more trustworthy witnesses would you wish than those whom I have brought before you to-night ? What guides would you rather follow ? Job, the "perfect and upright ;" Abraham, the Father of the faithful ; Moses, the wisest of legislators ; Ezra and Nehemiah ; Jehoshaphat, Hezekiah, Josiah, princes and governors, eminently honoured as servants of God ; the evangelical Isaiah, and the goodly fellowship of the prophets,—all, with one accord lift up their voice in favour of the union of Church and State.

Such then is the Old Testament evidence, or rather a part of it, in favour of a National Church. Indeed, what is the greater part of the Old Testament, but the past or prophetical history of an established Church ? Will it surprise you now to hear that our adversaries refuse to accept its witness ? or will it puzzle you to discover a reason for their refusal ? Do not they, so far at least as the subject of the present controversy is concerned, keep the Old Testament closed, for the very same reason that the Romanist keeps *both* testaments closed, *because it witnesses against them ?* They allow, for they cannot help allowing, that there *is* found in the Old Testament the union of Church and State ; but they say that the Old Testament has passed away, and been superseded by the New. Thus they divorce the Old Testament from the New ; and half the Bible only forms their standard of appeal. But I should like to know where they learned this new doctrine ; and who gave them authority thus to cut the Bible in two ? Certainly our Lord did not. On the contrary, in one of the gospels alone, we find upwards of thirty occasions on which He referred to the Old Testament with such an expression as this, " That the scripture might be fulfilled." And when He would confute the captious Sadducees, did He not draw His argument from the book of Exodus ? Did He not also say something to His disciples about " searching the Scriptures ?" and what Scriptures could He mean but those of the Old Testament, for the New Testament had not been written then ? And with equal certainty we affirm that our Lord's apostles did not regard the Old Testament as having passed away. These very scriptures, which our opponents in their superior wisdom, would set aside as antiquated, St. Paul testified to Timothy were still " able to make a man wise unto salvation through faith which is in Christ Jesus." And, writing to the Romans, he declared, that " whatsoever things were written aforetime were written for our learning," and amongst those things, as we have seen to-night, was God's approval of a national established Church. Having, therefore, the sanction of our Lord and his apostles to the present authority of the ancient scriptures, we Churchmen decline to limit our appeal to the New Testament. Why should we ? Why, at the bidding of our enemy, should we put off

half our armour, or dismantle half the sacred battlements that protect our Zion? The great error into which Dissenters have fallen, and which has led them practically to discard the Old Testament is this: they look upon the religion of Christ as if it dated its beginning from the time of His birth into the world; whereas the truth is, it began when the curse was pronounced over disobedient man in Eden, and with the curse, the promise of a Saviour. The Patriarchal and the Mosaic dispensations were only early dawnings of the true gospel day. St. Paul distinctly tells us, that the *gospel* was preached to *Abraham*, and in the wilderness to the Israelites; that Melchisedek's priesthood was a type of Christ's; that Moses esteemed the reproach of *Christ* greater riches than the treasures of Egypt; and that all those Old Testament worthies mentioned in the 11th of Hebrews died in the faith, i.e., the faith of Christ who was to come; and St. John declares that "the *testimony of Jesus* is the very spirit of prophecy." Clearly, then, even the Mosaic and Christian dispensations are not *two* religions, but *one;* and so the scriptures of the Jews, and those of the Christian are not two volumes, but one, unitedly declaring the will of God:

> "As warp and woof enfold,
> God weaves in one the two—
> The strictness of the old,
> The freedom of the new."

Although our opponents, in spite of this high sanction to the present authority of the earlier scriptures, persist in terming our appeal to them an appeal to Judaism, we Churchmen are not going to be frightened out of the help which Moses and the prophets give to us, merely by an ugly name. But, on the other hand, we are not afraid to meet our adversaries on the ground that they themselves have chosen, that of the New Testament. "Have they appealed unto Cæsar, unto Cæsar shall they go."

A voluntaryist opens before you his New Testament, and with an accent of triumph, as if the victory were already gained, says, 'Show me a national Christian Church, a Christian Church united with the state, in the days of the Saviour or his apostles.' As well might he open the Old Testament and say, 'Show me a national Jewish Church in Chaldæa, in the time of the captivity.' How could there possibly be a union between the Christian Church and any State, at a time when every State was anti-christian, and was seeking the Church's overthrow? To ask this were in very deed to follow the footsteps of the Pharisees, and to demand a sign from heaven. Our voluntaryist would do more to further his cause if, instead of grounding an imaginary triumph on the absence of an impossible existence, he would adduce some saying of our common Lord condemning the *principle* of an established Church. The Church of God had always, up to our Saviour's time, been united with the State. Unless, therefore, our Saviour, by some sentence or act of his, abrogated this union, the clear inference is, that such union, when possible, was to continue still. Churchmen believe, not only that their divine Lord never did abrogate this union, but that He gave to it a positive sanction. The Jewish Church in our Lord's day, was a national church; yet He never uttered one woe over it because of its connexion with the state; nor ever said that it would be a better instrument in His Father's hands if freed from State control. He uttered many woes against the Scribes and Pharisees, because they rejected Him, but never said one word against the union of Church and State, nor ever affirmed that mere voluntaryism would better supply the

needs of the church, and of the world. But I will tell you what He did. He conformed to the worship of this established Church (*Luke iv.* 16); attended its temple (*Matt. xxvi.* 55); taught in its synagogues (*John xviii.* 20); received its sacraments, (*Luke ii.* 21, 22, & *xxii.* 8); approved the payment of tithes (*Matt. xxiii.* 23); acknowledged its priesthood himself, and taught his hearers to do the same (*Matt. xxiii.* 2, 3). During all His earthly life, He sanctioned the national religion, and after His ascension into heaven, He suffered that national Church to continue still by the space of 40 years. Nor is this all. He paid a tax very much like our church-rate, and wrought a miracle in order to do it. In *Matthew xvii.* 24—27, we read, "When they were come to Capernaum, they that received tribute-money came to Peter and said, Doth not your master pay tribute? He saith, Yes. And when He was come into the house, Jesus prevented him, saying, What thinkest thou, Simon? of whom do the kings of the earth take custom or tribute, of their own children, or of strangers? Peter saith unto Him, Of strangers. Jesus saith unto him, Then are the children free. Notwithstanding, lest we should offend, go thou to the sea, and cast an hook, and take up the fish that first cometh up; and when thou hast opened his mouth, thou shalt find a piece of money; that take, and give unto them for me and thee." The tribute-money here spoken of was, as even Dissenting commentators, Dr. Gill, and Matthew Henry, allow, and the reference in our Bible suggests, the half-shekel levied annually from every up-grown man in Israel, for the support of the established worship. This half-shekel our Lord cheerfully paid for His disciple and Himself. And more even than this. Turn to *Matt. xxii.* 21, and read His words to the Pharisees who would evade the payment of an obnoxious tax, "Render unto Cæsar the things which are Cæsar's, and unto God the things that are God's." The "things that are God's" doubtless included the half-shekel we have spoken of, the tithes, and other endowments of the ministry. And what are "the things that are Cæsar's"? Of course the taxes imposed by Cæsar's government. Now, mark this: part of those taxes went to maintain the idolatrous and superstitious worship of heathen Rome; yet our Lord would have them paid by all, freely and at once, and no doubt He paid them Himself. He did not suggest the loophole of a conscientious scruple. He knew that the man who pays the taxes is not responsible for the application of those taxes; that the burden of conscience is not his who pays, but the authority which imposes and spends the taxes. Clearly then, we have our Lord's sanction to the payment of a Jewish church-rate and a heathen church-rate; and it will puzzle, I think, the most conscientious of our assailants to find an objection against a Christian church-rate, from which the Jewish and the heathen one are free. And not only do we hear St. Paul echoing our Lord's precept respecting the payment of duly imposed taxation, "tribute to whom tribute is due," but we find one of the apostle's companions holding an office from whose duties modern voluntaryists would piously shrink. In *Romans* xvi. 23, we read "Erastus, the chamberlain of the city, saluteth you." Now, what would be the duties of Erastus as chamberlain? He would have to receive the taxes, and pay them out as the law apportioned them; he had actually to receive and to disburse money for supporting heathen temples. Yet Erastus did not feel his conscience compromised; for conscientious scruples, such as abound in these modern days, had not been invented then. And here, let me frankly state, that though we Churchmen believe in our hearts

that the Church of England is the purest and most apostolic branch of Christ's church on earth, still, with the example of our divine Head and His immediate followers before us, we should not feel the slightest burden upon our conscience, if the religion of the state were Roman Catholic, or Baptist, or Independent, or Mormon, and we were required to pay a tax legally imposed for its support.*

The opponents of a State Church talk much of the apostles being supported by the voluntary offerings of the early Christians. Did it never occur to them, that it could hardly then be otherwise, for the tithes and legal dues of the priesthood were, in those days, still possessed by the national Church of Israel? Again, have they never noticed, or do they willingly overlook the fact, that though the apostles were content, under the circumstances, to subsist by free-will offerings, they nevertheless distinctly asserted their right to a support like that enjoyed by the priesthood under the law? Read what St. Paul says, 1 *Cor.* ix. 13, 14, "Do ye not know that they which minister about holy things live of the things of the temple? and they which wait at the altar are partakers with the altar? even so hath the Lord ordained that they who preach the gospel should live of the gospel; but I have used none of these things." The priests under the law lived, unquestionably, by tithes and offerings legally secured to them, and the Lord hath ordained that *even so*—even in the very same manner—by tithes and offerings legally secured, they too should live who preach the gospel. If this be the apostle's meaning, then this text alone proves, beyond a doubt, that the union of Church and State is in accordance with the mind of Christ; and if this be not the apostle's meaning, then his reference here to the law is altogether out of place, and does not help his argument.

But besides this *direct* testimony of the New Testament, in favour of a national established religion, there are other strong indications that such an establishment was contemplated by our Lord. When the apostles received their commission to go forth and evangelize the world, in what terms was their commission conveyed? "Go ye, and teach all *nations*, baptizing them." When our Lord in a parable, foretold the rejection of the Jews, and the coming in of the Gentiles, how did He sum up His lesson? "The kingdom of God shall be taken from you, and given to a *nation* bringing forth the fruits thereof." (*Matt.* xxi. 43) When he predicted the spread of His truth through the earth, what terms did He employ? "This gospel of the kingdom shall be preached to all *nations*, and then shall the end come." (*Matt.* xxiv. 14.) And when St. John heard the heavenly choir celebrating this success, what was their song? "The *kingdoms* of this world are become the kingdoms of our Lord and of His Christ; and He shall reign for ever and ever." (*Rev.* xi. 15) And when describing the glories of the New Jerusalem, which he was privileged to see, what did he add? "And the *nations* of them that are saved shall walk in the light of it; and the *kings* of the earth do bring their glory and honour into it; and they shall bring the glory and honour of the *nations* into it." (*Rev.* xxi. 24, 26.)

And now I claim to have fulfilled the task I undertook. I have shown you that the union of Church and State is a union sanctioned in the word

* There is a practical illustration of this in the case of Scotland, where, though the *established* religion is Presbyterian, and the great majority of the landowners Episcopalian, the rates and dues of the established Church are paid without a scruple, cheerfully.

of God; a union which (our very opponents allow) God in one instance himself appointed. You have seen it in the book of Job, in Genesis, in Leviticus, in the books of the kings, in the time of the captivity, in the hymns of the prophets, in the Gospels, in the Epistles, and in the Revelation of St. John, with which the holy volume closes. What more evidence could an honest and candid believer in his Bible wish for?

Now what evidence do the upholders of modern voluntaryism adduce in opposition to that now laid before you? They decline, as I have told you, to appeal to the Old Testament at all: and in dealing with the New they manifest very great reluctance to be tied down to chapter and verse, but profess a very great respect for what they are pleased to term, the general scope and tenor of scripture, i. e. for the scope and tenor of scripture as interpreted by themselves. When hard pressed, however, they produce some half-dozen texts, of which the following are the chief:—1 *Cor.* ix, 11, 14. "If we have sown unto you spiritual things, is it a great thing if we shall reap you carnal things?" "Even so hath the Lord ordained, that they which preach the gospel should live of the gospel." *Gal.* vi. 6. "Let him that is taught in the word communicate unto him that teacheth, in all good things." 1 *Tim.* vi. 18, "That they do good, that they be rich in good works, ready to distribute, willing to communicate." Now, I ask, what do any or all of these texts prove? Do they prove that a settled provision for the ministry, guaranteed by the State, is unlawful? I have shown you that one of them proves just the contrary. They teach, indeed, that the minister is to be respected and beloved, and to receive the freewill offerings of his people: they teach, too, that it is lawful to do good by voluntary effort. But who denies either of these truths? Certainly not the Church of England, as the respect and love which her clergy receive at the hands of the laity, and the voluntary efforts in which clergy and laity within her pale unite, plainly manifest. The real question is this: Do any or all of these texts make it unlawful for a prince or nation to be the patron, protector, supporter of God's Church and ministry? Clearly they do not; they have no reference to the matter. The argument against us now alluded to, if argument it can be called, has been well refuted by referring its logic to a case precisely parallel. "The Dissenters' argument runs thus: 'The New Testament says much about the support of Christian ministers by the free gifts of Christians. But it says nothing about their compulsory support by the State. Therefore State-support of the ministry is clearly unscriptural." Such an argument will equally prove the sinfulness of Poor Rates, as thus: "The New Testament says much as to the duty of Christian liberality to the poor. But the New Testament says nothing as to the compulsory support of the poor by the State. Therefore the compulsory support of the poor by the State is clearly unscriptural."

But judge for yourselves what the opponents of a national Church find in Holy Scripture to favour their opposition. We lately had in Bradford, a lecture by the Head of a neighbouring Baptist college announced in striking placards, under the taking title, "*State Churchism Unscriptural.*" Many no doubt, went expecting to hear chapter and verse brought to shew that the union of church and state is contrary to the mind of God, as revealed in His word. But what did they hear? They did not hear the Scriptural argument of Churchmen met and refuted—they did not hear any attempt to meet it—it was simply ignored; they did not hear the Old Testament referred to at all—they did not hear any texts brought to

prove a State-Church unscriptural or pure voluntaryism a superior plan. They *did* hear indeed a few texts —very few—from the New Testament,* texts which did not bear on the question whether the Church should or should not be united with the state, however much they may have *seemed* to bear upon the constitution of a Christian church. The lecturer laboured to prove, not that the union of Church and State was wrong, but that the Church of England was not a Christian Church at all. He affirmed that according to the scriptures, the term 'Church' can only be properly used to designate either "all the *truly faithful* through all time, in any part of the world," or some "portion of the *faithful* inhabiting the same place, and meeting together in an assumed capacity, at stated seasons of greater or less frequency, for Christian uses," and because, forsooth, within the bosom of the Church of England there were *unfaithful* men as well as faithful, evil men as well as good, unbelieving as well as believing, therefore the Church of England could not be a Christian Church. Now I would ask, did the lecturer forget, or wilfully ignore, the fact that of old time, all circumcised Israelites were within the pale of the Church of God, and yet many of them were evil men? Did he forget, or wilfully ignore the fact that our blessed Lord, in His parables of the net cast into the sea, which gathered both good and bad, and of the tares and the wheat growing together in the field, taught that in the Christian church too, the evil should be ever mingled with the good until the great day of separation at the end of the world? Did he, when quoting the opening verses of the 1st epistle to the Corinthians, in which the church of God in Corinth is described as "them that are sanctified in Christ Jesus," forget or wilfully ignore the fact, that later on in this same epistle, the apostle rebukes some in that Church because they were so irreligious as to profane the Sacrament of the Holy Communion, and at that blessed feast, one was hungry and another was drunken? So much for the lecturer's argument from scripture: in the first place it was irrelevant, wholly beside the purpose; and in the next, it was worthless; when Scripture comes to be compared with scripture, it will not stand for a moment; private interpretation is its only, its miserable support. But his quotation of texts was, after all, a very insignificant part of his lecture. After a very few sentences, he left his Bible behind him. His audience heard then a bold and plausible misrepresentation (to use no stronger word,) of the teaching of the Church of England, founded on a glaring misquotation of our touching burial service. They heard, too, a great deal of odium heaped upon our Church; and some of her abuses—which Churchmen regret equally with the lecturer, but which are not inherent in her system—held up to ridicule as specimens of her polity and constitution,—a proceeding about as just and truthful as if an adverse critic, passing by Chaucer, Spenser, Milton, Scott, Wordsworth, were to adduce as specimens of our exquisite English poetry, the song of "The Ratcatcher's Daughter," or "Villikins and his Dinah;" or as if a jealous Frenchman were to exhibit on the other side of the channel the wooden-legged pensioners of Greenwich and Woolwich, and hold them up to his deriding countrymen as specimens of the gallant soldiers and sailors who protect the shores of Britain.

* I append a reference to all the texts quoted by the Lecturer, that my readers may be able to see what our opponents think they find subversive of the State-Church principle in the Word of God:—Col. i. 18—Eph. i. 12, 25—Acts ii. 47, and ix. 31—1 Cor. i. 2—Col iv. 15.

But there is one text more, which you have probably often heard our opponents quote; for it is, I may almost say, *the* one text on which they rest, and therefore I have honoured it with a separate notice. It is found in *John* xviii. 36, "My kingdom is not of this world; if my kingdom were of this world, then would my servants fight, that I should not be delivered to the Jews: but now is my kingdom not from hence." They affirm that there is a deep meaning in the words "but now;" that our Lord intended to declare by them that though in days past God's kingdom or church might have been connected with the powers of the world, it was to be so no longer; that the kingdom which He, the Messiah, should establish, was to be a kingdom purely spiritual, having nothing earthly about it. Now did it never strike our opponents as a thing improbable that Christ should abrogate the principle of a State Church, a principle which His Heavenly Father had sanctioned, and which had been observed in all the Church's previous history incidentally, as it were, by the use of only two little words? Did it never occur to them as strange that He should do this, not in a conversation with the apostles whom He consecrated to be, when he should be taken away, the master-builders of His Church, but in a conversation with Pilate, who was a heathen, and knew little and cared less for the religion either of the Jew or the Christian? But let us just look at the passage with its context, and see whether it does not admit of an easier and more natural explanation. Our Lord was on His trial before Pilate, being accused of setting Himself up as king in opposition to Cæsar. Pilate asked Him a direct question, "*art thou a king, then?*" Now our Lord could not give a direct answer. He could not say "No," for He was born to be "King of the Jews." He could not say "Yes," for Pilate would have regarded such a reply as an acknowledgment that He was seeking to dethrone Cæsar. What then could our Lord say with truth? Just what He did say, that He was a king, yet that He was not seeking an earthly throne, but a spiritual one. "My kingdom is not of this world, if it were—if I were seeking Cæsar's throne,—then would my servants fight in my behalf, but they do not: now therefore is my kingdom not from hence." This text, then, so constantly on the lips of Liberationists, and so often quoted as if it were conclusive of the whole controversy, has nothing on earth to do with the question of Church and State.

Place now side by side what Churchmen advance from almost every book in the Bible, evidence of a Church and State union in every age, from Abraham to St. John, and what the Church's adversaries advance,—some half-dozen texts, culled from the New Testament alone, and all written within a space of about twenty years, and say candidly whether Churchmen or the Liberation Society have the Bible on their side. And if the Bible, if God and His word, be on our side, we Churchmen would hold by our principles though the whole world were against us. But happily we are not alone. We have a mighty host with us in supporting this scriptural principle, besides the learned and the pious who stand *with us on the defensive* now. The learning and the piety of the Christian world from the apostolic age to the present are with us. It was not, I believe, until the year 1836 that the unhallowed nature of a Church and State alliance was discovered. The early fathers knew nothing of it; the councils and synods of the church knew nothing of it; the Reformers knew nothing of it; yea, even the fathers of nonconformity knew nothing of it. Howe, Baxter, Owen, Matthew Henry, Adam Clarke, though all differing

from the Church of England, and in some respects also from one another, unite in upholding, and giving God thanks for the union of Church and State. Are the members of the modern Liberation Society more to be trusted as interpreters of God's word than these holy men of old?

Now, my friends, if the union of Church and State be, as we have seen it is, God's way of preserving and promoting true religion in a land, we may be very sure that it is the best way; and when men of modern times would entice us into what they consider a more excellent way, we may well be content to reply that we are satisfied with the good old Bible paths, and will walk in them.

But let common sense speak on this matter. What is the more excellent way which the Liberationists point out? What is it that they bid us to do? We are struggling hard to multiply ministers and churches, to make more adequate provision for the spiritual necessities of the masses around us, and yet we cannot succeed as we desire. The Liberation Society says to us: 'Give up the moral support which the State affords you; strip yourselves of the endowments which maintain your churches and ministers now; raise yourselves thus to a level (so they elegantly phrase it) with the other bodies of Christians around you; throw yourselves entirely on the voluntary system; then, strong in your new-born liberty, you will scatter blessings on every hand, and will accomplish that glorious work which you have failed to do while in the trammels of the state.' In reply to these gentlemen, so thoughtful and anxious for the Church's welfare, we may ask why they, the Baptists and Independents, have not themselves succeeded in fulfilling this work, for they at least are not in bondage to the State, no golden fetters hamper them. And if with our present income of some five millions we cannot succeed in overtaking the evil which we lament, is it likely that we should succeed better if we were to give up four millions? and dissenters bid us to do this, in face of the fact, notorious to all, that a large proportion of their own chapels are hampered with debt, and very many of their ministers in the most dependent of circumstances.

But all who differ from the Church of England do not hold the same language, for all do not look at her through party-coloured spectacles, nor use the microscope of animosity to discover and magnify a wrinkle or defect. The Wesleyan Methodists, though unhappily separated from their venerable mother, have candour and love enough to acknowledge a beauty and vigour in her still, and now stand side by side with Churchmen in her defence. Hear what one of the oldest of their ministers, Mr. Osborne, says, adopting a speech the publication of which was requested by the Conference, and which may, therefore, be regarded as expressing the sentiments of the Conference. "Mr. Wesley saw that the Church had already been an inestimable blessing to the nation, and was still capable of benefitting it to an immensely greater extent. For nearly 300 years it has been an impregnable barrier against Popery, which, next to heathenism and infidelity, is unquestionably the bitterest curse that ever afflicted mankind. The Church of England is a striking testimony in the land in favour of apostolical Christianity, in opposition to every species of vice and error, and its literature is the richest that any section of the Church of Christ ever produced. Who that has in him the heart of an Englishman and of a Christian can forbear to venerate a Church which has nurtured such master minds as those of Jewell, and [illegible] and Farindon, and Hammond and Walton, and

say nothing of men of more modern times? To this list may also be added the more distinguished of the Puritan and Nonconformist Divines; for these men also were trained in an establishment. Where is the Dissenting Minister or Methodist Preacher, if he be a man of any reading, the shelves of whose Library do not declare his deep obligation to the Protestant establishment? And it is because she is an establishment that she has been able to cultivate learning upon a scale so splendid and extensive, and so immensely honourable and advantageous to the country. Let the voluntary principle be carried as far as it possibly can in the advancement of Christian instruction, yet, after all, the country cannot do without an establishment, either in resisting Popery, Socinianism and Infidelity, or in the maintenance of Christian godliness and public virtue." And when asked whether, in his opinion, if the Church were reduced to a voluntary state, and deprived of its endowments, the dissenting communities would be able to supply the want that would be created, he replied, "That is a subject which has engaged a good deal of my attention for many years past; and the result at which I have arrived as an individual is, *that they would not*; that all the voluntary efforts which might be put forward, either by separate classes of nonconformists or by the joint labours of well-disposed Churchmen and nonconformists, would not suffice to compensate for the overthrow of the parochial system; which, I fear, would in that point of view be very injurious to religion, and to the welfare of the country as dependant upon religion."

And now let me, in very few words conclude. Have I not fulfilled my pledge, and shown you plainly that the union of Church and State is an union sanctioned in the word of God? What then is our bounden duty now? Is it to violate the principle which God Himself hath owned, to rend asunder what God hath taught us to unite? Is it our duty to ally ourselves with the Romanist, the Socinian, the irreligious, the infidel, the atheist, the vicious, and to aid *them* in their efforts to weaken that venerable Church, which is, in this land, the pillar and ground of the truth, a living witness, on the one hand against error of doctrine, and on the other against immorality of life? Is it our duty to seek, with them, the separation of Church and State; to urge, with them, our rulers to cast off all national acknowledgment of God, and affirm, by an impious statute, that we will not have Christ to reign over us? No! No! Such are the times now that if a man care at all for Christianity, or have within his breast one spark of patriotism, it is his duty to join the ranks of those Christian Volunteers who are combining to defend from the spoilers' hands the Church of their forefathers, a Church abundantly watered with the life-blood of English martyrs, freely shed to preserve in her the truth; a Church conspicuous, even among the Churches of Christendom, for piety, learning, charity, toleration, zeal; a Church combining apostolic order with evangelic truth; a Church which stands like a beacon holding forth the light of life to the masses in darkness, whom none but she can reach; a Church which provides a fold for every sheep, and a shepherd for every fold; a church which, like her Divine Master, careth for the poor, and is essentially THE POOR MAN'S CHURCH; a Church which, by her open Bible, her glorious Liturgy, her village temples, has been highly instrumental in fostering practical unobtrusive piety in the land; a Church which has done much towards forming the English character and promoting England's greatness; a Church which is, in very deed, the greatest blessing with which the God of nations has enriched our land, and against which, for the sake of our country and our very Christianity, I pray that the gates

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Bradford Church Defence Association.

THE CHURCH,

AND

CHURCH PROPERTY:

A LECTURE

BY

W. WALKER, ESQ.

LONDON:
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AND 23, HOLLES STREET, CAVENDISH SQUARE;
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AND ALL BOOKSELLERS.
1861.

THE CHURCH & CHURCH PROPERTY.

THAT an avowedly Christian people should, by the establishment of a National Church, give to the world an outward and visible proof of the faith that is in them, appears to be so reasonable, that I am utterly at a loss to comprehend why, in these days of professed enlightenment, persons calling themselves Christians should object to it. England is an avowedly Christian nation. The Church of England is a Christian Church. Englishmen have inherited that Church in common with their laws, their language, and the constitution under which they live. The alliance of the State with that Church is the recognition of its national character. Those who are opposed to that union are bound to prove that its existence is a serious national evil, and that too by evidence demonstrative and unanswerable; failing therein, they are not justified in asking for *separation*. Assertion and proof are widely different things. Of the former, the supply is, now-a-days, on all subjects of public controversy, very abundant. It is the latter that I require at the hands of those who urge the separation of the Church from the State On the threshold, I affirm that no evidence short of what is overwhelming can warrant the people of England in effecting a change in the British Constitution, so destructive as is implied in the phrase, "Separation of Church and State."

The constitution of this country has been proved, by those familiar with its history, to have consisted, from time immemorial, of the Sovereign as the Head of the Church, as well as the State; the Lords spiritual and the Lords temporal; and the Commons. The Clergy constitute an estate of the realm, and as such are represented by the Bishops of the Church of England. Those therefore who ask for the abolition of the State Church, and with it the exclusion of the Bishops from the House of Lords, suggest a sweeping change in the framework of the Constitution. It will be observed that I speak of the Church and Constitution as inseparable, and it is due to you and the subject, that I support my assertions by authority. On the Constitution and the Church, I refer you to *Hallam's Middle Ages*, 4th ed. vol. iii. p. 158. It is probably known to many of you, that Hallam is deservedly esteemed as the highest modern text-writer on constitutional law.

I now approach the much-disputed questions of Church Rates, and Church Property.

The late learned Chief Justice Tindal, while delivering the judgment of the Court of Exchequer on the Braintree case, observed, "'In England,' to use the words of Johannes de Athona, in his Commentary on the Legislative Constitution of Othabon, passed in the year 1268, 'by the common custom of *England*, the repair of the nave of the Church in which the lay-parishioners sit, falls upon the parishioners themselves; but the repair of the chancel falls on the rector;' or again, according to Lyndwood, (p. 30) 'by custom (that is, by the common law) the burden at least of the nave of the church is transferred upon the parishioners.' No trace can be found in our books of an obligation on parishioners to repair the parish churches throughout the whole of the realm less wide and extensive than this. And as to the antiquity of the obligation, the case cited in argument from the Year Book 44, ed. 3, fo. 18, whilst it established the fact that Church Rates were made by the parishioners at so early a period as the year 1370, does at the same time, by a plea therein contained, of a custom from time immemorial within the particular parish to levy the amount of the rate on each parishioner by distress, necessarily carry back beyond the time of legal memory, the obligation of the parishioners to make a rate upon themselves for the reparation of the parish church, and such a custom existing beyond the time of legal memory, and is no other than the common law of *England*." The same position is laid down by Holt: 'By the civil and canon law,' he says, 'the parson is obliged to repair the whole church, and is so in all Christian kingdoms but in *England*; for it is by the peculiar law of this nation that the parishioners are charged with the repairs of the body of the church;' in which, however, he is incorrect in limiting the custom to *England*, as it extended undoubtedly to other countries in Europe."

"Such, then, being the law of the land, it follows that the repair of the fabric of the Church is a duty which the parishioners are compellable to perform, not a mere *voluntary act*, which they may perform or decline at their own discretion; that the law is imperative upon them, absolutely, that they do repair the church, not binding on them in a qualified or limited sense only, that they may repair or not, as they think fit; and that where it so happens that the fabric of the church stands in need of repair, the only question upon which the parishioners when convened to make a rate can by law deliberate and determine, is not whether they will repair the church or not, (for upon that point they are concluded by the law,) but how, and in what manner, the common law obligation so binding on them, may be best and most effectually, and at the same time most conveniently and fairly, between themselves, performed and carried into effect. The parishioners have no more power to throw off the repair of the Church than that of the bridges and highways. A Church Rate is laid to provide against a common danger, and to secure a common good."

Sir John Coleridge recently, in an address on Church Rates, remarked, "We have had the question of Church Rates before the judges of the law again and again, and what has been the result? The result has been that in the Court of Queen's Bench, in the Exchequer Court, and in the House of Lords, without a single dissentient voice, even when they have

decided against the maintenance of a *particular* rate, not one judge has been found who has not laid it down that by the common law of England the burden of repairing the nave of the church lay with the parishioners. Well, now, such is our title, and we are now asked to exchange that title, and give it up. Why? It is legal, *beyond* a doubt. It is sound. It is ancient."

These authorities are conclusive, and they fully establish the right in a legal sense, of the Church to receive Church Rates as a levy on the property of each parish by the parishioners themselves. To those who propose the absolute refusal or unconditional abolition of this power of each parish to levy Church Rates, I say, On what principle do you proceed? If the public good require a change in the law, why not pay the just price of commutation? If a company is formed for a public object, say to make a canal or railway, and private property is required for such purpose, it must be bought and paid for. No landowner has a better title to his estate than the Church to Church Rates. Take away from land the shield of law, then protection, security, and rent follow in rapid succession. Reasonable men, while they shrink from the contemplation of such results, most injudiciously act as if they conceived that confiscation might actually be applied with safety to the income and property of the Church. This discrepancy between principle and practice arises in some cases from the want of a due apprehension of the force of principle; in many instances, it is the result of indolent indifference; in others the effect of an amiable, but mistaken, regard for *conciliation* by *the sacrifice of right*. In whatever causes the aberration may have its origin, it is alike to be regretted and feared; the consequences, whether founded in pusillanimity or mental blindness, are necessarily the same. Reason suggests, policy dictates, experience verifies the position, that he who desires the arch of the bridge to be preserved, will be careful to see that not a stone be moved from its place. Of the great truth thus humbly illustrated, history is full to overflowing with examples. One, perhaps the most striking on record, occurred towards the close of the last century. When in 1791 it was proposed by the National Assembly of France to appropriate the property of the Church to secular purposes, it was then proclaimed that public utility was the supreme law; that the Clergy were not possessed of proprietary rights, and that to take from the Church her property, was to benefit the people, and serve the interests of society. That reasoning was, for the moment triumphant. It was in vain that the assailants of Church property were told that their arguments were contrary to the dictates of common sense,—the experience and practice of mankind; that unless the rights of property were held sacred, civil society was dissolved, and the confidence that ought to be its support was for ever removed; that the estates of the Clergy never were possessed by the nation, but were sanctioned by the same titles, and the same authorities as the estates of private citizens. What followed is familiar to most well informed men. The distinctions of the separate orders constituting French society were abolished, and the goddess of reason enthroned! Every kind of property was rapidly reduced in value; the bonds of society were sundered; confusion, bloodshed, despotism, and war followed. I do not positively contend that the confiscation of the property of the

Church of England in the case of Church Rates would absolutely and immediately produce exactly kindred results; but the consequences in France of a like expedient were much too disastrous not to act as a warning to all men capable of tracing the operation of cause and effect, and not so blinded by self-confidence as to be unable to distinguish principles, and calculate their probable effect under the influence of time and opportunity.

It has been urged that French Jacobins were not the first to assert that Church property belonged to the nation. The conception of that notion is innocent enough; it is attributed to M. Turgot. The danger was not in the abstract principle, but in the application thereof, and that is the distinction which is all-important. Much ingenuity has been displayed in an endeavour to prove a distinction between private and corporate property, and between an ordinary corporation and the Church. Those who have engaged in this enquiry have conceded that the property of the Church and the stipends of her clergy have by law been treated with the same formalities as other property. I am not disputing the power of Parliament to do what it may please. Parliament may unmake a church: it may abolish a monarchy, or change the line of succession. What I dispute is not the power of the legislature; my objection embodies the wisdom, the justice, and the policy of those who raise the cry of separation. I grant the power of Parliament, should it (supported by the people) so resolve, to abolish *private property*, and make the rental of land and the profits of trade the common stock of all! As a citizen, I should oppose such suicidal propositions to the last. Yet the measures I have named and reprobated have been advocated by those who believed in their advantages, and they too have built their theories upon what they have designated *abstract principles*.

Much of the reasoning of the Dissenters, which to them seems very powerful, is, to my mind, simply dangerous. It is perpetually laid down as an unanswerable proposition, that religion is a matter between man and his God. This is essentially an abstraction, and it is always to be remembered that abstract propositions, before they can be reasoned upon, must be considered in their relation to interests and circumstances. "A man desires a sword," says a celebrated writer; "why should he be refused? A sword is a means of defence, and defence is the natural right of man—nay, the very first of all his rights, and which comprehends them all. But if I know that the sword desired is to be employed to cut my own throat, common sense and my own self-defence dictate to me to keep out of his hands the natural right of the sword." I am forced to adopt this reasoning by its analogy to the question of Church-Rates. The Dissenters opposed to the payment of Church Rates are also opposed to a State Church. They advocate what they call the voluntary principle, which means that every man shall measure his interest in public worship by a voluntary offering This reduces the position of a religious teacher to a state of dependence on those whom he is expected to instruct. Judging by experience, as found in the secular business of life, it would follow that he who desired to be well paid must supply a commodity suited to the preconceived opinions and tastes of his hearers. A religious

teacher thus situated is not in a position the most favourable to an honest and faithful exposition of Christian truth. That there are men so bold, so fearless, and so self-denying, that they will brave poverty, and even death itself, for conscience' sake, far be it from me to deny. I must notwithstanding, consider human nature in its average capacity, and that consideration forces me to the conclusion that it is the national duty of an avowedly christian people to provide for the temporal wants of religious teachers in a manner so permanent and secure, as to withdraw from them all avoidable temptation to vacillate in the performance of the duties of their sacred office, so that they may the better be enabled fearlessly to inculcate, on the rich and on the poor, what are their duties in relation to God and their neighbour. Religion is, I believe, not only a concern between God and man, but it is also a matter between man and man. It lies at the very root of all the relations of a Christian state; and to aver that its maintenance shall be exclusively voluntary, is to leave the most vital of all interests to the caprice, the antipathies, and the ever-changing passions of the hour.

Few subjects have served the purposes of misrepresentation and unscrupulous party strife more than the revenues of the Church of England. It is desirable at the outset to ascertain what the facts really are. I perceive, on an examination of authentic records, that the total income of the Church in 1831 was £4,292,885. In 1851, above £5,000,000. In 1831, the parochial clergy received £3,251,159. They continue to receive the larger proportion of the whole. The sources of that income are lands, tithes, church rates, Easter offerings, surplice fees, and pew rents. The Church provides from five to six millions of sittings, and supplies religious services to that extent and more, for all who may be willing to enter her porch. Her Clergy are above the average of educated men in intelligence; and among them are found many who, for their learning and piety, all good and wise men delight to honour. In 1851, the clergy numbered for England and Wales 17,320. Assume that the whole of the property thus possessed were taken from the Church, I would ask among whom and by whom, could it be so advantageously distributed. To speak of such an appropriation of property as burdensome in a population numbering in 1851, 17,927,609, (now probably above 20,000,000,) the capitalized value of whose wealth is really enormous, is preposterous.

But the income of the Church is not a burden borne by the population, it is an income from property, long possessed and enjoyed, by a succession of men whose lives are devoted to holy offices, and who need not fear comparison with any other order in the state. It ought not to be forgotten, that among the dignitaries of the Church are those born in humble life, who, in their ascent reflect lustre upon the Church which they serve, and are rightly privileged in the enjoyment and use of its substance. I may with justice affirm that, as regards the use of worldly means, a more charitable and benevolent body than the Clergy does not exist; and none among them practise greater self-sacrifice than the pastors and curates of rural parishes.

In estimating the position and prospects of the Church, we must refer to the past. The historical developement of the Church, dating from the

Reformation, has been urged against it as a subject of much reproach. That Henry the Eighth was a capricious and selfish king, is not to be denied. That his quarrel with the papal see was personal and political, rather than religious, is very probable. What then? It has pleased Divine Providence to work out a great end by a variety of means. The early divines of the Reformation, with few exceptions, were thorough Protestants, and earnest Churchmen. From Queen Elizabeth to Queen Victoria, the spirit and institutions of England have been essentially Protestant. Who, when the infatuated James the Second desired to re-establish Popery, stood in the front, and triumphantly dared royalty to proceed with legal persecution? The Bishops of the Church. In the absence of a National Establishment, in the age of Elizabeth, when England swarmed with Jesuits, and the assassination of the Queen was spoken of as an honour, where would have been Protestantism? *The Dissenters owe to the Church their very existence as tolerated Protestants.* The word *Reformation* most appropriately belongs to the English Church. The Pope of Rome had, prior to that event, acquired the ascendancy. But the early English Church did not acknowledge the Pope's supremacy. In the time of the Venerable Bede, the English Church was deemed heretical. Dinoth, abbot of Bangor, in the name of his brethren, told Augustine that they owed no other obedience to the person known by the name of the Pope than what was due from one Christian to another. Magna Charta, the Constitution of Clarendon, the protest of the Barons of Merton against the introduction of the canon law, with many other proofs which might be adduced, shew that the spirit of the English laity was adverse to papal ascendancy. Since the time of Cranmer, the great armoury of defence against the pretensions of the Romanists are the writings of English Protestant divines. "We charge them," [the Romanists] says Stillingfleet, "with those reasons for separation which the Scripture allows, such as idolatry, perverting the gospel and institutions of Christ, and tyranny over the consciences of men, in making those things necessary to salvation which Christ never made so. But none of these can, with any appearance of reason, be charged on the Church of England, since we profess to give religious worship only to God. We worship no images, we invocate no saints, we adore no host, we creep to no crucifix, we kiss no relics. We equal no traditions with the gospel, we lock it not up from the people in an unknown language; we preach no other terms of salvation than Christ and his apostles did; we set up no monarchy in the Church to undermine Christ's, and to dispense with His laws and institutions. We mangle no sacraments nor pretend to know what makes more for the honour of His blood than He did Himself. We pretend to no skill in expiating men's sins that are dead, nor in turning the bottomless pit into the pains of purgatory by a charm of words with a quick motion of the hand. We do not cheat men's souls with false bills of exchange called indulgences, nor give out that we have the treasure of the Church in our keeping, which we can apply as we see occasion. We use no pious frauds to delude the people, nor pretend to be infallible as they do when they have a mind to deceive. These are things which the divines of our Church have, with great clearness and strength of reason, made good against the Church of Rome; and since they cannot be made good

against our Church, with what face can men suppose the cases of those who separate from each of them to be parallel?"

Judging the past by the present, it appears to me impossible, viewing the Church of England as a whole, to look on her without admiration, and thankfully to acknowledge her existence as a national blessing. On this point, it is with satisfaction that I direct your attention to the disinterested testimony of the late Dr. Chalmers. "There are many," said that eminent authority, "who look with an evil eye to the endowments of the English Church, and to the indolence of her dignitaries. But to that Church the theological literature of our nation stands indebted for her best acquisitions; and we hold it a refreshing spectacle, at any time that meagre Socinianism pours forth a new supply of flippancies and errors, when we behold, as we have done, an armed champion come forth in full equipment, from some high and lettered retreat of that noble hierarchy; nor can we grudge her the wealth of all her endowments, when we think how well, under her venerable auspices, the battles of orthodoxy have been fought; that in this holy warfare, they are her sons and her scholars who are ever foremost in the field, ready at all times to face the threatening mischief, and by the weight of their erudition to overturn it." And again, "It is owing to the learning of the priesthood that Christianity has kept her ground on the high platform of cultivated and well-educated humanity, and that she enters so largely, as a bright and much esteemed ingredient, into the body of our national literature. * * * * Whatever the ensuing changes in the state of our society there may be, there is none that would more fatally speed the disorganization and downfall of this great kingdom, than if a hand of violence were put forth on the rights and revenues of the Church of England. * * * * If the ecclesiastical establishments of our land shall be in the number that are destined to fall, and that because the temporalities which belong to them have been pronounced by the oracles of our day as an oppression and a burden on the general population; then, instead of truth being their judges, or their executioner, they shall have fallen at the hand of cunning and deceitful witnesses—they shall have perished in the midst of a strong delusion—at the mandate, and by the authority of a lie." These are, indeed, bold, eloquent, and conclusive sentiments, worthy of the deepest consideration by every Churchman and Dissenter in our country.

Much has been said about the success of the voluntary system in the manufacturing districts, and in the larger trading cities and towns of the empire. A few facts not lying exactly on the surface, but yet sufficiently near to us to be taken firm hold of, should therewith be borne in mind. The parochial system is of ancient date, and was for centuries admirably adapted to a localized and limited population. It worked well. The districts of Lancashire and Yorkshire, and counties still further north, now densely populated, were, even less than a hundred years since, but thinly inhabited. Two centuries ago, they were, in numbers and civilization far behind the southern counties. The extraordinary industrial developement of the North, with its coal and iron, its machinery, its wool, flax, and cotton factories, have drawn together millions of souls, for whom the Church has not made any adequate provision. The purely agricultural parishes are stationary, or declining in numbers; the manufacturing

and mining parishes have increased enormously. In the latter, voluntaryism has flourished, not because of a general distaste of the working classes towards the Church, but because the Church had not provided accommodation and pastors for them. They were, if I may be allowed the expression, homeless, and the dissenting chapel was to them, a house of refuge. In time, there clustered around these places of worship many endearing associations; and, in consequence, the chapel became a sort of family home. I honour the voluntary system for what it has accomplished. I desire its further success. I wish, however, to see the Chapel an auxiliary, and not the opponent of the Church. It was in this spirit that the Society of Wesleyan Methodists was originally formed, and which is now so successful and so powerful. It was for that end that the Wesleys preached to, and associated with, the strayed and neglected children of the Church. The Wesleys were earnest and gifted in a high degree—energetic voluntaries and sincere Churchmen. To measure their services is more than I shall attempt. In Cornwall, Durham, Northumberland, and elsewhere, then very different from now, the Wesleys laboured intensely, and the fruits of their labours are obvious to all. Everywhere, in England and Wales, are to be found the results of the almost apostolic lives of those devoted men.

Although the voluntary system of our own day is, by Dissenters, frequently pointed out as a triumph, especially in our crowded towns and cities, the result, viewed in a national sense, is not satisfactory, and certainly very much remains to be done. In evidence of this, I quote a fact stated in a debate in the House of Lords very recently, which is of so startling a character, that in the absence of high authority, it would seem incredible. The Earl of Shaftesbury declared to the Peers of the realm, that "not two per cent. of the working men of London attend any place of worship whatever." That fact is certainly the reverse of a triumph, either on the part of Churchmen or Dissenters. It demonstrates that there is indeed ample room for the fullest possible exercise of the energy and charity of all the Christian men and women of the metropolis. It is too true, that only a limited proportion of the adult males of the labouring population attend divine worship. This is a sad and humiliating fact! It is surely high time that the leaders of the Church were fully alive to their duties and responsibilities. Happily there are distinct signs of an awakening. The sons of the Church, imitating the nobler portion of their predecessors, are now going forth among the masses to teach and to preach the Gospel. Those who have known the Church for twenty five or fifty years, can bear testimony to the improved spirit for practical work now everywhere manifest.

I cannot conceive a reason why the Church of England should not assume its proper position, and guide the present and succeeding generations into its fold. Christianity is never old. The Gospel is ever in advance of the age. It is the lamp of the past, lit eighteen hundred years ago; its flame forced the intellectual stoicism of the Greek philosophers into obscurity, and destroyed the impure and sensual spirit of old Rome. It burns at this hour in its pristine purity. The very existence of Christianity is enough to prove its Divine origin. How else could it have triumphed over the established system, the organized and antago-

nistic opinions of the Roman Empire? Talk of modern secularism as the opponent of Christianity! Why, that "ism" is the abortion of a soulless infidelity, and an egotistical selfishness. Its success can never be attained in this land, except by the apathy and indifference of men who accept the name of Christianity, but who know not its spirit, and who neglect its practice. The national existence of the Church calls upon its members, lay and clerical, to be up and doing. There is danger, but it is of that remedial kind that leaves room for hope and confidence. The division and final settlement of parishes in populous towns and districts is now pressingly required for the efficiency of the parochial system. The Church of England is eminently adapted to command the sympathies and to secure the affections of the labourers of our country; and they are the majority of the whole population. Oppression and covetousness are, in the authoritative books of the Church, invariably and powerfully condemned. Controversies and misunderstandings apart, the Church holds forth and inculcates the practical doctrines of God's Holy Word. It fully admits, and proclaims to every man that "Pure religion and undefiled before God and the Father is this,—to visit the fatherless and widows in their affliction, and to keep himself unspotted from the world."

Where can there be found anything so well adapted to the advancement of the salvation and happiness of man, and especially suited to the condition of working men? Again, the Church fearlessly warns all, in the spirit of the Word of God, "thou shalt not oppress a hired servant that is poor and needy:" and again, "Masters give unto your servants that which is just and equal, knowing that ye have also a Master in heaven;" and again, "Every man should eat and drink, and enjoy the good of all his labour; it is the gift of God."

It is the special province of our national Church to make known these treasures of the Gospel which she has in store for the people, and to ask them where else they can find a system, no matter by what pompous name it may be known, that so fully proclaims what may with justice be designated the "rights of labour." That was a blessed day for England, when the complaint of a mistaken priesthood was, that the women could read the Bible in their own mother-tongue,—that Protestant Bible which to know is to be *learned* in the highest sense of the word. The followers of the Roman Catholics of that age, and in this day, acknowledge that the Protestant Bible is the fulcrum on which to rest the lever requisite to move the masses.

One who has seceded from the English Church, I mean Dr. Newman, has observed, "Who will not say that the uncommon beauty, and marvellous English of the Protestant Bible is not one of the great strongholds of heresy in this country. It lives on the ear like a music that can never be forgotten, like the sound of church bells which the convert hardly knows how he can forego. Its felicities often seem to be almost things rather than mere words. It is part of the national mind, and the anchor of national seriousness. * * * The memory of the dead passes into it. The potent traditions of childhood are stereotyped in its verses. The power of all the griefs and trials of man is hidden beneath its words. It is the representative of his best moments, and all that has been about him

of soft, and gentle, and pure, and penitent, and good, speaks to him for ever out of his English Bible. * * * It is his sacred thing, which doubt has never dimmed, and controversy never soiled. In the length and breadth of the land, there is not a protestant with one spark of religiousness about him, whose spiritual biography is not in his Saxon Bible."

With such a blessed medium of communication and fellowship between the altar and the cottage, it is not unreasonable to expect that its faithful and judicious appliance must produce the best possible results. Trusting that these may come, I esteem it a national duty to preserve and improve the National Church, and vigilantly to protect her against all assailants. She is alike the Church of the working man and the capitalist, of the poor man and the rich man; for before her altar *all* acknowledge one common Lord and God—*all* are instructed and edified in their respective rights, duties and privileges.

Mr. Toulmin Smith, himself a Dissenter, admits that "everybody has an interest in the services of the Church," and that "it is for the common good of the whole community." "It is the Church of all."

It is certainly too true that there are some working men, and a small knot of speculative thinkers, who pretend to deny the divine origin of Christianity. There is not, however, a single objection which they can urge that has not been answered hundreds of times; and before an energetic clergy, such objectors would be powerless. Reason, which these mistaken controversialists take as their guide, is also no less a weapon of the Church. "I express myself with caution," said Bishop Butler, when writing on the internal evidences of Christianity; "lest I should be mistaken to vilify reason, which is indeed the only faculty wherewith to judge concerning anything, even Revelation itself." As to the application of that faculty in its relation to Christianity and government, the Bishop admirably observes, "The dispensations of providence are not to be judged of by their perversions, but by their genuine tendencies; not by what they actually do seem to effect, but by what they would effect if mankind did their part, that part which is justly put and left upon them. It is altogether as much the language of the one as of the other.—'He that is unjust let him be unjust still; and he that is holy, let him be holy still.'—*Rev. xxii.* 2. The light of reason does not, any more than that of revelation, force men to submit to its authority; both admonish them of what they ought to do, and avoid, together with the consequences of each; and after this, leave them at full liberty to act just as they please, till the appointed time of judgment. Every man's experience shews that this is God's general rule of government."

Here I pause to anticipate and answer an objection which I have seen, and which may not inappropriately be urged in connection with what I have just now said, viz., "Our objection as Dissenters, is not against Christianity, it is against the Church as a political institution." The term "political institution," requires to be subjected to examination. "Man is by nature political." "Man is to man the condition of his highest happiness and improvement." These are axioms as old, at least, as the days of Aristotle. They are axioms which no sensible man will venture to dispute. Every institution is political. The Chapel is politi-

cal; the Mechanics' Institute is political. They bear directly on the condition of citizens in their relation to each other. When Mr. Miall contests the borough of Halifax or Rochdale at a general election, and raises the cry "No Church Establishment," is not the Dissenter then political? Nay more, he is also a partizan, as well as a politician. Is it argued by the Dissenters that the Church is an acknowledgment of a creed, and a system of government, and therefore objectionable? What organized body of Christians can exist without some measure of belief, and some order of government? I know of none. The Dissenters are so named because they dissent from the Church. Each separate sect consents to certain doctrines, and dissents from all other sects not entertaining these. Each claims superiority for itself. Is there one among the multitude of sects that does not desire to be numerically in the ascendant, and through religion and example, to operate upon the interests of mankind? None. Away, then, with the absurd objection—"The Church is political." The Church does acknowledge the superiority of a creed, and of a system of church government. These objections apply in principle to every organized religious body in existence; and their universal application is the proof of their absurdity when so urged. "Gather the people together, men, and women, and children, and thy stranger that is within thy gates, that they may hear, and that they may learn, and fear the Lord, and observe to do all the works of this law: and that their children which have not known anything may hear, and learn to fear the Lord your God." These are the words of Moses, delivered to the sons of Levi, and unto all the elders of Israel, being the law that was to be read to all the people of Israel. That law was political; the words indicate most clearly the functions and duties of a national Church.

In the Gospel, a certain scribe asked our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ what he should "do to inherit eternal life." The answer given to the enquirer was not two opinions, but two commandments or laws; "Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, with all thy soul, and with all thy strength." The second—"Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself." Are not these laws political? Do they not relate to society and to government?

I have discussed this point at greater length than its merits deserve, because I know the force of a good political cry, and have marked the pertinacity with which the Dissenters have uttered their otherwise worthless shibboleth—"The Church is political."

I venture to affirm that it is the duty of the Church to devise and adopt the proper measures for extending her influence. It is the avowed business of the National Church to christianize the State; and, in accordance both with the Old and the New Testament, to make men fully acquainted with their duties to God and to their neighbours. The husbandman that neither tills the soil, nor sows the seed, has no right to complain that his granaries are empty, and his farm overgrown with weeds. Statesmen may profit by this simile. It was written of old by the prophet, and the words are as true now, and as applicable as when first spoken. "Among my people are wicked men; they lay wait as he that setteth snares, they set a trap, they catch men." How is the cunning of these ensnarers of men to be overcome but by the influence of religion? The Church is the armed

opponent of all such. It is her right and her duty to be first and foremost in a righteous war against sin and selfishness. In this essentially commercial age, when a crop of legislators of a new order has sprung up, who vainly fancy that they have discovered a substitute, in what they term the "laws of trade," for religion as a means, and the Church, as an instrument, suited to the elevation of mankind: who imagine that exports and imports, and the bullion in the cellars of the Bank of England, are the only considerations deserving of notice; and in whose eyes the aggregation of riches is the primary object and test of national greatness,—it may be pertinently said, "Woe unto him that saith, I will build me a wide house, and large chambers, and cutteth him out windows, and it is cieled with cedar, and painted with vermilion! Shalt thou reign because thou closest thyself in cedar? Did not thy father eat and drink, and do judgment and justice, and then it was well with him?"

I have, hitherto, as regards the Dissenters, alluded mainly to their objects. I must briefly notice the means they have advertized for accomplishing their views. Their scheme is, in some respects, worthy of notice.

A pamphlet by Mr. Miall is said to embody the visions of the Dissenters. The present incumbents are to have a life interest in their livings; all reasonable expectants are to be equitably provided for; the equitable claims of the owners of advowsons are to be adjusted, (we are told that advowsons have been "legal property from time immemorial,") and, as a rule, the church or churches, with the glebe and manse, are to become the absolute property of the parishioners, the exceptions to the rule being those churches which have been erected since the Reformation, such churches to be given to the Protestant Episcopalian worshippers therein: endowments since the Reformation, and modern endowments, to remain untouched; the Church to retain the cathedrals, and as much property as may be requisite to keep up the building, and to maintain cathedral service. Property equal to £2,000 or £3,000 a year for each bishop to be preserved, "and whatever I left to the Church," says Mr. Miall, "I should leave to her not as trustee, but as absolute owner."

It would readily occur to you that these ingenious propositions prove rather too much. Why all this anxiety about the Bishops and the Cathedrals? To talk about "absolute property in land" is altogether wide of the mark. No such thing is known to the law or the equity of England. The advowsons are declared to be "legal property;" the right of presentation, what the lawyers call an "incorporeal hereditament," is to be bought at its full value; the corporeal property of the Church is not to be subject to a like rule! A distinction is taken between property possessed prior to and since the Reformation. Upon what equitable or legal principle is this distinction founded? The law says sixty years adverse and undisturbed possession is a perfectly legal title; but these legislators *in nubibus* scorn so simple and intelligible a doctrine. I wonder what the Peers of Great Britain would say to the suggestion, that all property acquired by the Bedford family since the Reformation should by them be retained, but that all the land taken from the abbeys and given to the Russells at the Reformation should become parochial property, "the absolute property" of the respective parishes "for ever," The application of the principle embodied in that idea would tear up prescription by the roots, and cause a social revolution.

What simpletons this Mr. Miall must conceive Churchmen to be, when he ventures to exhibit so tempting a bait, sweetened by the assurance that "the progress would be so piecemeal and gradual, that the friends and members of the Church would have ample time to organize whatever arrangements they might judge to be most suitable for meeting the emergency."! Can ignorance and insolence go much further? However, Churchmen are not yet in a position to capitulate; the "emergency" has not arrived. Should that day come, it will be time enough to treat such terms as they deserve. My only reason for naming them is the prominence they have assumed, as the craftily-devised preparatory means for ulterior objects of the most violent and revolutionary character.

I feel that I have not done to the important subjects I have discussed the justice they merit, for they are among the most important questions that can be brought forward. Conscious of my inability to find words sufficiently expressive of my devout aspirations for the interests of the Church and the People, I borrow from the richly-furnished storehouse of England's greatest political writer, sentences which embody my own desires:—"I wish," said Burke, "to see the Established Church of England great and powerful. I wish to see her foundations laid low and deep, that she may crush the rebellious powers of rebellious darkness. I would have her head raised up to that heaven to which she conducts us. I would have her open wide her hospitable gates by a noble and liberal comprehension, but I would have no breaches in her wall. I would have her cherish all those who are within, and pity all those who are without. I would have her a common blessing to the world; an example, if not an instructor, to those who have not the happiness to belong to her. I would have her give a lesson of peace to mankind, that a vexed and wandering generation might be taught to seek for repose and toleration in the maternal bosom of Christian charity, and not in the harlot lap of infidelity and indifference."

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THE UNION OF CHURCH AND STATE:

What is it? and What does the Bible say about it?

A LECTURE, by the Rev. J. EDDOWES, M. A., Incumbent of St. Jude's, Bradford.

BRADFORD: G. F. SEWELL, 23, DARLEY STREET.

Tract No. 6,—Price 1d.]

Bradford Church Defence Association.

MODERATION *VERSUS* THE LIBERATION SOCIETY:

With Remarks on the Union of Church and State in the days of Constantine the Great.

A LECTURE,

BY

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In this lecture, I shall state:

1. *The principles of Moderation, which are opposed to extremes, and shew that the Liberation Society violates these principles, whilst the Church of England practises them.*
2. *I shall shew that the Church of Christ is, and always was, a corporate body, capable of possessing property of its own, both before Constantine, in the days of Constantine, and at the present time.*
3. *I shall point out how Constantine endowed and protected the Church, and the propriety of his doing so.*
4. *and lastly. I will apply the principles of Moderation to the state of England at the present time, quoting the opinions of Dissenters, and shewing the right and expediency of retaining the property now held by the Church of England for her sole use as the Church of God established in these realms.*

It is a fundamental maxim of the greatest Greek philosopher, that true virtue is placed at an equal distance between the opposite vices. This rule of life is well known, but seldom enough practised. Like the great law of our Saviour, its excellence has won for it the epithet, *golden*. This golden *moderation* gives dignity to human life. What candour is in thought, moderation is in action. For example, avarice and prodigality are contrary vices; true virtue is placed at an equal distance between them; and he is the wise and virtuous man who is careful in getting and in saving money, but also liberal in spending it. In like manner, tyranny and lawlessness are opposite evils, and good government is placed at an equal distance between them; truly wise government consisting in that moderation which gives liberty without permitting license, and corrects without tyranny. And this maxim, as it applies to almost every department of thought and action, so it must be observed in promoting religion, whether in families, societies, or kingdoms. Those who advocate one vicious extreme, would compel everybody to receive Christianity even, if necessary, with the sword; whilst those who maintain the oppo-

culiar agencies, unassisted by the authority of parent, magistrate, or prince. I cannot but think that true wisdom dictates the middle course. A father who determines to use his authority and power rigidly amongst his children, may train up a family well versed in the words of scripture, well informed in the doctrines of Christianity, schooled in the forms of private and public worship, careful keepers of the Sabbath, punctual in morning and evening prayer; and yet with all this, the effect of such training will be to wither the root of true, hearty, joyful religion, and dry up its springs. Such are the vicious effects of the one extreme. On the other hand, a father might say, My children shall choose what forms of religion they please; they shall read the Bible if they choose, but I will not compel them to learn or read a single verse, nor will I teach them its doctrines and precepts; if they feel a desire to pray, I will not hinder them; they shall go to what church or chapel they please, or if they prefer it, stay at home: I will have no dull Sundays—my children shall not live to say, I hate Sunday, because my father compelled me to read the Bible on it.

Now, I ask you, are not both these extremes bad? and must we not admit that if it were necessary to copy one father's method or the other's, we should feel bound to follow the former rather than the latter? But happily, neither method is necessary. A wise parent will lead, train, influence, and teach his child to obey the Gospel, carefully shunning too much force on the one hand, and laxity on the other.

Now if we carry these principles of common sense into any kind of corporate bodies, we shall find they are constantly present, but varying in their application, according to the different conditions of the corporate bodies to which they are applied. For instance, take an orphan home, a school, an infirmary, and a workhouse: is it not clear that the governors and managers of these institutions are bound to promote religion in them? Is not the governor of an orphan-home, or school, obliged to provide for the religious training of the children under his care? Ought he not to see that the knowledge of Christ our Saviour is imparted to them? For this purpose, is he not bound to take care that they hear the instructions of Christ's ministers, that they attend Church; and for this purpose, must not such a governor assist in providing Church accommodation, and a stipend for the support of the clergyman? It is clear that he is also bound to take care that Sunday, and other holy-days, are observed in his house, together with morning and evening prayer. In short, he is bound to establish religion. But I have already shown, in the case of a father and his children, that governors are carefully to abstain from carrying authority too far, lest they wither the root of religion, which is joy in God, and substitute a dry stick for a living tree.

And is it not equally plain, that the governors, boards, and managers of infirmaries and workhouses, are bound to establish religion in these institutions? It is right to procure the ministrations of God's ministers, and, if convenient, to provide a chaplain. It is right to use authority for keeping Sunday and other holydays, and for the general observation of morality and religion. But, observe, that a wise authority will vary according to the will, and character, and condition of the inmates of a workhouse or infirmary. It would not be wise to compel every inmate of a workhouse to attend divine service, and especially if some were Roman Catholics, or Dissenters, and the chaplain were a clergyman of the Church of England. Again, if *every* inmate were a Roman Catholic, it would then be useless to provide a Protestant chaplain, and it might become a

whether the inmates should be left to voluntary efforts; or whether authority should be used to force another religion upon them; or whether they should be left destitute of the word and sacraments of Christ altogether.

Now who cannot see that the principles which govern wise action in families, schools, orphan houses, infirmaries, and workhouses, must also govern the policy of nations?

A wise king is one who knows that he is, as St. Paul writes, the minister of God for good to all those under his government. Convinced that the well-being of his people is best promoted by the knowledge of God's will revealed in the Gospel of His Son, he welcomes the ministers of the Gospel, he seeks to multiply them, he sends them amongst the most ignorant of his people; he spreads them abroad in every corner; he supports them; he provides for their permanent maintenance; he fosters the establishment of churches, colleges, and schools; he desires to have no place without a church, a minister of the Word and Sacraments, and a school; and thinks no money so well spent as that which provides for the extension and maintenance of religion. And if a king should do much more than this, he will not exceed his high vocation; for it is his duty to take care that the Lord's Day is observed, and to promote, in general, godly order and discipline in the Church. But it will not follow from all this, that a king must carry out these ends by means of the prison, the thumbscrew, the stake, and the sword. We have shewn already the folly of extremes in the government of a family and a workhouse, and they are equally foolish in the government of a kingdom. For example: the Queen of England has a vast empire in the East, containing millions of idolators. Does any sane man think that it is the duty of the British government to order that the Queen's subjects in India shall be forcibly baptized, and compelled to go to church, and to pay tithes and church rates? or does any wise man contend that their temples and idols ought to be forcibly destroyed? By no means. A wise moderation must be observed. It is the duty of the English government to watch for Christ's honour in India; to foster Christianity; to introduce missionaries; to endow them; to plant the banner of the cross by every wise and reasonable method: they are to glory in Christ's religion; not to be ashamed of it; never to encourage idolatry; ever to encourage Christianity; *but always* carefully to hold the balance between too much force on the one hand, and laxity on the other.

In proceeding to bring these principles to bear on ancient history, let me remark, that our object in this lecture is not to ascertain how Constantine acted, but how we in England at this hour ought to act; and it is for this purpose that I have traced the action of the maxim laid down by Aristotle, that virtue is placed at an equal distance between the opposite vices. What I want is, to illustrate this maxim from Roman history in the early Christian ages, and thus confirm our conviction that it is a sound rule of action.

But I pause a moment to ask, What party is it which in England, at this moment, is acting upon this golden maxim? Not the faction supporting the Liberation Society, but the Church of England. The Church teaches us that kings are God's ministers, bound to have affiance in Christ, and ever to seek his honour and glory; that parliament is to consult for the advancement of God's glory and the good of the Church; that civil magistrates are to rule all states and degrees, whether ecclesiastical or temporal; and on the other hand, the Church does not desire

Dissenters from all pains and penalties. This shews a wise moderation in avoiding opposite errors. This is the wisdom that is golden. But has the Liberation Society any gold in its maxims and rules? Gold is in the mean between two extremes, but the Liberation Society is all for one extreme. Kings may neither promote, foster, patronize, as they call it, nor control religion. This my common sense rejects. It is intemperate, immoderate, unphilosophical, extreme; and what is more, it is new. This extreme was never heard of in the divine polity of Israel. It was never heard of in the four great monarchies of the world, the Babylonian, Persian, Greek and Roman empires, and it has not been known to Christianity from its first establishment under Constantine till the portentous divisions of Christianity in these latter days gave rise to the experiment which is now on trial in the United States of America. The great Bishop Butler says, "A constitution of civil government without any religious establishment is a mere chimerical project, of which there is no example, and which, leaving the masses without guide and instruction, must leave religion to be sunk and forgotten amongst them, and at the same time, give full scope to superstition, and the gloom of enthusiasm; which last especially ought surely to be diverted and checked, as far as it can be done, without force." Oh, golden words! Mark that, ye Liberationists: "guidance without force." Mark too who gains by your Liberation.—*why Rome;* "superstition and the gloom of enthusiasm;" "that great corruption of Christianity, Popery, which (says the Bishop,) is ever hard at work to bring us again under its yoke." This exactly agrees with the words of the Bishop of Oxford, who, in the last debate on Church Rates in the House of Lords, said, "All the Protestant sects would suffer by the destruction of the Establishment, and the only body that would profit by it would be the intrusive Papacy." Depend upon it, the Church of England must still stand where she has stood for many hundreds of years, a mighty rock between the two opposing tides of Popery and Dissent. Popery compelling, thumb-screwing, and burning; Dissent now raising its novel and foolish cry of 'Liberation of religion from all state patronage and control.'

2. I proceed to shew that the Church of Christ is, and always was, a corporate body, capable of possessing property of its own; that it was so before the days of Constantine, in the days of Constantine, and still continues the same.

Three centuries elapsed between the birth of our Saviour and the reign of the Emperor Constantine; and in order that we may understand what Constantine did for the Church of Christ, it will be needful to take a rapid glance at its condition and progress during these three centuries. I want to show you that the Church was, all that time, a visible society, known to mankind by all the marks of a society; and if I can establish this, I shall overthrow one of the fundamental positions of our opponents, who argue that the Church of Christ never was one visible society on earth, but was made up of single independent congregations scattered like grains of sand upon a floor, over the world's surface, and having no corporate existence as a whole. Hence, as Dr. Acworth pointed out the other day, they conceive the word 'church' to mean in Scripture these two things, viz., the whole of the quick and dead who are in Christ, and also any single congregation meeting in one room, under one minister. The Independents advocate these two meanings of the word 'church' with the more zeal, because, by this means, they do away with the authority of bishops; for bishops join together several congregations into one

this way of defining the Church, that no such thing can be as a National Church. This was what I understood Dr. Acworth to mean, when he began his lecture on 'State-churchism' (as he called it,) by giving several texts from the New Testament in proof of this definition of theirs, though he did not, if I recollect rightly, go on to apply his definition to his subject. Well, now, the Church of England does not accept the Anabaptists' and Independents' definition of this word 'church' as a full and complete one. Her articles mention a Church of Jerusalem, Alexandria, and Antioch; a Church of Rome; the primitive Church; and in the prayer for all states and conditions of men, we pray for the Catholic Church, i. e., not for the quick and dead, for we never pray for the dead, but for the faithful living all the world over. Therefore, whilst we do not deny that, in the New Testament, the word 'church' sometimes means all the faithful living and dead, of all time, and sometimes a single congregation; yet we contend that it means also two other things, viz., sometimes several congregations under one bishop, and sometimes the sum of all the living believers. An instance of the first is the expression *(Acts viii. 1.)* "There was a great persecution against the Church at Jerusalem," in which city were multitudes of believers, many thousands certainly, with many ministers; and having a bishop, as church history informs us, over the whole, viz., James, the Lord's brother. If I desired to rely upon a passage of Scripture for the fourth meaning of the word 'church,' i. e., the sum of all living believers everywhere, I might quote St. Paul's expression, "I persecuted the Church of God," and "As for Paul, he made havoc of the Church," i. e., not the quick and dead, but a society of men living in the world; but instead of wrangling about the proper use of a word, I prefer to point out those leading features of a compact society which make it proper to call the company of believers in Jesus Christ, wherever stationed, one Church, one Body, one Society. If it shall appear, upon investigation, that from the days of the apostles to the days of Constantine, the believers were one visible body, under one code of laws, and using the same customs, then it cannot be wrong, in speaking of this whole society, to use the language which common custom has ever sanctioned, and call it the primitive Catholic and Apostolic Church.

No one can deny that the Church was visible and united, when the twelve apostles gathered the believers around their own persons; when they were all of one heart and of one mind, when they continued steadfastly in the apostles' doctrine and fellowship, and in the breaking of the bread, and in the prayers. But how was it a hundred years later, when St. John, the last surviving apostle, was gathered to his fathers? The truth is, that as time went on, the Church became more and more solid and definite in its framework; because dangers within compelled her to be definite, and dangers without compelled her to form a solid front if she would not perish. Permit me, then, to describe those marks which produced visible solidity in the church before the days of Constantine. I will mention seven of these distinguishing features. (1) The acknowledgment of one Lord, Jesus of Nazareth. (2) The universal reception of the Bible, which contains the testimony of God concerning this Jesus. (3) The universal use of Liturgies, containing short summaries of the doctrine of the Bible, called Creeds. (4) The universal use of two sacraments, viz., Baptism, and the Supper of the Lord. (5) The universal submission to government of three orders, called respectively, Bishops,

the length and breadth of the Church. (7) and lastly. Arising out of all these features, were certain manners relating to daily life, to eating, dressing, visiting, &c., which distinguished the Christians in the midst of all the nations amongst which they lived.

The first distinguishing mark of the peculiar people was their strange declaration that Jesus of Nazareth was their Lord and Master. This man was a Jew, a poor Jew, and a crucified Jew, and therefore despised by the whole world. Any society of persons, therefore, who claimed for such a man divine worship, must have been, by this profession, separated by a clear line from all the rest of mankind.

Further, this Society of believers in Jesus accepted one Book as the Revelation of God to man. Imagine the separating effect of this Book. The Greeks and Romans had no one book on which they could rely for the knowledge of their Maker; therefore, those holding such a volume must have thought, felt, and acted differently from all around them.

But besides the Bible, the Church had a short form of sound words, which in substance, if not in expression, was the same everywhere, and set forth the faith of all believers in God the Father, Maker of heaven and earth, and his only Son, who was born of the Virgin Mary, was crucified, rose again, ascended and will come from heaven to judgment; and in the Holy Ghost, by whom we are to be raised and receive everlasting life. Every believer was required to confess his faith in every article of this apostolic creed. Thus Tertullian, who wrote about the year 200, after naming the principal articles of the apostles' creed, says, "it is a rule which came down from the beginning of the gospel." And Irenæus, who lived still earlier, after enumerating the chief articles adds, "it was received from the apostles, and from those whom they taught, and dispersed over the whole world."* Imagine the force, the compactness, the unity of a society, even though dispersed over the whole world, whose members staked all their hopes in this world and the next on a few simple articles not exceeding twelve in number, the same everywhere, in all churches, and from the beginning. What power could shake or divide a society whose members were wont to stand up daily, or at least every Sunday, in every place the world over, and confess their belief in these same articles as with one mouth?

But the Church had also two divine ceremonies, by which it was still further distinguished from the world, and made at unity in itself. They are called Baptism and the Lord's Supper. These, like the Creeds, were received from the days of the apostles, were received everywhere, and were used by every Christian for the cleansing from sin, and for union with the Lord. "Go," says Tertullian, "to the apostolic churches, to Corinth, to Philippi, to Thessalonica, to Ephesus, to Rome. The faith of the Church is sealed with water, fed with the Eucharist, and she receiveth no one in opposition to this teaching."† To the observation of these two rites, let me join the keeping of fasts and festivals, particularly the weekly rest of the Lord's Day, Christmas, Good Friday, Easter Day, Ascension Day, and Whitsunday. And observe how clearly keeping Sunday, for example, must have marked off the Christians from their Pagan neighbours in every land.

But now, mark the government of the primitive Church. Nothing gives a society more character, or binds it together more firmly than its government. What is a country without a good system of government? What is a society of Christians without its teachers and guides? The

* Plurtis Church of the first three centuries, p. 21.

government of the Church was the same everywhere, in every Church, and from the beginning. Ignatius, Bishop of Antioch, who was alive in the days of the apostles, and conversed familiarly with them, says, "I exhort you, that ye study to do all things in a divine concord: your bishop presiding in the place of God; your priests in the place of the council of the apostles; and your deacons entrusted with the ministry."* And again, "It is necessary that without your bishop, you should do nothing; also be ye subject to your presbyters as to the apostles of Jesus Christ, our hope; the deacons also, as the ministers of the mysteries of Jesus Christ, must by all means please all, for they are not the ministers of meat and drink, but of the Church of God."* "When your captains," saith Tertullian, about A. D. 180, "when your captains, the deacons, presbyters, and bishops fly, who shall teach the laity that they may be constant?" Again, "Why should I mention laymen," saith Optatus, "to what purpose deacons, which are in the third, or presbyters in the second degree of the priesthood, when the very heads and princes of all, even certain bishops themselves, were content to purchase life with the loss of heaven?"† Theodoret testifies to the three orders even in apostolic times.‡ Jerome, in a letter to Evagrius, writes, "That we may know the apostolical tradition, taken from the Old Testament, even that as Aaron, his sons, and the Levites were in the temple, so should there be bishops, presbyters, and deacons in the Church." "But what need," says our own great and judicious Hooker, "what need of heaps of proofs in a matter so plain. I securely therefore conclude," he goes on, "that there are at the present day in England no other than the same degrees of ecclesiastical order, viz., bishops, priests, and deacons, which had their beginning from Christ, and his blessed apostles themselves."§ Now what compactness and unity sprung from the perpetual succession of these three orders! The strength of a pyramid is proverbial. The Bishop, ruling over many presbyters, and deacons, and congregations, gave solidity, and peace, and uniformity to all. These three lines of government were propagated by imposition of hands, in regular and unbroken succession. "Our apostles," says Clement,‖ "learned through our Lord Jesus Christ, that there would be disputes on the subject of the Episcopacy, for which cause, as they had perfect foreknowledge, so did they appoint bishops and priests, and give it them in charge, that when they themselves should fall asleep, other approved men should succeed to their ministration:"—in pursuance of the careful practice of the apostles, who ordained faithful successors (2 Tim. i. 6); thus taking care that after their decease, the Church might have the truth always in remembrance. (2 Pet. i. 15.) Eusebius gives us catalogues of the apostolic succession down to his own days, which were those of Constantine, in the Churches of Jerusalem, Antioch, Alexandria, and Rome, adding, "it would be tedious to enumerate the succession in all the churches," manifestly implying that he could have done it had he chosen. I will here only add that the bishops, meeting together in great councils or convocations, gave laws for the whole Church; and that the government of the Church was much admired by the Roman people, who envied the zeal, the vigour, and the purity of Episcopal rule.

Lastly, as regards manners and customs. I will only point out that these greatly serve to distinguish, to separate, and unite any society.

* Ad. Mag. vi.
† Quoted by Hooker, Bk. v. ‡ Blunt, 252.
§ Ecclesiastical Polity, book v.

Look, for instance, at the Quakers; how much do their manners and customs separate them from others, and unite them together! So it was in the early Church. They could not go to law in heathen courts; they abstained from the theatres, baths, schools, games of the heathen, because they were accompanied by immoralities and superstition; they met for daily prayer; they kept the Sabbath rest. All these, and a thousand little customs were notorious amongst them.

Such was the Society which grew up night and day, and sprang, and increased, and became a great tree, men knew not how, in the midst of the mighty Roman empire.

But was the Church allowed to grow in grace and stature, and favour with God, without any opposition from the emperors of Rome? By no means. "The kings of the earth," according to the prediction of David, "set themselves, and the rulers took counsel together against the Lord's Anointed." Tradition records ten persecutions, in which at different times the Roman state bent itself to destroy the Church of God. The infamous Nero issued an edict which made Christianity a capital crime. In his reign, many Christians were sewn into skins of wild beasts, and torn to pieces by dogs; they were covered with tar and nailed to poles, and set on fire to illuminate the royal gardens. In the reign of Aurelius, the dead bodies of martyrs lay in heaps in the streets; and the heat of their sufferings may be inferred from the tortures of four martyrs, who were roasted to death upon a hot iron chair. The emperor Decius used every method—torture, confiscation of goods, banishment, death,—to induce the Christians to renounce religion. In short, for about 200 years, the church was as the offscouring of all things, never receiving one friendly glance from prince or people.

Now I do not deny that the Church flourished during this period. In fact, persecution was God's instrument for sowing, purifying, and settling Christianity in the earth. The Dissenters point to these early times of persecution, and say, See how the Church flourished without state aid. But if the Dissenters think persecution so good for their souls, why are they moving heaven and earth,—*not* to remove persecution, for they suffer none,—but to rise into state favour? Mr. Miall tells us that with a Dissenter, moral heroism is impossible. I know this to be a false opinion as regards Dissenters, and I am happy to know also that with Churchmen of every age, and under all circumstances, moral heroism is possible, and has always existed. Moral heroism was displayed when the Church was despised and rejected of men; and it has been displayed during the fifteen centuries in which kings have been wise enough to give her the kiss of peace and the hand of patronage, and will still be displayed when the hour of persecution shall again return.

After 200 years of proscription and general persecution, things began gradually to change. "Severe persecutions were still in store for the Christians during the next hundred years, but their numbers had become so large, their rank in many cases, so imposing, and their character so good, that they acquired a firm footing in the state, and ventured upon public worship with more boldness." (Blunt.) The Church now began to struggle for equality, and for respect. She was no longer content with toleration, but demanded her rights. The emperors, according to their various tempers and opinions, assisted or persecuted the rising religion. And what was the effect of prosperity upon the Church? Why the result was exactly what experience would lead us to expect. We read in the Acts, that after severe persecution "then had the churches rest, and were edified and were multiplied." We

"When He slew them, then they sought Him, and turned them early and enquired after God." So it was in the Early Church; it was edified and multiplied during the times of quietness, but corruption also increased. "All men being liberated from the oppression of the tyrants, acknowledged one in one way, and another in another, that the only true God was the protector of the pious. There sprung up for all a certain celestial gladness, seeing every place so lately desolated by the tyrants, reviving again and recovering, as from a deadly distemper: temples again rising from the soil to a lofty height, and receiving a splendour far exceeding those which were destroyed."* On the other hand the Christians, like the Israelites, forgot in their prosperity, some of the lessons of adversity. Cyprian, Bishop of Carthage, describes the license which soon spread in the churches when sorrow was removed. He says, "Men hunted after gain, and even bishops, leaving their cures, wandered to distant places, seeking wealth by fraud and usury." Ah, cry the Dissenters, here is the testimony of the early fathers to the truth of our principles! But, observe, the Church was not in union with the State at that time. It was not legal establishment, but the favour of the world, that produced these evil practices. This being the case, shall we, therefore, cease to pray, "Give peace in our time, O Lord." "From battle and murder and sudden death, Good Lord deliver us."? The Dissenters, who value prosperity, peace, and wealth quite as much as we do, will certainly agree with us, that when persecution ceases, and quiet times are granted, religion receives both good and evil, benefits and dangers; for whereas the Church is edified and multiplied and gladdened, yet covetous men creep in, and the cares of this world and the deceitfulness of riches grow like ill weeds apace, and choke the word. Well, then, let every wise man distinguish carefully between the effects of legal establishment, and those of worldly prosperity, and not lay evils at the door of the union of Church and State, which really arise from the covetousness of every human heart. On this subject, the late lamented Dr. Pye Smith, the learned principal of a great dissenting college, writes, "Let us not say that the Christian religion was pure till Constantine debased it by establishing the Church. From the days of the apostles themselves, Antichrist was advancing. Constantine's measures were highly commendable. He pretended not to be a judge of church questions. It was not his fault that worldly men now professed Christianity for party purposes."

It pleased God to check these excesses by sharp correction. At his bidding, the tyrant again and again drew forth the sharp sword. Terror seized the Church, enervated by a few years of ease. Many fell away; multitudes fled to the mountains and deserts, where they perished by hunger and thirst, cold and disease, robbers and wild beasts; the prisons filled; thousands were slain. The last of these intermittent persecutions was in the days of Diocletian, and lasted, with more or less violence, for ten years. It pleased God to let loose this last plague for the final purifying of the Church, before that great era commenced when, in His good providence, "kings became her nursing fathers, and their queens her nursing mothers," according to the express prediction of the prophet. "The time was now come. The empire was ripe for the acknowledgment of Christianity as the religion of the state. God, whose judgments are above out of men's sight, had made all his preparations for this great crisis, and nothing was wanting but the last hand. That hand was put to the work; Constantine was left alone to do his pleasure, and about the year 324, the triumph of the Cross was complete," *(Blunt.)*

I hope I have now made out my second point, that the Church of Christ is, and always was, a visible corporate body, capable of possessing property of its own. For those seven marks which I have enumerated and described, do give substance and visibility to the early church, and they still remain in the Church of England, giving it likewise visibility and substance, and also identity or oneness with the early church.

3. I now undertake to shew how Constantine endowed and protected the Church, and the propriety of his doing so.

A few moments must be spent upon the appearance and character of Constantine, styled the Great. Gibbon tells us that he was brought up almost entirely to the profession of arms. In person he was tall and majestic; dexterous in all exercises; intrepid in war, affable in peace: in his whole conduct, an active spirit was tempered by habitual prudence, and he appeared cold and insensible to the allurements of pleasure. He was crowned at York, and his entry into Rome was disputed by another aspirant for the imperial purple. Constantine, however, subdued him; and after making himself completely master of the West, he went to the East, and founded a mighty city or New Rome, which is still called after him Constantinople. Here he held his court. The earlier part of his life is stained by several crimes; but it is said that during the last ten years of it, he was virtuous, averse from praise, a protector of religion, mild, compassionate, and watchful for the interests of his subjects. It is to be observed, that though he protected and assisted Christianity during these ten years, yet he was not himself a member of the Church, for he was not baptized till he was about to die.

It is now high time that we consider what Constantine did to establish the Christian religion. (1) then, he published an edict, forbidding all persecution of the Christians,—a proceeding which I am sure the Liberators will think extremely right and praiseworthy. (2) His next edict granted universal toleration, and ordained that all places of worship taken from the Christians should be restored to them without delay or charge; and any loss they had sustained was to be repaired. Our Liberationists are anxious that the Queen should not imitate this line of conduct. They want her to secularize—that is their wicked word—to secularize Church property, i. e., to turn it from a religious purpose to some secular or worldly purpose. This was not the policy of Constantine, but of the persecuting godless emperors. (3) Constantine exempted the clergy from certain burdensome offices, that they might the better perform their sacred duties. (4) He decreed the observance of Sunday in his dominions. I ask the pious Dissenter whether this is a bad law? Wherever they have had power, Dissenters have enforced the keeping of the Sabbath day much more rigidly than Churchmen think necessary; and Mr. Baines has maintained in the *Leeds Mercury*, that this is a duty of government; no doubt with the approbation of the majority of his readers. In fact Mr. Miall, who has a logical mind, and therefore sees the danger of the Sabbath exception, is opposed to most of the Dissenters (I believe) on this point. And what does Mr. Miall suggest? Why that the Sabbath shall be supported on civil grounds alone.* That is, he recommends that which the French atheists recommended at the Revolution, that we should not consult God's will in the matter, but our own convenience. Truly these Liberators know not what spirit they are of. If the Lord's day be a divine institution, it must be supported *as such*. If not, you may on civil grounds appoint a holiday once a week, or once in ten days, as in France, or once a month, or not at all. (5) Constan-

tine observing that a party was rising into importance which denied the divinity of our Lord Jesus Christ, moved the bishops to call a great council for settling this question. This council met at Nicæa, and sent forth that inestimable form of belief called the Nicene Creed. I pause to ask, Is this an act unfit for a monarch? Is it not rather a mark of the wisdom of that great man, that he should take such a step? He did not presume to meddle with spiritual functions. He gave forth no creed as emperor. But knowing that all true religion rests on the great doctrine of the Saviour's Godhead, he ordered the ministers of Christ to assemble and issue to the world the results of their godly judgment. For this purpose he permitted the bishops to use the posts of the empire, and by this means to meet from all parts of the world. And I am bold to say, that if our houses of parliament were ready to promote the meeting of our Convocation, for the enlarged discussion and settlement of the great questions which now agitate the Church of England, they would be better employed than in voting by majorities whether large or small, the abolition of rates which have served, and do serve, to maintain the Churches of the land. Let every wise man hear, reflect, and judge for himself.

(6) Constantine next proceeded to order the banishment of Arius, the heretic, who denied the divinity of Christ. This is a measure which I do not undertake to defend. I do not undertake to say that, under the circumstances, the wise course was not to send away the ringleader of false doctrine; neither do I say that it *was* wise to do so. I maintained at the outset, that the true line of conduct is to be drawn between the opposite errors of too much force, and indifference. I do not say it was right for the Independents in New England to hang and whip the Quakers for nonconformity; neither do I say it was right for Constantine to banish Arius. Let those who are able adjust the balance. But Constantine was not a persecutor. We have it on the authority of Gibbon, that "whilst he invited and exhorted all his subjects, in the most pressing terms, to embrace Christianity, he declared that those who still refused to open their eyes to the heavenly light, might freely enjoy their temples and their fancied gods; and without alarming the fears, or rousing the superstitious zeal of the heathen, the artful monarch advanced by slow and cautious steps, to undermine the decaying fabric of paganism." (*Gibbon*, i. 499.)

All this we cannot but admire. It is the very policy which our wisest statesmen desire to carry out in India, and one which most surely promotes the growth of true religion. Bishop Butler says, "If the principle of punishing idolatry were now admitted amongst us, heresy and schism would soon be punished also, as crimes of the same nature; and thus the spirit of persecution would range without any stop or control, but what would arise from want of power. But," he adds, "our Church establishment disclaims all principles of this kind, and desires not to keep persons in its communion, or gain proselytes to it, by any other methods than the Christian ones of argument and conviction."* Surely these words, from one of our greatest bishops, meet the assertion of the Liberators, that we would persecute, if we could; that we would bite, if *they* did not muzzle us. Churchmen do not recommend even the forcible destruction of idolatry for force is contrary to our religious principles.

The last of Constantine's methods for establishing Christianity which I shall mention, is regarding property. Not only did he protect church property and facilitate endowments, but he greatly increased it by per-

sonal liberality, and in several cases ordered an allowance of corn to be placed at the disposal of the Bishops in the cities for the relief of the poor. It was not till the reign of Charlemagne that tithes were set apart for the support of the clergy. A word or two on Church property may be allowed me, since it arises directly out of my subject. It would be absurd to question the right of Constantine to protect Church property by law, for it is one chief purpose of law to protect all kinds of property. The chapels, schools, endowments, and private property of all Dissenters are justly protected by law at this hour. And Church property (by which I mean all property sacred to Christ's service by whomsoever held,) ought to be more fixed and inalienable than any other kind of property whatever; and for this reason: The object to which Church property is applied is the most valuable and the least subject to change; for that object is the maintenance and transmission of divine truth, which is one and the same in every age. The one great object of churches, clergymen, schools, and endowments is expressed in the Psalm lxxviii.—"Hear my law, O my people; incline your ears unto the words of my mouth * * which things we have heard and known, and our fathers have told us, that we should not hide them from the generations to come, shewing to the generations to come the praises of the Lord, and his strength, and his wonderful works that he hath done, that their posterity also might know it, and the children which are yet unborn, to the intent that when they came up, they might shew their children the same, that they may put their trust in God." This is the use of Church property, and I ask what private property has so strong a claim to protection as this? Well then, he that would divert Church property from this one sacred object, and *secularize it*, is striving, as far as in him lies, to overthrow the rights of property, and to destroy the religious faith of posterity. My friends, have nothing to do with this wickedness! Keep your hands from sacrilege. Those men will never prosper who would divert Church property from its sacred use, which is to perpetuate amongst our children the law of Christ. Now I venture to give you a piece of advice. If you meet a Liberationist, always take high and religious ground with him. Never leave the heights of reason. What I mean by taking high ground on the subject of Church property will appear, if I read an extract from Richard Hooker's great work on Ecclesiastical Polity. "How soon, oh how soon might the Church be perfect, if public authority would but at length say Amen unto the holy and devout requests of those godly brethren who groan in the pangs of zeal to see the houses of bishops rifled, and their so long desired livings gloriously divided among the righteous! But they in whose hands the power doth rest, are persuaded there is a God in whose sight the sacrilegious intention of Church robbers, lurking under the plausible name of reformation, is a thousand times more hateful than the plain professed malice of those very miscreants who spat in the open face of our blessed Saviour. For the better information of men who carry true and honest minds, we will endeavour to make most clearly manifest that possessions, lands, and livings, the goods of the Church, are in such sort, the Lord's own, that man can challenge no propriety in them. His they are, and not ours. All things, indeed are His—My corn, and My wine, and Mine oil, saith the Lord. But these sacred possessions are His by another tenure: His, because they who first received them from Him, have unto Him returned them again, by way of religious gift or oblation. To Christ these goods were given, to remain His as long as the world should en-

will Christianly made unless thereby something was added unto Christ's patrimony. Touching such goods, the civil law defineth them to be no man's, because no mortal man, or community of men, hath right of propriety in them." (Ecc. Pol. bk. vii.) This is what I have called high religious ground. It is the plainest and the best argument to call secularizing by its true name, which is sacrilege, or robbing God. Tell the secularizer that Church property is for maintaining God's truth; that it is sacrilege to secularize it. Advise him to leave sacrilege alone. Tell him it is folly, madness, and wickedness.

Whilst we must approve of the wisdom which led Constantine to fix the property of the Church by legal sanctions, we cannot deny his right to assist the Church from his private purse, and from the coffers of the state. The emperor had not only to consider what was the will of his Pagan subjects, but much more what was the will of God, and what was for the interest and welfare of his Pagan and Christian subjects.

Well, now, the Liberators tell us that we confound Church and State by establishments. I have already taken a good deal of pains to shew that this is not true. When Constantine gave protection and state patronage to the Church, she was a corporate body, as distinct from the state in constitution as possible. I gave you seven marks which distinguished her from the rest of mankind; and these marks which make up the definition of the Church, are different in kind from the terms which make up the definition of the State. It is not necessary that a man should be baptized in order to be an Englishman; or that he should submit to a priesthood of three orders. The Church and State were always distinct, and are distinct at this hour. The Church was, in the days of Constantine, a corporate body, capable of possessing property. So was the early Church of England. The Church of England, having those seven marks of corporate existence which I have named, received buildings, tithes, endowments, and rates, in early times. The Church of England at this moment, having the same seven marks, claims her right in the same property for ever. That the Church and State are two bodies united, and not one body, the Liberators themselves admit, for they wish that Church and State should be disjoined. That the Church of England is the same which received property in early times we have shewn, for she has seven marks of identity; therefore, whether separated from the State, or joined with the State, she ought of right to enjoy her private property.

4. I return to the doctrines of moderation which I set out with. Truth, and wisdom which is truth reduced to practice, lie at an equal distance between opposite errors. I quote again the words of the great Butler: "A religious establishment without a toleration of those who think they cannot conscientiously conform to it, is itself a general tyranny. On the other hand, a constitution of civil government without any religious establishment is a chimerical project."* The greatest and best Dissenters have acknowledged this same principle of moderation. The opinions of Howe, Owen, Baxter, and men of that age, are well known, therefore I come at once to later times. One Dissenter writes, "I ask, would it be wrong for any government to vote grants to any denomination, to promote those ends which it is bound to pursue? Would it be *sinful* for government to offer this assistance?"†

Dr. Chalmers says, "I see no mode of dealing with the masses in our cities, but by an extension of the principle of an establishment even to

* Sermon before the House of Lords.

them; that is, by a greater number of ministers and churches planted amongst them." Matthew Henry says, "Let us praise God for the national establishment of our religion; that our land is Immanuel's land; that our Reformation was a national act, and that Christianity thus reformed is supported by good and wholesome laws." Dr. Doddridge says "Ministers of all denominations claim our prayers, especially those of established churches. Where the temporal emoluments are the greatest, there is of course more to invite unworthy persons to enter the ministry. And let us pray for the prelates of the Establishment, by whose pious endeavours an Establishment will flourish, and separate interests decrease. But what folly and iniquity were it so much as secretly to wish that one limb might grow by the distemper of the body, or one coast be enriched by the wreck of the public navy." (Serm. Deut. xxiii. 9.)

This, my friends, is the language of good Dissenters, and this is the language of religious moderation; and it is as different from that of the Liberators, as light from darkness; who say, "The Establishment is a poison tree. It plashes in the blood of men;"* and the like silly stuff. I need not point out to any man that the language I have quoted from Dr. Pye Smith, Dr. Doddridge, Dr. Chalmers, not to mention our own Butler, is more Christianlike than that of the Liberation Society; because there is something in every breast which immediately judges between the two. To this common conscience I leave the matter.

But here let me remark that Dissenters themselves do naturally adopt our principles of moderation when circumstances arise which enable them to do so. I will not go back to the days of Cromwell, or to the whippings and prisons of New England, for I do not call the practices of the Independents, or of the Church of England either, in those times, *moderate;* but I will turn to their missionary records in the South Seas. It has been remarked by a dissenting writer of some eminence, that sending out missionaries "is opposed to the very constitution of strict independency,"† because the voluntary system pre-supposes a congregation already formed, and that congregation choosing a minister: but I will not stay to examine this anomaly, merely noticing it by the way, as a warning to all, not to tie their hands by false principles, and then break their self-imposed fetters, at the imperious calls of common sense.

The Independents, impelled by religion and common sense, having, contrary to their principles, sent out many good men as missionaries, what do these missionaries in the South Sea Islands? They were authorized by their committee in London to advise the chiefs of these islands to *banish the national idols.* How natural! How much in accordance with reason and common sense! Yet Constantine did no more. And the Queen and parliament of England do not even so much; for I have already shewn you that our greatest divines do not recommend the Queen to banish the national idols in her Indian empire. Let the Dissenting missionary society then judge between us and our enemies, and say whether our principles of establishment without force, or theirs of voluntaryism are the best and wisest But further, two of these missionaries having been sent out by the committee, report, "We had a long interview with the King of Hawaii, in which we urged upon him the propriety of—liberating religion from all state patronage and control? No!—We urged upon him the propriety of *publicly adopting Christianity as the religion*

* Nonconformist Sketch Book, by E. Miall.

† *Fiat Justitia,* Essays on the Church, p. 189.

of his dominions."* They did quite right, and in so doing, carried out the settled maxims of their wisest and most pious teachers.

Well now, I may boldly affirm that in this great question of Church and State, the pendulum of justice swings between the two extremes of Romish compulsion and Liberationism. These extremes meet in a common danger and a common falsity. The pendulum, I say, is swinging; it has not yet found the place of rest; it cannot yet find the true place of rest. The conflict of opinion is destined to continue till He comes to reign, who is at once a Priest, and a King. A Priest upon his throne, who will unite Church and State in a glorious Theocracy. In the mean time, the corruption and ignorance of godless masses require every effort that individuals, and societies, and nations can make to reform and enlighten them. On this point the *Wesleyan Magazine* thus writes:— "Rising above the influence of mere sectarian feeling, we are anxious that the religious wants of the nation should be fully met; and comparing what has been done by Dissenters with what remains to be done, we are persuaded that the cause of our common Christianity so much needs the extensive provision made by the Established Church, that were she overthrown, a vast proportion of our teeming population must be left in utter destitution of the outward ordinances of religion."†

Permit me, now, to apply these principles of moderation to one case only, that of Church Rates. I assume (1) that what the Methodist Magazine writes is but too true: we need all the means we possess, and much more, for the proper supply of the outward ordinances of religion throughout this land. I assume (2) with the great Hooker, that Church property, and amongst it Church Rate, is a gift or offering to Christ Jesus our Lord, for the use of his religion, and therefore may not be secularized; but, on the other hand, since Church Rates have unfortunately become a source of ill feeling between Christians, some of whom think they ought not in conscience to pay them; I say, let us pray the legislature to find some middle course, by which conscience may be relieved, and if possible ill feeling removed, and may the God of peace forgive us if, for this end, we somewhat despoil the patrimony of Christ.

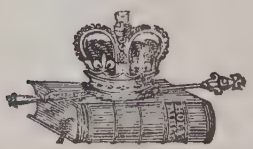
I cannot, however, leave this subject without adding a word on Pew Rents. The Church of England claims the high honour of supplying the ordinances of Christ's religion to the people of this kingdom. In recognition of this high service, Church Rate is paid. The parish Church ought, therefore, to be as free as the parish pump. If it is right to lock up the parish pump, and give keys to fifty parishioners only, whilst *all* pay for its support, then, not otherwise, is it right to give the spaces of the parish church to a few, whilst all are expected to pay. In this, as in many other things, the Church has forged her own fetters and her own scourge.

But, alas! let us do as we will, we cannot satisfy the rage of our enemies. It is the Church which makes the claim of divine origin against which they rage. The lions roar round about the city of God. We claim the seven marks of identity with the apostles, and therefore with their Lord, and they cry, Down with it, even to the ground; and they desire to take our property, as Jesus was first stripped, that he might afterwards be scourged.

Now let us cast the mental eye back upon what has been said, and reflect on the establishment of Christianity under Constantine in its general aspect. We have seen that the Church was a visible united Society;

* Tregelles and Bennett's Travels, vol. v. p. 439.

As such, it worked its way in the midst of the nations unprotected and persecuted. Constantine became emperor of Eastern and Western Rome. ruling a nation which for a thousand years, had established by every legal method, the priesthood and sacrifices of Pagan worship. No whisper had ever been breathed, from the pillars of Hercules to the Golden Horn, from the snows of Caucasus to the sands of Lybia, of liberating religion from state patronage and control. No emperor or citizen of that mighty commonwealth had ever thought that the state would prosper unless she provided for the rites of "the immortal gods." And now, when Paganism was tottering to its fall, struck down by the stone cut out of the mountain without hands, and its gold and its silver, its iron and its clay, were sinking together into the dust of ruin; the emperor of Rôme, directed by divine grace, turned from his dumb idols to welcome and to foster the Church of the living God, who made heaven and earth. A new spirit from heaven was poured into the prostrate empire; the nations were renovated by the influence of the New Law, and the foundations were laid of those great Christian monarchies which have flourished with surprising vigour for upwards of fourteen hundred years. Of these nations, England is the freest and the greatest. She will remain so while she holds fast the principles received when she was first moulded into a Christian kingdom; but if she parts with this inestimable heritage, then she will fall: for, observe, *we* have nothing new to fall back upon. Paganism was astonished and fled away before the presence of Christianity; but to what shall Christianity give place? What new Evangel have our Liberators to proclaim? Methinks I hear, in the discord of their trumpets, the far-off blast of the coming Antichrist. But may God, of His mercy, frustrate their inventions, and confound their politics.



LONDON:

WERTHEIM, MACINTOSH, AND HUNT, 24, PATERNOSTER ROW AND 23, HOLLES STREET, CAVENDISH SQUARE;

BRADFORD: G. F. SEWELL, 23, DARLEY STREET;

TRACT No. 8.] [PRICE 1d.

Bradford Church Defence Association.

THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND THE POOR MAN'S CHURCH,

A Lecture, by the Rev. John Eddowes, M. A., Incumbent of St. Jude's, Bradford.

I stand here to-night to speak to you on the Church of England in her relation to England's poor. It is a subject to which no English *Christian* can be indifferent if he be alive to the blessing of pure religion, and be aware of the fact that of the whole population of England and Wales, more than three-fourths are to be classed under the head of labouring poor. It is a subject in which every English *Churchman* must take the liveliest interest if he believe in the apostolic character, and love the scriptural worship of his Church, and be aware of the fact that for some years past, no effort has been spared by the Church's foes to poison against her the minds of the working classes, by representing her as a Church without one pulse of sympathy with the poor, and established exclusively for the aristocratic and the rich.

Listen to the following, which I adduce as a specimen of the terms in which the Church has been spoken of in certain circles since the rise of the Anti-state-Church Association, now known as the Liberation Society. It is culled, not from an oration of Mr. Miall, or Mr. Bright, whose warmth of feeling might have carried them into excesses of language; nor yet from any of the angry speeches which have issued from our opponents' lips during the heat of the present controversy, but from the pages of an official or semi-official document, of which no fewer than 35,000 copies are stated to have been circulated. It occurs in the *Protestant Dissenters' Almanack*, for the year 1848; and therefore was written when the Church was quietly but vigorously rising to the work of elevating the masses of England's poor, and religiously educating the poor man's children. "It may be fairly doubted," says this unscrupulous publication,* "whether there was ever a class of men more deceived, if not deceiving, than the clergy of the State Church. As an illustration of the truth of this statement, it has recently been the fashion with a very numerous and influential part of them to call their Church, '*The Poor Man's Church!*' Now if this had been said by a Dissenter, it would most certainly be regarded as very much like a slander, uttered under the guise of that well-understood figure of speech called *irony*. Let us, however, consider a few of this Church's doings, that we may see how far it is entitled to the designation of '*The Poor Man's Church.*' In the first place, does it look like the 'Poor Man's Church,' to levy a tax, on his very entrance, as it were into the world, on his *poor* parents, for making him a Christian, or, as the Catechism expresses it, for making him 'a child of God, and an inheritor of the kingdom of heaven?' If it were '*The Poor Man's Church*,' would it not be too glad to perform so charitable an act without exacting a fee? Again, does it look like '*The Poor Man's Church*' to demand of him a rate, for washing surplices, ringing bells, playing organs, and buying bread and wine, of which, perhaps he never partakes, and in case of his refusal or inability to meet the demand, to shut him up in a gaol, while his wife and children are left to starve, or to subsist upon the charity of those who may not belong to 'The Poor Man's Church?' At his baptism, marriage, or burial, does it in any way make good its claim to such an appellation? Is it not pay, pay, pay, or go without the services of the Church?"

* However unscrupulous in his general statements, the Editor has, apparently, a scruple against allowing Churchmen an interest in the common Redeemer, for he thus hands them over to God's '*uncovenanted* mercies.' "Properly viewed, a State Church is not only incompatible with religious liberty, but with any real religion, and those who in religion obey the state must be left to the uncovenanted mercies of God." (!!!)

"But is it not open to the poor as freely as to the rich? Does not the humble rustic in his smock-frock, or the artizan in his woollen jacket, occupy the same position as the burly farmer, the well-dressed tradesman, squire, or merchant, when he enters the sacred edifices of the Church? Does he not obtain an equal share of the obsequious attention of portly pew-openers and beadles? The truth is that the whole administration of its public worship is opposed to the feelings, the prejudices, and wants of the poor. The only accommodation they can look for, even in their own parochial sanctuaries, is on some bench in a comfortless aisle, or at the footstool of their richer neighbours; while the pompous formality of the service has no power to rouse their dull affections, nor to stir up and impress their sluggish and untutored intellects. The 'Poor Man's Church' indeed! Rather let it be called the Church of lordly prelates and of sinecurist deans, and rectors. It is not even the Church of the working Clergy, but of the drones who fatten on its enormous but ill-bestowed wealth."

This is followed by a lengthy passage, in which the writer complains of the Church's money having been lavishly expended on Bishops' palaces, and of the absence of one Bishop from his diocese for some months, and in which he gratuitously expresses sympathy with the candidates for the ministry in another diocese, because they had to travel to London for ordination, and then he concludes the article in the following choice and charitable words—"In what way the poor are interested in a system which allows such a state of things to exist, it is impossible to comprehend. Whether he be lay or clerical, the Church which owns these men for Bishops is not *his* Church. It is the Church of the aristocracy, of wealthy patrons and time-serving politicians, but it is not 'The Poor Man's Church.' The poor of the laity have no sympathy with it. They prefer the ranks of Dissent, or, despising all religion, live in utter neglect of its ordinances. As for the poor of the clergy, they have, for the most part, been born and bred in mental thraldom, or they would come out of such a Church, and leave her to the consequences of her own deep and inherent corruption. The Church of Rome [listen to this, ye Protestant Dissenters, behold Political Dissent enamoured of the Scarlet Lady.] with all her corruptions, is far more entitled to be called 'The Poor Man's Church,' than her daughter of England. The Church of Rome makes some approaches towards the poor, and affords them facilities for entering her most sacred and influential offices. The Church of England stands at a haughty distance from the lower grades of society; and unless they are content to be her very menials, so constructs her avenues to power and emolument, that they cannot enter them. The Church of Rome, when she was the Church of the nation, was accustomed to divide her patrimony with her poor and dependent members. They were held to be a proper charge and burden upon her resources. But the Church of England, although her revenues are equal to those of the clergy of all Christendom, has spurned her poor laity from her threshold, and while appropriating to herself the funds which once contributed to their relief, has cast them upon the tender mercies of a grinding and reluctant poor law. The Church of *Christ* is indeed the Poor Man's Church, but this Church has scarcely anything in common with the Church of England. The latter claims for its head an earthly monarch; the former has no other Head but one who was born in a stable and cradled in a manger; one who was born of a Jewish maiden of humble origin, the wife of a labouring mechanic. In the Church of *Christ*, the men who occupy the highest and most honourable positions are the fishermen of Galilee and the publicans of Judea. In the Church of England, distinction is reserved for those who are familiar with palaces and courts, or for those who are successful in sustaining the crooked and often sordid policies of earth, rather than the pure, and just, and merciful policies of heaven." (p. 25.)

Such is the Church of England, as pourtrayed by political Dissenters. Is the portrait a true one, or is it a caricature? I affirm that it is the latter. I am not here to night to maintain that the Church is all that she ought to be, or all that she might be; that she is perfect, stainless, pure. The very sun in the firma-

ment is not without its darker spots; and so long as the Church is militant on earth, the evil will ever be mingled with the good: only when presented at last a Church triumphant, will it be without spot or wrinkle, or any such thing. Nor can I afford time to-night to point out all the fallacies, falsehoods and exaggerations in the darkened picture which our foes have drawn. I must beg your indulgence, however, while I briefly ask, Is it true that the Church exacts a fee for bringing the little ones to Christ in His own holy rite of Baptism? No, it is not. The law of England forbids an English clergyman to make any charge for the sacrament of Holy Baptism, or the sacrament of the Holy Communion. Is it true that the Church oppresses the poor man by demanding from him a rate which he is unable to pay, and sends him to prison while his family starve? No, it is not! Church-rate is a charge levied in respect of property; is paid only by occupiers of property, and rarely exceeds 1d. or 2d. in the pound. *They* against whom the machinery of justice is invoked, are not those who are *unable* to pay, but those that are *unwilling:* not those who *would* obey the law if they could, but those who make a boast of breaking the law. Is it true that in the Church it is pay, pay, pay, with the poor man, or go without the Church's services? No, it is not, and this the poor man knows full well. None of us, I will venture to say, ever heard of a poor man leaving the Church's fold because of the money exacted from him; but have we not known or heard of poor men leaving other communions because it has been there one incessant cry "Give, give, give?"

One charge, however, hurled against us as matter of reproach, we Churchmen gladly accept; one high crime we are not ashamed to plead guilty to,—we are "the Church of the Aristocracy." And long, long distant may that day be when there shall cease to be in England a Church which includes, and is worthy to include, within its fold of blessing, the highest, the noblest, the most intellectual in the land! Ours is indeed the Church of the aristocracy—the aristocracy of birth and wealth and learning and virtue, but it is at the same time the Church of the poorest of the poor. The Royal Lady who now adorns the English throne, and whom God powerfully support in this her hour of sorrow, and long preserve to reign over a happy and united people!—she, and the nobles who surround and support her throne, are loyal and loving members of the Church of England. They—the great majority of them at least—Sunday after Sunday abase themselves in the courts of "the only Ruler of Princes," using the same simple confession of sin, and breathing the same burning prayers for pardon and grace, with the lowest and humblest of the Church's children.

But why should it be thought a reproach to be the Church of kings and nobles? Is the soul of the Queen less precious than the soul of the most humbly born within her realm? Did it cost less to redeem the soul of a Lord than the soul of the peasant who labours on his estate? Is it easier for a rich man to enter into heaven than for a poor man? An authority to which we all must bow, has told us otherwise. Surely, then, the ordinances of religion—the admonitions of the Divine Word, and the aid of divine grace,—are at least as necessary for the rich as they are for the poor. But beyond this, when we remember the power for good or evil which the higher classes of society in every country possess; that from their ranks spring the legislators who enact the nation's laws; and that *their* conduct ever gives tone and direction to the conduct of those beneath them, we shall see how essential it is to our national welfare that the precepts and restraints of religion be brought to bear upon the noble and the rich, and we shall give great thanks unto God that there is yet in dear Old England a Church which is, in more than name, "The Church of the Aristocracy."

The subject, however, on which I am here to speak, concerns more directly the poor man's privileges in the Church, and the Church's influence with the poor. To this let us turn. My great argument to-night is this, that *the Parochial System of the Church of England makes her pre-eminently the Poor Man's Church.* It confers upon the poor man rights and spiritual privileges which in no other communion does he possess; it gives him a claim upon the minister of Christ which no other system does or can. It may suit our opponents to ridicule this

parochial system, and term it a mockery, but it is nevertheless a great and blessed reality—a reality which brings 84 per cent. of our marrying population within the Church's walls for the marriage tie; a proportion perhaps equally large to her font for baptism; and a proportion even larger still within the shadow of her venerable fabrics, or within the boundary of her consecrated cemeteries for the last sad rite of all. It may suit our opponents to point to places like Bradford, or Leeds, where, from the rapid growth of population, the blessings of the parochial system are necessarily but *partially* enjoyed, and to keep out of sight the many hundreds of villages and hamlets where its blessings are freely acknowledged, and its happy effects are felt. It may suit them to represent the parochial system as an antiquated device, which might have been of service in the dark ages, but is now only a barrier to the spread of pure religion, and the evangelization of the masses. Let the truth, however, be known. The parochial system was not in any way the offspring of mediæval darkness,—it did not arise in the dark ages, but in days earlier still, days illustrious for examples of simple piety and self-sacrificing zeal. It dates its existence in England from about the year 670; and I doubt not, but despite the wily and gigantic efforts of the Liberation Society, it will survive even these boasted days of modern enlightenment, when, by some, everything new is regarded as improvement, and everything old as worthless or a stumbling-block. "Theodorus, archbishop of Canterbury," says the Dean of Chichester, Dr. Hook, in his *Lives of the Archbishops*, "perceived that Christianity, if it were to be rooted in the land, required more than the occasional delivery of a sermon and the administration of the sacraments; he recognized the superintending duties of a pastor, who should gather the sheep into one fold. In the Greek Church he had been familiar with the parochial system; and he determined to encourage the formation of parishes and the erection of parish churches. * * He persuaded the thanes and landed proprietors to assign to their former chaplains an independent position, and by placing a church in the centre of their estates, to secure a constant intercourse between the minister of the gospel, the inmates of the castle, and the serfs."—(vol. i. p. 152.) Thus, at its first establishment it was contemplated that the parochial system would not only provide for all classes the ministrations of the gospel, but would bring the poor as well as the rich into more frequent intercourse with the minister of Christ. And this is precisely what it has done, and what it is doing now.

It provides for the very poorest of the people a House of God to worship in. By the parochial system, the whole kingdom is parcelled out into ecclesiastical districts called parishes, so that, as a rule, every man lives within some parish or other, and every inhabitant of a parish, be his temporal condition what it may, has an absolute and inalienable right to the free use of his parish church. The common law of England,—the same law by which the Queen holds her crown and the nobility their estates,—gives to the poor man an interest in the very fabric of his parish Church. He has every whit as much right within its walls as the richest there. None dare turn him from its doors; none dare demand from him payment for a sitting; and the churchwarden is bound by law to seat him, provided only there is vacant room. The parochial system recognizes, in this respect, no difference between the rich and the poor; it regards them all as sinners who need to worship God,—sinners who need the church's holy rites; and it throws open wide the Church's doors, and offers those sacraments which the Church dispenses, to all, without money and without price.

The right of every parishioner to a seat in his parish Church is thus stated by Mr. Oliphant in his work on the law of pews—(p. 7.): "By the general law, and of common right, all the pews in the Parish Church are the common property of the parish; they are for the free use *in common*, of the parishioners, who are *all* entitled to be seated, orderly and conveniently, so as but to provide for the general accommodation. And every parishioner has clearly a right to a seat in the Church *without any payment for it*." The same right is thus recognized by the report of the House of Lords' committee on Spiritual Destitution, in

1858. "Returning to the normal state of things, where it remains unaffected by any special privilege, we have seen that the body of every parish Church belongs of right to all the parishioners; and this right cannot lawfully be defeated by any permanent appropriation of particular places."

Now, were this all that the Church of England does for the multitude of England's poor, she would surely have a claim, such as not one of the sects around her could advance to the honoured title of "The Poor Man's Church."

"Oh, but—" say our opponents, "if your Churches are free to the poor, so are our Chapels." Yes, I reply, the Dissenting Chapel is free to the poor man on the same principle that Horne Tooke once said the London Tavern was free to him, "provided he paid for what he got there." Or, if a poor man be permitted (as I readily grant he in some cases is,) to attend a chapel without being asked for pay, he is there entirely upon sufferance; he holds his sitting as *a matter of favour*. When he goes to *his Parish Church*, he claims his seat as a matter of simple right, occupying only what is his own, dependent for it on no man's favour and fearing no man's frown. But when he goes to the *Dissenting Chapel*, he sits there only by the tacit permission of the Chapel trustees, and is really at the mercy of the chapel officials. The deacon of a dissenting chapel can do what no churchwarden in the land dare do,—turn away the poor man from the entrance to the house of prayer. And, let me add, the power which chapel officials possess, they sometimes use. I have known some of the poor of Christ turned away on a collection evening from the chapel doors with a speech like this, "It is not such as you that are wanted here to night."

And not only has the poor man no legal right or interest in a dissenting chapel, but the accommodation allotted to the poor in such chapels is of the most limited and meagre kind. And that this is so is not a matter of accident, it is an inevitable consequence of the purely voluntary system on which dissent is professedly supported, and which we are sometimes asked to recognize as infinitely superior to the system of fixed endowments and voluntary offerings combined, which obtains in the Church of England. The Dissenting minister must live, and in order to provide him with means, the chapel sittings must be let, or the rich and well-to-do be attracted to its services, whatever may become of the poor; or, in the words of Mr. Horace Mann, himself, when writing, a nonconformist,* "The necessarily self-supporting character of all the institutions founded by Dissenters renders it in their case almost indispensable to make the erection of a chapel dependent on the prospect of an adequate pecuniary return."—(Census of Religious Worship, p. 130) But I am now perhaps discovering to you a reason, when it behoves me rather to be establishing a statement. I will therefore cite a witness before you whom no one will deem incompetent to speak on such a subject, and no one will accuse of partiality to the Church. for he is her bitter foe,—Mr. Samuel Morley. When examined before the Church-rate committee of the House of Lords, the following questions were asked him:

(Q. 737.) "I suppose that as regards providing religious accommodation for the poor, you think that ought to be left *entirely to voluntary effort?*" (Ans.) "In most of our chapels we are enabled to secure what we call free sittings." (Q. 738.) "Can you at all state what proportion of free sittings there are?" (Ans.) "*The proportion is very small indeed.* I am bound to make that acknowledgment, and it is a difficulty."

Again, this much maligned parochial system *secures to every poor man in the land the gratuitous services of a minister of God.* Not only are we parochial clergy bound to minister freely to the poor at Church, but we are compelled also to carry the ministrations of religion, its holy rites and its heavenly consolations, in case of need, to the poor man's home. He can claim at our hands the rite of baptism for his children, and, unless his life be openly evil, the Holy Communion for himself. We dare not withhold from him the sacraments of the gospel, and what is more, we dare not charge for them. Moreover, we are bound to marry those of our people who seek the Church's blessing on their union; and, if we

* Mr. H. Mann has, I believe, since writing the work referred to, left the ranks of Dissent

have a graveyard, when required, to bury the departed. And we are under obligation also to visit, when sent for, the sick and dying, except in cases of infection. Let every poor man, then, who hears me to night, distinctly understand this,—that when we administer to the poor the sacraments of the Church, baptism or the Holy Communion, or when we yield to them any of the Church's offices, marriage, burial, visitation of the sick, we confer on them no favour whatever, we only give them their right. We minister to them indeed gladly and of a ready mind, for our common Master's sake, but we only yield them that to which they have a clear and indisputable claim. And very distant may that day be, so much desired by some, when, the parochial system being broken up, the poor man will have to ask *as a favour* the ordinances of religion, which now he claims as an English Christian's right.

But it concerns us to night to ask, *Has the poor man the like claim on the services of a Dissenting Minister?* Certainly not. ALL THE MINISTRATIONS OF DISSENT WHICH ARE NOT MATTERS OF PAYMENT, ARE MATTERS OF FAVOUR. If a poor man sends for a Dissenting minister in time of sickness, desiring to receive at his mouth the consolations of religion, that minister may, if he please, decline to come. If he sends for him even to administer the sacrament of Baptism, or the Lord's Supper, he may, if he feels disposed, refuse those rites.

Wide indeed, in theory, is the difference between the ministrations of the Church and of the Chapel as regards the poor man; but scarcely wider in theory than in practice. Who is it that is seen in our crowded towns visiting from street to street, and from house to house? Who is it that goes from door to door, reminding the irreligious of a judgment to come, warning the careless that they have souls to be saved, and inviting all to the house of prayer? Who is it that is to be seen wending his way from one chamber of sickness to another, speaking words of comfort to those who mourn, and words of hope and promise to the dying? Is it the clergyman or the Dissenting minister? Your own observation will tell you which. Hear the truthful words, and equally truthful facts of one whom I shall have bye and bye to quote more largely, the Rev. Dr. Hume, of Liverpool. "The Dissenting minister," he says, "almost disclaims the home-missionary spirit, which forms so prominent a characteristic of our English Church. Whom does he visit, for example? The members of his congregation. But what of the poor without? Deserted, forgotten, unvisited. Within certain geographical limits *we* are bound to attend, to offer the gospel freely and willingly to all; and whatever the defects of our English Church may be, I believe that in 99 cases out of 100, that is honestly, and in some degree earnestly done. Then again, even in the case of the two sacraments, how often are these denied; Baptism denied to the father who has not paid his seat rent perhaps, or who does not attend chapel with sufficient regularity? *I have known* the Lord's Supper refused on political grounds, because the man had voted for a certain candidate at an election. I have known numerous cases where the reasons were 'frivolous and vexatious;' so that I am not speaking of things that do not occur, but of such as do occur frequently." Hear also one or two other witnesses. Before the House of Lords' committee on Spiritual Destitution in 1858, several gentlemen were asked whether the Dissenting ministers, within the sphere of their observation, were in the habit of paying pastoral visitation or not, and only one of these witnesses (Rev. C. P. Eyre, Rector of Marylebone,) was able to say that they did; and he confined that statement to the Roman Catholics and the Wesleyans. (3545-6) The Rev. T. J. Rowsell, Incumbent of St. Peter's, Stepney, was asked,—(1173) "Are the ministers of those Dissenting chapels in such a position that they have time enough to make visits?" (A.) "They have time enough certainly, I should say; but I never met with them by any accident." (1174) "Have you reason to believe that those visits are not paid by them?" (Ans.) "I think not. I have never met them; but I should be sorry to say anything unkind of them." The Rev. Canon Champneys, Rector of Whitechapel, was asked.—(1643) "You have spoken of visiting

sick in the parish, and of there being a great number of dissenters; do you usually visit the Dissenters—people who are sick?" (Ans.) "We make no difference: we visit all who are sick, never asking any questions. In the whole of the years I have been in Whitechapel,—20 years and more, nearly 21—I never, to my knowledge, met a Dissenting minister." The Rev. T. T. Bazeley, Incumbent of All Saints, Poplar, was asked—(2457) "There must be a great amount of spiritual destitution?" (Ans.) A great amount of *pastoral* destitution certainly. I do not find any *visiting* on the part of dissent—not a trace of a dissenting minister in my parish among the poor." (2458) "Have you any reason to know whether they visit pastorally their own people?" (Ans.) "I do not think so." The Hon. and Rev. G. Yorke, Rector of St. Philip's, Birmingham, was asked,—(4426) "Do you know whether the Dissenting ministers in Birmingham are in the habit of paying domiciliary visits to their people as much as the clergy?" (Ans.) "No, certainly not. Some of the denominations employ persons whom they call missionaries, but I think that that is confined to one or two." (4427) "Generally speaking, the Dissenting ministers in Birmingham do not make those domiciliary visits to their people?" (Ans.) "Certainly not." William Rivington, Esq., a gentleman who has been actively connected with various Church-building Societies, was asked —(3046) "Do you consider that the poor, independently of the spiritual destitution under which they suffer from the want of clergy, are sufferers in other respects, in their temporal comforts and means?" (Ans.) "Yes; and it is one of the most gratifying circumstances arising from experience in church-building, that the poor always benefit by the erection of a new Church, and the settlement of a new clergyman. It arises in this way: I think that most of the charities for the poor depend upon the clergyman of the district; many of the principal givers in a parish are church-goers, and they are influenced from the pulpit. The clergy also look after the poor and visit them; and we find that, as a matter of experience, numerous societies for their temporal benefit are almost always instituted. There is also no more efficient promoter of education than the erection of a new church with a settled clergyman; no clergyman likes to go on without schools. The most active clergymen like to have a provident dispensary, and to encourage habits of providence among the poor; and altogether, the temporal condition of the poor has generally been very much improved with the extension of churches. I could give many instances of that."

But it may be objected, All these witnesses are Churchmen giving evidence in favour of their own communion. Well, I hope they are none the worse, and their evidence no less trustworthy on that account. At all events they are men of truth and candour, men whose Christian character places them beyond suspicion. Do you deem the testimony of a Dissenter preferable, or of more value? Such testimony you shall have. Mr. Toulmin Smith, an educated non-conformist, has candour and manliness enough to acknowledge the shortcomings of the sects. "The Dissenting congregations," he writes, "make no provision for the performance by their clergy of pastoral duties, either among the population surrounding their chapels, or elsewhere beyond themselves. So that really the great mass of the people, except the Roman Catholics, are thrown upon the Church of England for every good office that an active pastoral clergy can render to a population more and more cut off from all kindly intercourse and contact with the higher classes, and for the means and opportunities of religious worship. * * The pastoral visitation of *even their own poorer members* is very much neglected by the dissenting clergy, and the Church of England clergy are constantly applied to by them for pastoral aid and consolation." Another nonconformist writes—"Dissenting ministers recognize no care of souls beyond their own congregations, *which contain even a smaller proportion of the working classes than the churches of the Establishment.* In fact, the regular pastoral visitation of their own people is, in our large towns, the exception and not the rule, so that the bulk of the working classes, with the exception of the Roman Catho-

of England, which does at least recognize, and attempt to discharge this function."

Having now established the superiority of the Church over the sects, as a pastoral Church, as well in its practical every day working, as in its legal or theoretical aspect, my next assertion is, *that the Church system makes provision for the religious necessities of the poor in places where Dissent, or the Voluntary system, does not and cannot.* Unhappily there are in our commercial towns and cities,—yes, and in other places too—suburbs or districts where the struggling poor are crowded together without even one moderately rich man among them, yea, of some of which, it has been said that their "aristocracy" consists of families inhabiting two rooms. Now, Dissent, or the voluntary system, as it has been clearly deduced from a pamphlet by Mr. E. Miall, is the "Making provision for the ministry and ordinances *neither by public nor private endowment, neither in whole nor in part, by means irrespective of the will of those who attend upon them, and not restricted to any specified locality.*" On this system the dwellers in these poor districts must be left to provide for themselves the means of grace. But I ask can they be expected to do so, even supposing they had the desire? Assuredly not. Remember, that in asking the crowded poor to provide for their own religious wants, you are demanding from them sacrifices and self-denial, a hundred fold greater than you dream of asking at the hands of the rich. The sad reality, however, is that they have not even the desire. They have never been accustomed to drink at the fountain of pure religion, and they know not how sweet its waters are. In such districts there is no more religious zeal than there is worldly wealth, and it would be absurd to think that the poor, any more than the rich will make enormous sacrifices to provide for ordinances which they do not value. You might as well leave thieves and profligates to build reformatories, and pay the officers, as leave the irreligious poor to build Chapels and pay ministers for themselves. Can we wonder then that it is quite an exceptional case to find a Dissenting Chapel in the poorest districts? In such case, the Chapel has either been built by external aid, in direct violation of the Voluntary principle, or it has sprung up some years after the erection of a Church, when by the efforts of the parochial clergy, a love of religion and religious ordinances has been diffused.

Now, mark how different the Church's system. She does not reject the voluntary principle, but she does not rely upon it. She accepts, yea evokes, free-will offerings, but she accepts them as supplementary to fixed endowments. She recognizes the truth that they who need religious ordinances most, are the very men who seek them least, and she puts forth her strongest hand, to lift up the Cross of Christ in districts where perhaps no heart has yet been yearning for Him. She bids her children to fulfil the law of Christ by bearing one another's burdens. She calls in the rich to aid the poor—the spiritually rich to help the spiritually destitute. She does not leave the poor and irreligious to build Churches for themselves, but she invites the rich and the religious to build Churches for them. And when a Church is built, even in the poorest district, it is not consecrated, until there is at least a portion of the minister's maintenance secured by endowment; the poor in that district therefore, do not depend for the continuance of the Church's ministrations on the continuance or the amount of their contribution to the Church's coffers. Thus, at the present moment the Church is, in Bradford, by the gifts of her richer members, building, and as far as she can, endowing Churches in the poorest and most destitute localities—Churches that shall be separated for ever from all secular and profane uses—consecrated to the worship and service of God in all time.

And here let me note, briefly, but suggestively, another point of difference between the Church system and the Chapel system. When a Chapel is, by any accident, found in a poor locality, it almost invariably stands alone, and is really only a preaching station, the Minister's form never seen, and his voice never heard, except upon the Sunday, and not always then. But in the very poorest district where a Church stands, the people very soon become familiar with the face of their Clergyman—he goes in and out among them, labouring in their behalf during the six days of the week, as well as preaching to them

enth. In the great majority of cases, beside the Church there arises the "Rectory" or "Parsonage", beneath whose roof is generally—almost universally—to be found one, who, is in his own person, a connecting link between the rich and the poor, being the friend of both. Or to use the words of an observant and talented statesman, Mr. Disraeli, "Wherever there is a Church, there there is at least one being to solace and to civilize." (*Speech at Aylesbury, Nov.* 4, 1861) I may seem, perhaps, to magnify mine office, but I hesitate not to express my honest conviction, that in the village Rectories, and town and city Parsonages of happy England, are to be found men, surpassed by none for ardent piety, untiring zeal, and hopeful, active charity—men happy in the esteem of the rich, and the affection of the poor—men such as *Chaucer* might have had in mind when he drew his picture of "The Good Parson of a town"—or such as *Goldsmith* might have had before him when he wrote:

"There where a few torn shrubs the place disclose,
The village preacher's modest mansion rose.
A man he was to all the country dear,
And passing rich on forty pounds a year.
Remote from towns he ran his godly race,
Nor e'er had changed, nor wished to change his place;
Unpractised he to fawn, or seek for power,
By doctrines fashioned to the varying hour:
Far other aims his heart had learned to prize,
More skilled to raise the wretched, than to rise,
His house was known to all the vagrant train;
He chid their wanderings, but relieved their pain.
* * * * * *
Thus to relieve the wretched was his pride,
And e'en his failings leaned to virtue's side;
But in his duty, prompt at every call,
He watched, and wept, he prayed and felt for all;
And, as a bird each fond endearment tries
To tempt its new fledged offspring to the skies,
He tried each art, reproved each dull delay,
Allured to brighter worlds, and led the way."

Yes, most truly has it been said:

"Full many *a poor man's friend* does Britain own
Among her pastors; though from public fame
Remote they labour, marked by God alone,
And those they tend; but, 'mid the world's acclaim
The Lord's "Well Done!" shall make their labours known."

But the Church not only provides for the poor where Dissent cannot—*she also stands by the poor when Dissent forsakes them.* The least observant amongst us can scarcely fail to have noticed the tendency of the rich and well-to-do in our growing towns, to migrate with their families, as the population increases, farther and farther into the outskirts. Thus the stream of population as it flows makes more decided the line of demarcation between the rich and the poor, bearing to the salubrious suburbs the possessors of wealth, and leaving in the older localities an increasing mass of increasing poverty; or in other words, the town itself gradually deteriorates as the wealth of its outskirts increases. We see this in Bradford, though not to the same extent as in some other places where the growth of the population has been less sudden and exceptional. Now what I want you to observe is this—that however poor, however wretched, however immoral, a district may become, through the migration of the rich and the virtuous, or from any other cause—if a Church has been erected there in its day of prosperity, it will not forsake that district in its day of depression. The wealthy may leave that district,—the benevolent may leave it,—the good of every class may leave it, hastening beyond the reach of its moral malaria—but the Church will not leave it,—its greatest benefactor will stand by it still. The mansions of the rich may be converted into warehouses, the warehouses into cottages of the humblest class, but the Church's sacred structure will be still unchanged, lonely witnessing of a God who careth for the poor, and heareth the prayer of

to the poor, warning the wicked of the end of sin, telling them them of one whose arms are ever open to welcome those that turn unto him—one, who, in the days of his flesh spoke words of pardon even to a sinful woman, and words of promise to a repentant thief.

But let me now ask, *Do Dissenting Chapels remain in such poverty-stricken districts?* No, they do not: they follow in the wake of wealth; for relying on the Voluntary principle, Dissent can only afford to minister in districts where the people can afford to pay. Dr. Hume has given us some revelations on this head with respect to Liverpool which have startled and not pleased our Nonconformist friends. "Now what," he asks, "have our Dissenting friends done? All their most ancient Chapels were originally in the most ancient parts of the town; but the following process has been regularly going on. Precisely at the point where the population ceased to be a paying one, our Dissenting friends removed their Chapels. A Chapel, for instance, has been removed half-a-mile, then three-quarters, or a mile, and so on. I have given, a list in a published pamphlet, of nine Chapels which have occupied 26 different sites. If they had only occupied 27 different sites, that would have been an average of three positions to each one of the nine Chapels." "It is not a little curious that three of these deserted Chapels have become permanent Churches; while only one is still retained by the community to which it originally belonged, and used as a free-school." But Dr. Hume has gone further than this. In a letter published last year in the *Standard* Newspaper, he enumerated upwards of 40 deserted sites of Protestant Dissenting Chapels in the same town of Liverpool. And Mr. Bardsley, too has shown that the same process is going on among the Dissenting edifices in Manchester. At a Meeeting held in the Town Hall, Manchester, May 9th, 1860, he enquired "Where the Chapel of Dr. Mc.All, which was situated in Mosley Street, had migrated to? Was it in Ancoats, or St. Michael's, or in Angel meadow? No, it had been put down in Stretford Road, to be near the mansions and villas of the merchants. Then two years ago there was a Chapel 50 or 60 yards from the place they were then in, presided over by Dr. Mc. Kerrow, where has that gone? To Brunswick Street, amongst the rows of beautiful houses there. It was found impossible to carry on the voluntary principle, so the Chapels had emigrated, leaving the people to the care of St. Paul's, St. Mary's, St. Ann's, and St. James'. They might also speak of another Chapel, in Connor Street, which had been removed—removed from one of the most admirable situations in Manchester for Missionary purposes: but where had it gone? why to Brook's Bar." The Vicar of Nuneaton, Rev. R. C. Savage, gives similar testimony. "In my own parish," says he, "one Dissenting Chapel is shut up, and another Dissenting Chapel was turned into a dwelling for a time, but the mortgagee has just opened it again, with the the hope of getting the interest paid—but the Church of England always remains open." (Evidence before Committee on Church rates, 1394.)

But here again, some one may object, "Dr. Hume, Mr. Bardsley, and the others you have quoted, are zealous Churchmen, and on a point so important as this, it would be more satisfactory to have the evidence of Nonconformists." Such evidence happily I am in a position to furnish. Dr. Osborn, a Wesleyan minister of reputation, was questioned, and gave the following answers before the late Committee on Church rates. "(1775) Has it come within your knowledge that dissenting Chapels have been obliged to be closed, in consequence of the richer portion of the community having left the place?" (Ans.) "When the middle classes and well to do people, who have been in the habit of attending the Chapel, go away into the country, or to some suburban residence, it follows, almost as a matter of course, that the seat rents fail, and another Chapel is erected in a suburban district, and the congregation is transferred, and the Chapel ceases to be occupied as it was formerly." (1776.) "You do not find in your experience that the poor leave the locality?" (Ans.) "No, they are fastened to it; and that one consideration weighs very much with me as to the importance of territorial provision, which shall be independent of the [illegible]ua-

Mr. *Toulmin Smith* says "While dissenting Chapels and Sunday Schools are closed one after another, in districts abandoned by the higher classes, and where they are most needed, and removed to localities more easily reached by congregations; and while *their* clergy live comfortably at a distance, and are never seen among the crowded population of these deserted districts; the Church of England has been planting her Churches in the very worst and poorest localities, settling her Clergy in, by the dozen, Bethnal, Whitechapel, and such like localities, in the very midst of poor people, the pastoral care of whom is assigned to them; and who show their appreciation of the vigorous efforts the clergy are making to minister to their religious wants, by crowding the Churches, in many instances, and contributing liberally for their means, to the support of public worship."

But I have yet one witness more, who strongly corroborates Dr. Hume, and confirms his facts. The following sketch of the working of the voluntary system amongst dissenters in Liverpool, is given by a correspondent of the Nonconformist, writing in June, 1861. "Although a Dissenter for upwards of 20 years," he says, "I am compelled to acknowledge that so far as Liverpool is concerned, the statement of Dr. Hume is substantially correct—I shall not enter upon the argument as to the increase of dissenting Churches compared with the established Churches throughout the kingdom. I shall only refer to the state of the case in this place. In what might be termed the low part of Liverpool, which is densely inhabited by the poor, there are several established Churches, but scarcely such a thing to be seen as a dissenting Chapel, unless indeed you style the Roman Catholic places such. There is one Baptist Chapel in Byrom Street, which at one time contained a large and fashionable congregation, but a number of years ago they left it, and built in a more fashionable part of the town. Since that time the Chapel in Byrom Street has been deserted. It was kept open for a number of years by an able minister, who preached to the few poor people who attended, without salary; but now the place is entirely shut up. A few yards from this place is St. John's Church. I went there one Sunday evening, and found the place crowded, chiefly with poor. The great evil of our dissenting Churches is their hunting after popularity; and to obtain this they must have their Chapels in fashionable situations, with popular preachers at a large salary. This compels them to charge pew rents, which in my opinion, are much more objectionable than Church Rates. They keep up worldly distinctions in the Church, and drive the poor away. Dissenters who uphold pew rents should hold their tongue about Church rates, at least until they put away the greater evil. A short time ago I went to a Baptist Chapel in the neighbourhood and found the following notice posted up, two in each pew, and several about the door. 'Notice, Persons attending this place are respectfully informed that the Ministry and expenses connected with this Church are defrayed by means of pew rates and collections at the doors.' The only interpretation which I could put upon the above was, No poor man admitted here."*

But I cannot forbear to add one testimony more, copied from the pages of a local newspaper, which lately charged Churchmen with repeating an "old assertion without proof," when they spoke of the migration of Chapels from poor districts to rich ones. "There is a building in Keighley, which was originally a Chapel for some section of the Methodists, who had separated from the old body, because they thought it profane to use an organ in public worship, and were popularly known as the 'Non-cons.' As the 'Non-cons' waxed richer, they removed to a larger place, and sold their old one to a number of mechanics, weavers, woolcombers and small tradesmen. They converted it into a "Working Man's Hall," and made a platform where the pulpit was. * * * In the remodelled Chapel, *this* world took the precedence of the other, and Chartism, Socialism, Strikes, and Atheism were advocated there in turns. Feargus O'Connor and his political followers, Robert Owen and his anti-theological followers, each claimed it as their peculiar property, and there is scarcely a politician, or a

heretic of any note among working men who has not spoken in it, and looked upon it as one of the holy places of unbelief * * * For years this building was known in Keighley as the Infidel Chapel." * * * (This Chapel afterwards appears to have been devoted to the promulgation of "spiritualism," and then of a theology, "half Unitarian, and half Swedenborgian.")—*From Westminster Review, quoted in Bradford Observer, January 9th*, 1862.

But let us look a little nearer home. Has there been no migration and no desertion of Chapels in Bradford? What about Zion and its contemplated removal from the crowded centre of Wakefield Road to the salubrious suburb of Manningham Lane—Is this an instance in point? Our dissenting friends say "No, for the old Chapel will still be used for worship." Perhaps it will, but was the sale of it never contemplated? Was there no discussion as to what should be done with it? Have the recent revelations about Chapel removals had no influence in determining its continuance as a place of worship? But what will our dissenting friends say about Chapel-lane Chapel? Was it always, as now, in the hands of those who deny the essential divinity of our Blessed Lord? What will they say of Croft Street Chapel? Built some twenty years ago by a body of seceders from the Methodist New Connexion, and known as "Barker's Chapel," it passed after a while, into the hands of the Wesleyan Methodists, who, in their turn, abandoned it, and it is now used as a foundry. What will they say of the neighbouring Chapel in Caledonia Street? Built about 30 years ago for the followers of Johanna Southcott; occupied in 1851 by the Wesleyan Reformers; afterwards for a time unused, it eventually came into the occupation of the Roman Catholics, who still use it as St. Joseph's Chapel! What will they say of Chandos Street Chapel? Built in 1855 for the Christian Brethren, devoted after a time to the religious rite of Spirit Rapping—then used as a preaching room by the Town Mission—empty for a few months—then sold and converted into a copper smith's shop. What will they say of Mount Carmel Chapel? Built in 1836 for the Gospel Pilgrims, occupied at different periods of its 'short eventful history' by the Baptists, Independents, Jumping Ranters, and, as the neighbours testify, by "all sorts of sects,"—used as a day school, and now in part converted into a tailor's shop.

Now with facts like these, and testimony like this before us, I am bold to ask which resembles the Divine Master most; which careth for the poor—the Church of England or Dissent? But other facts might be appealed to, equally telling, in favour of the Church. For instance, facts will bear me out when I assert that *the Church is also the great Educator of the poor man's children.* I am aware that this statement brings me into direct antagonism with the most talented, but withal most unscrupulous champion of political Dissent. Mr. Edwd. Miall charges the Church with being "The grand bulwark and fortress of national ignorance, and says that the "Education of the people owes nothing to the clergy." (Nonconformist Sketch Book, pp. 75 & 106.) Now, I appeal to your own observation—Is the charge of Mr. Miall's a true one? or is it false and unfounded? Take any populous town you please—your own for instance—and see where the schools for the people stand—are they beside the Churches or beside the Chapels? Have they been erected by the energy of the Clergy and laity of the Church, or by the efforts of the Minister and congregations of the Chapels? Or take if you like, the poor and thinly peopled localities, and see who, in our rural districts, build and support the village schools—and in the immense majority of cases you will find that it is not the Chapel but the Church: yes, and in measure greatly disproportioned to their means, by the Clergy of the Church, whose sacrifices for this purpose are little known beyond their own domestic circle.

A candid observer can but arrive at one conclusion—that the education of the people, both in town and country, is being conducted by the Church. And this conclusion is abundantly confirmed by an appeal to statistics. The returns at the census of 1851, showed that there were in England and Wales, 10,555 Schools connected with the Church, and only 1,653 connected with other religious bodies, and that while there were in the *Church* Schools 929,474 [illegible]

there were in the others only 258,702—or in other words, that for every 22 children educated by all the Nonconformists together, there are 78 educated by the Church alone. Are not these statistics, then, sufficient to substantiate the assertion that the Church of England is the nursing mother, the thoughtful educacator of England's Children? And I do not doubt that if a Census of Education were taken now, the returns would show a still greater balance in favour of the Church. Indeed, the report of Her Majesty's Education Commissioners, issued in 1861, tells us that there are now no fewer than 19,549 elementary school in England and Wales, connected with the Church of England—with that church be it remembered which Mr. Miall declares to be "the great bulwark and fortress of national ignorance,"—and only 3,098 supported by Baptists, Congregationalists, Romanists, and all other religious bodies combined.

As to who are the main supporters of popular Education, hear Sir John Coleridge, a member of the recent Education Commission, and certainly no mean authority on such a matter. "It constantly happens," he said in October last, at Honiton, "and I desire to speak from personal knowledge of what the Clergy generally are called upon to do—that in addition to all his other labours, the country clergyman is the main stay of the National School; that is to say, he has to answer for all expenses in carrying on the School; and when the question is put, 'Is your School in debt or not?' and they get the answer, 'No,' it is only that the Clergyman has paid off the debt."

But before leaving this subject I must ask you to listen to one witness more—a witness whom our dissenting friends themselves will not discredit—it is no other than Mr. E. Miall. He also was one Her Majesty's Commissioners on Education, and to the Report which they laid before Parliament his signature is appended. What is the evidence then which the Report gives? It tells us that in rural districts "the burden of supporting the Schools falls principally upon the parochial Clergy;" that "almost all the Schools in rural districts belong to the Church of England;" that the "proportion of Clerical subscriptions to such Schools is £10 10s. per head, as against £5 6s. from the landowners;"* and it adds, "The heaviness of the burden borne by the Clergy, is imperfectly indicated even by such figures as these. It frequently happens that the Clergyman considers himself responsible for whatever is necessary to make the accounts of the School balance. He feels that the only means of improvement is the Education of the young, and he knows that only a small part of the necessary expense can be extracted from the parents. He begs from his neighbours, he begs from the landowners; if he fails to persuade them to take their fair share of the burden, he begs from his friends, and even from strangers, and at last submits, most meritoriously and most generously, to bear not only his own proportion of the expense, but also that which ought to be borne by others."

To these statements Mr. E. Miall has set his hand and seal. Happily I am not concerned to reconcile Mr. Miall as the Author of the Nonconformists' Sketch Book, with Mr. Miall as a Royal Commissioner. I commend the task to Mr. E. Miall himself, and the supporters of the Liberation Society.

But there are still benefits and blessings of another order conferred by the Church upon the poor, of which it is impossible that I should speak at length within the limits of this Lecture. Bear with me however while I just read to you a few words written by one whose name deserves to be had in reverential remembrance by English Churchmen, the late Prof. Blunt. Writing in 1834, and alluding to the Clergy, he said, "As it is there are some ten thousand circulating throughout this country for two or three hours, most days of their lives, on various home missions of charity, of pity, of exhortation, of reproof. Each

* In another part (p 282.) the report says "An average subscribing Clergyman contributes to the School expenditure 11 times as much as an average subscribing farmer, six times as much as an average subscribing householder, and (with probably not half the income) nearly twice as much as an average subscribing landowner; and even now the case is incompletely stated, for while it is the rarest thing in the world to meet with a parish of which the Clergyman does not subscribe to the School, it would be very far from truth to say that it is a rare thing to meet with a non-subscribing landowner."

man knowing precisely the district within which he has to walk; confident in the soundness of the warrant by which he enters every house in it uninvited, and in general hailed by the welcome of all as one of those whose feet are 'beautiful.' What a mass of misery is thus daily explored and relieved; what heart burnings are quenched; what complaints hushed; what follies withstood; what knowledge imparted; what affections stirred up! Who would rashly disturb the under current of goodwill which is silently and secretly diffusing itself throughout all the darkest and most dismal recesses of society, and mitigating so much that is evil in this hard hearted world! Yet withdraw the Establishment, and it is done." "We are most anxious to press this consideration upon all whom it may concern—that perhaps the most comely parts of the Church of England are those which are least displayed. Doubtless her ritual is spirit stirring—her pulpits are fountains of religious knowledge—her ceremonies are full of solemnity—her temples worthy of being dedicated to God—but these are only the grosser features of her beauty; they may be all done away, and some calculation be made beforehand of the amount of that portion of the loss. But the unobtrusive provision she makes for the perpetual disasters of a working day world—for the things which are happening out of sight—this is the province in which she wanders among the people unseen—her services here are not easily appreciated, because noiseless; in this department, even more than in the pulpit or senate, she repays the state for its protection and support; and whatever power for good of *this kind* she possesses, be it never forgotten, *she owes entirely and altogether to the situation in which she stands as the sole accredited guardian of religion in this land according to its parochial divisions.*"

Here then, I stay my hand, not because I have said all that can be said on the subject of which I treat, nor because I have even indicated half the points of excellence which give to our Church a claim to the veneration and attachment of the poor, but because time presses, and I feel that I have said enough to prove that the Church of England is, in practice as well as in theory, the Church of England's poor. She confers upon the poor man rights and privileges such as no body of non-conformists can; she labours for his good and his children's good, as no other religious community does. I confess I should like to have gone one step farther, and shown you, that by their own willing testimony the majority of England's poor are members of England's Church. Our noisy opponents, however, have put this out of my power; they feared the result had the question been asked, alike in the poor man's cottage and the rich man's mansion,—'To what religious body do you belong?' and they compelled the House of Commons to erase it from the census paper. But though they have hindered us from having a religious census of the nation under parliamentary sanction, they cannot prevent us from taking a similar census on a more limited scale, and so arriving at a close approximation of the truth. The result of such a census, "carried on in one of the great suburban districts of the metropolis, (St. Peter's Stepney,) showed that 73½ per cent. declared themselves church-people; 20½ per cent. Dissenters of one denomination or another; no more than 6 per cent. being indifferent to religion, or absolutely hostile to it." Now, when we remember that the tables published by the Lords' committee on Church-rates exhibit very much the same proportion, viz. 67 per cent. church people;—that ¾ths of the burials *in cemeteries* take place in the consecrated or church ground, and that 84 per cent. of the marriages are celebrated in Church, we are, I think, justified in assuming that of the whole population, poor and rich, at least 70 per cent. are willing members of the Church of England.

Now, my friends and fellow-churchmen, when we see what the Church of England does in this our day, that she provides (as she *has* done for centuries,) for all the poor, whether they dwell in the crowded town or the distant hamlet, a house of God freely to worship in, and a minister of God whose services the poorest may demand; that her churches stand open in districts so poor, that there the chapels must be closed; that her ministers are found where scarce any *but* hers are ever seen, going with the gospel on their lips, from court to court, and

from house to house; when some four-fifths (or four out of five) of the poor man's children who are under instruction at all are in her schools; when four-fifths too of the people resort to her sanctuaries and cemeteries for religious rites; when our spacious cathedrals are being thrown open to the working classes, and filled to overflowing with worshipping poor; when our "mitred bishops," are preaching to the sons of toil, who crowd attentively around them in railway stations and factories: when even Mr. Binney confesses that "the only community in England which possesses the machinery for evangelizing the labouring classes is the Church of England." —are we now to be calmly told that our National Church is a "national plague," "a great aristocratic imposture," "a disgusting pretence," "a very efficient arrangement for promoting aristocratic ends." "as a system for pensioning off supernumerary members of lordly houses, perfect," "as a means of supporting religion destitute of even the semblance of fitness."* Let England's children tell.

I believe verily that it is the Church's activity, and the veneration and love of the masses which her activity is drawing out, that have incited the Church's foes to unite for her destruction. Had she been now slumbering in dignified repose, neglectful of her duty, no voice *without* her pale would have aroused her from her sleep,—she might have slumbered on. The Infidel, the Deist, the Sceptic, the Vicious, the Romanist, would not then have been banded together with protestant Dissenters,—an unholy alliance,—to despoil her of her rights, and to compass her overthrow.

But though the ranks of our foes are so compact, and though they utter such swelling words of threatening, do we fear their onslaught upon our Zion? No! for we know that though the waves of the sea are mighty and rage horribly, there is one *above* the waterflood that is mightier still: the Lord of Hosts is with us. The mode of attack is craftily planned, and the attack itself is vigorously and untiringly made. But do we tremble for the ark of God? No! we are assured that Christ is as really with His Church now as He was with the church in the wilderness, when He dwelt in the pillar of fire and cloud, and in Him we trust. We remember who spake the benediction,—"Blessed are ye when men shall revile you and persecute you, and say all manner of evil against you falsely for my sake;" and we care little when we are evil spoken of. We remember that in the Church's earlier days, the Church's foes cried of her noblest champion, "Away with such a fellow from the earth, for it is not fit that he should live,"—and we are not surprised, therefore, to hear the cry in these latter days, respecting the *purest* branch of the Church in Christendom.—It is "a sacred mission to shatter it, and give the dust of it to the four winds of heaven." Clearly, however, it is our part and duty to contend earnestly for the faith once delivered, and for the safety of that Church which is the pillar and ground of it in this our land. It is the duty of the Church's children now to gird themselves with weapons of defence for the Church's sake; and, looking up for strength to the Church's Head, to hurl back in confusion and dismay from the Church's battlements all her banded foes. The Church's blessings are for the rich and the poor together; rich and poor must stand side by side in her defence.

Poor man, I speak to night to you. Let the remembrance of what your Church does for you endear her to you. Not only lift up your voice in her defence, but use the privileges she gives you. Occupy your place within her sacred temple; send your children to her schools; bring your infants to her font for Baptism; send for her ministers (for remember *her* ministers are *yours*) when you need within your dwelling one to speak in the Redeemer's name words of direction to the sick and dying, words of consolation to the mourning and bereaved. In short, love your Church because she loves you, and is affectionately desirous of your highest welfare.

Rich man, I also speak to you. Love your Church because she loves the poor; because she provides for those who are unable to provide for themselves. Show in your life that you have learned the lessons of humility and charity which

* Mr. E. Miall,—'Nonconformist Sketch Book,' pp. 22, 34 68

she in every service teaches. Show, by your practice, that you recognize, as she does, the truth of a common brotherhood in infirmity and sin in all the human family, and a common brotherhood in grace and hope in all the members of the body of Christ. Give of your substance that churches may be multiplied where churches are needed; that our beloved Zion may lengthen her cords and strengthen her stakes, and bring at last within her sacred walls those sheep of Christ who have left her fold of blessing,—those multitudes of our fellow-countrymen who, alas! are living now without hope and without God in the world.

Fellow Churchmen, yea fellow Christians, of every rank, I bid you all to buckle on the armour of defence in support of our National Church,—that Church which for centuries has stood a well-spring of blessing in the midst of the land. In doing battle for her, (whatever form the conflict take, whether it be for Church-rates, or tithes, for the sacredness of our churchyards from being the arena of strife, or for the religious character of our elementary schools) you are battling on the poor man's side, you are defending the poor man's rights. The success of the Liberation Society would be the spoliation not only of the Church, but of the poor, for in no institution in the land has the poor man rights so valuable as in the Church, and there is none with which his rights are more inseparably linked. It is true that our assailants have erased from their hostile banner the words "Anti-state-church," which plainly indicated their sacrilegious intent, and have inscribed thereon instead the word "Liberation." It is true that unless they know their audience to be "root and branch" men, they affirm now that their quarrel is only with our state connexion. Their words now are sometimes smoother than oil, but war is in their heart. They would allay the feeling that the disclosure of their design has aroused; but that design is still unchanged. They would salute the Church with the kiss of peace, while in their secret council they cry, "Rase it, rase it, even to the foundation thereof."* Let us, then, be on our guard. Let us not trust in any *words* of peace, however fair, until they are ratified by *deeds* of peace. Let us not cease from defending our Church until her foes cease to assail her. Let good men combine for the Church's safety, so long as other men conspire for the Church's overthrow. When the Liberation Society is disbanded, then, but not before, may the Church Defence Societies lay down their shields.

I have raised my voice to-night for the sake of England's Church,—for the sake of England's poor, "whose claims at the present moment speak to us in louder and more emphatic tones than they have ever used before,—the poor, who have privations and sorrows enough without the loss of spiritual privileges." I now have done, and

"——— If aught these statements brief comprise,
May quell a judgment harsh or wish unkind
For my lov'd Mother Church; and in thy mind
Bid thoughts more just, and kindlier feelings rise:
Deem them not air-born baseless fantasies!
Scan her by God's own word, and thou shalt find
The more thou scann'st, thy spirit more inclined
Her name to venerate, her worth to prize.
To thee the search a rich return may bear
Of sacred lore, and aspirations raise
Which the earth owns not: nor shalt thou not share
The grateful sense which, ah, too scantly pays
Blessings conferred with thanksgivings and prayer,
"Peace to our Zion, to our God be praise."

* At a Meeting of the Liberation Society in May, 1860, Mr. Samuel Morley urged the Committee to act as having for their motto Mr. Binney's well known words—words however which Mr. Binney is said to have regretted—"The established Church destroys more souls than it saves, and its end is devoutly to be wished by every lover of God and man."

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The Church of England Defended.

LECTURE I.

January 16th, 1866.

Subject: "NONCONFORMITY IN RELATION TO THE BOOK OF COMMON PRAYER."

ALFRED HEWLETT, ESQ., IN THE CHAIR.

The RECTOR of WIGAN opened the meeting by repeating a collect.

The CHAIRMAN said: Ladies and gentlemen: You are all doubtless aware that we are assembled this evening to hear a lecture on the subject of the Book of Common Prayer in relation to Nonconformity. It seems to me we have assembled as a Church Defence Association, and it would have been impossible to have chosen a better subject on which to speak to us; for the Book of Common Prayer, next to the Holy Scripture, contains the fullest and best exposition of the Churchman's faith and belief.—(Hear, hear.) It may be said fearlessly that that Book contains formularies, prayers, and collects put in language more simple, more beautiful, and yet more dignified and grand than any other uninspired writing.—(Applause.) And I am sure that so long as the Church of England keeps closely to the sentiments breathed in the prayers of the Book of Common Prayer—keeps closely to the scriptural tenets which so pre-eminently characterise it, she need not fear the envy of others, and will always be prepared for attacks both from within and without.—(Hear, hear.) I will not detain you with further remarks. I need scarcely ask you to give careful and serious attention to the lecture which Mr. Massingham will now deliver.—(Applause).

The REV. LECTURER, who was warmly greeted on rising, said: Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen: I feel it due to the audience to state why I am here to-night. I do not come to attack others, but to defend the Church to which I belong (and which I increasingly love) from the attacks of an opponent. At the same time, I do not come here to abuse

f. Massingham

Dissenters in general; for the sober-minded and charitable amongst them are as much opposed to Dr. Parker's campaign against England's Church as I am. That ever-splitting, ever-changing thing called Dissent belongs to others. As Churchmen we are thankful to boast a better system; and the more we know of Dissenting tactics and of our own great privileges, the more must we rejoice that we are Conformists. Nor am I here to say that the Church of England is perfect. Perfection is a plant that grows, not on earth, but in heaven. Imperfection marks every earthly system, and our good old scriptural Church of England, though improving every year, and (God be thanked) increasing in zeal, effort, and usefulness, continually, still has much to accomplish and has many faults to correct. The best Church defenders are wise Church reformers. Nor do I come here to deny the power of the State to re-distribute Ecclesiastical revenues for the benefit of the Church generally. The State is the trustee of Church property, though not the proprietor. By a wise abolition of sinecures, and a judicious distribution of Church revenues, the wants of the people and the requirements of the Church may be met to a very great extent; and the Ecclesiastical Commissioners are doing much. If Dr. Parker had merely said these things, we should have been unanimous; but when Dr. Parker goes out of his way to "charge the Prayer Book with offences against God, against truth, against reason, against society," and the clergy with using "words of most deceptive and damnable irony;" as "attaching a secret meaning" to words, and guilty of "immoral reasoning," then, I cannot but think of the saying of the late revered Canon Stowell:—"There is a point beyond which forbearance becomes unfaithfulness, and silence pusillanimity;" and so long as I have a brain to think, and a voice to raise, so long will I use them in behalf of that Church to which I am thankful to belong, in the service of which I am glad to live, and in defence of which I would be willing to die.—(Loud cheers).—And of this we may be sure, that our opponents will be estimated rightly by a fair and discerning public. Reasonable and moderate Englishmen love quietude, peace, and harmony amongst Christians; they do not like dissatisfied and envious political agitators;—they will think that Dr. Parker would be far more in his proper place in preaching the gospel of peace, than sounding the tocsin of war against our national Zion;—they will not respect the sincerity of those who desire to carry out schemes which, as the notable Dissenter, Dr. Pye Smith, honestly said, would be "downright robbery;"—they will

not fail to estimate aright the modesty and fairness of those Nonconformists who, while, by our help, securing for themselves a law to make twenty-five years' undisputed possession a sufficient security in their own case, would disregard centuries of undisputed possession in the case of Church property—(hear, hear)—nor will they esteem those restless and noisy opponents who, except for their miserable and mistaken efforts against the Church of England, would never attain any public notoriety. If Dr. Parker, when challenged to public discussion, had not avoided it,— as others also have done,—I should have thought better of him. But it appears he is a crafty disciple of the great Irish agitator, Dan. O'Connell, whose saying was "give a lie an hour's start, and you will never overtake it; because, for one person who hears the refutation of it, 600 will never hear it; and therefore the 600 will continue to believe the lie. Dr. Parker may also presume that in many places he and his lectures will be thought unworthy of notice,—and that in the case of hundreds of others those who hear his misrepresentations of our Prayer Book will never care to hear the other side. Here, in Wigan, I trust many will hear both, and calmly judge between us;—(hear, hear)—then I shall not fear the result. A local paper, the *Wigan Examiner*, while reporting my opponent's lectures, well and truly stated that there was nothing new in Dr. Parker's arguments,—that his summary of Nonconformist objections to the Book of Common Prayer does not appear to be calculated to produce much effect, as the ordinary services are not attacked, but merely the occasional services which principally concern the clergy,—that his fixing on isolated passages from services used for special occasions was flagrantly unjust and unreasonable, and at the same time manifestly capable of being turned to pernicious purposes when applied to Holy Writ—that Dr. Parker's remarks appear subversive of the principles of any and every Christian Church, for, if baptism be not the prescribed and only method of entering the Church of Christ, then many professing Christians, besides English Churchmen, are exposed to his denunciation,—that his lectures will have very little influence on the course of public opinion—that there is a more excellent and effectual way of promoting the growth and prosperity of every Christian Church than by public controversy, and that the errors of some of the clergy may be fairly paralleled by the rationalistic delusions and phantoms of the Independents.—(Cheers.) I can only congratulate the people of Wigan in being so well represented in their local newspaper.—(Hear, hear.) And surely, Mr. Chairman,

I may be allowed to ask, why is the present time selected as a fit occasion for attacking the Church of England? Have any new articles of faith been propounded, such as the "Immaculate Conception" of the Romanists, and been enjoined upon an unwilling people? No! Or are her clergy more idle, more immoral, and more incompetent than in previous times? Is the Church of England lacking in zeal and vitality, and caring nothing for the interests of the people? Surely a Church which, by voluntary offerings, is building and endowing from 100 to 200 churches every year, and which, in the limited period of thirty years, has expended more than fifteen millions of money in the erection of new churches, and at least half as much in schools for the people, is entitled to no little consideration and favour from the million.—(Applause.) Physicians gild their pills sometimes, and quack doctors disguise their nostrums; and so Dr. Parker first speaks some words of eulogy as to the members and ministers and Prayer Book of the National Church; but only as a prelude to a vigorous, and uncompromising, and persistent attack upon all that Churchmen hold dear. For this he might doubtless claim some Scriptural authority, an authority older than Judas, though not so old as the Devil, even the authority of the sweet Psalmist of Israel:—"The words of his mouth were smoother than butter, but war was in his heart: his words were softer than oil, yet were they drawn swords." In justice to my opponent, I will quote his own words; merely observing that a church must have many excellences, or such eulogiums would not be extorted from an adversary. In Dr. Parker's first lecture he confessed it "to be no light matter to dissent from so wise, so learned, and so devoted a body of professing Christians as constitute the Church of England. In the venerable ecclesiastical establishment of this country, we have found and do find some of the most powerful defenders of the faith, many of the most erudite expositors of the Divine oracles, and not a few of the most eloquent preachers and most self-denying and devoted evangelists. I repeat, therefore, that it is no light matter to set one's judgment against the convictions of such men, and that, as Nonconformists, we are bound to show reason for the responsible position we have assumed. If any man can, by sound argument, invalidate my positions, I shall hail him as a friend. Controversy may be conducted without bitterness, and especially ought such a controversy as that in which I am now about to engage so to be carried on without evil passion, spiteful personality, or unreasoning prejudice. I know that there are countless numbers of excellent men, lay and clerical, in the Established Church,

and I would not, by harsh word or thoughtless allusion, needlessly grieve or offend one of them. I shall endeavour to do unto others as I would that others should do unto me. The Book of Common Prayer is many-sided. It is partly doctrinal, partly ritualistic, partly devotional. The devotional portions of the Book of Common Prayer stand unrivalled for simplicity, range, and fervour of expression. They touch the finest chords in the soul; they give fit utterance to many of the deepest wants of the heart. Their simplicity would become the lips of childhood, their range would include nearly all human circumstances and experience, and their fervour would express all the passion of love, all the agony of sorrow. We should be worse than bigots to deny this. An exception may be made of the entire devotional service. We know the beauties, the excellences, and charms of the liturgy; yet I should no more think of endorsing any book in its entirety simply because it contained many noble and inspiring passages, than I should think of caressing the hand of an assassin because of the jewellery which sparkles on his fingers. I am about to charge the Prayer Book, not with mere crudities of arrangement, or infelicities of expression, but with offences against God, against truth, against reason, against society." I suppose that Dr. Parker was trying his hand at a bit of fine writing, and to produce a slashing sentence, when he wrote the latter. Surely there is very little connection between the Book of Common Prayer and the hand of an assassin: the one we may place under our pillow with thankfulness, the other we should dread and denounce as we do the cowardly and dastardly Booth, who basely assassinated President Lincoln. Dr. Parker is evidently an adept at sensation writing; but we can afford to laugh at such grandiloquent language; and we can walk to Church with our Prayer-book in our hands—or sit at home and peruse its sacred contents, without any fear of a *hocus pocus* change which will metamorphose it into the hand of an assassin. Perhaps, however, my opponent is somewhat given to dreaming—for there are persons who dream, and build castles in the air, even when wide awake. But, we must pass from the assassin's hand, and "the jewellery which sparkles on his fingers,"—(a sight we are not likely to realise) to consider the charges urged against our scriptural Book of Common Prayer,—charges which result from ignorance or misconception as to the real meaning of its language, and the absence of Christian moderation. If Dr. Parker had that genuine piety and true moderation that marked Philip Henry, he would say with him: "I dare

not judge those that do conform, for who am I, that I should judge my brother?"—(Life of Philip Henry, c. 8. p. 53.) And good old Mr. Lye, in his farewell sermon at All Hallow's Church, Lombard-street, London, said: "I bless God that I have a most tender affection for my brethren in the ministry; and though I am not satisfied myself, I condemn no man. I believe there be many do as conscientiously subscribe as deny to subscribe." Dr. Parker, though claiming to be a descendant of these good Nonconformists, has not their modesty or charity. He *has* presumed to judge his brethren of the Establishment—to deny that we conscientiously subscribe—and to charge us with immoral reasoning; so he must not complain if with such measure as he metes out to us he is measured in return; for, in self-defence, we are bound to show his defects in historical knowledge, his unfair conclusions, and his unsound statements as to religion, even though he be a Doctor of Divinity. First, my opponent refers to a period of English history now happily long passed by, and of which the less said by Nonconformists the better: for however faulty the Church of England might then be, the conduct of the Nonconformists was very much worse.—(Applause.) He says, "In 1662, a great controversy took place respecting the Prayer Book, and without going into details it may suffice to state that 2,000 clergymen of the Establishment were ejected from their churches and their homes, because they could not conscientiously, with unfeigned assent and consent, subscribe the Book of Common Prayer. This movement took place within the Establishment itself. It was a clerical controversy, a clerical alienation, a clerical ejectment. Many of the Puritans had been trained in the universities, had been ordained by the bishops, had been inducted into livings. Yet these very men, so educated, so ordained, so inducted, did, at a certain period in the history of their Church, refuse to accept the Prayer Book with unfeigned assent and consent, and openly protested against some of its doctrines and offices as unwarranted by Holy Scripture, and calculated to offend tender consciences. As the subscribing clergy of to-day have the benefit of two centuries' additional enlightenment, I see not how they can escape the charge of being more guilty of the Puritanic ejectment than the obstinate prelates of 1662." Now on this point I join issue with Dr. Parker. Why does he confine his remarks to 1662, and leave out all that had previously happened in 1640? Was it because of ignorance, or from want of candour? Let us briefly retrace the whole of what occurred in our Church's history at that remarkable time!

An honest impartial Dissenter, Edward Ashe, M.D., of Bristol, writes, saying "Nonconformists are often, however unconsciously, guilty of great injustice in imputing to the Established Church in former days, or to its connexion with the State, a spirit and conduct which in truth belonged to the age itself. Men naturally dwell most on those events in which their own sympathies are most interested; and thus, while Dissenters expatiate on the sufferings of the ejected ministers, and the wrong doings of the dominant party in the Church, they seem often to forget (perhaps many of them never knew) that far worse things were done and suffered at that very time, of which, not Churchmen, but Nonconformists, were the perpetrators. Whether the sufferings of the bishops and clergy under the commonwealth were or were not as great as those of the ejected ministers in 1662, it is certain that many of them did suffer greatly; and, looking at what human nature is, and at the usual course of things in the world, there can be little doubt that the remembrance of the harsh treatment which they then received had much to do with the severity which the Church party exercised towards Nonconformists when they themselves were again in power." Then, whether such a course will be of any use, he asks, "Will it ever serve to strengthen the influence of Dissent, or the cause of exclusive voluntaryism? Past experience seems to me to warrant very little expectation of such a result." The same good Dissenter (and thank God there are many such),—(cheers), also condemns "the manner in which Nonconformists sometimes treat the question of 'subscription' by the Evangelical clergy. Some things in the Prayer Book appear to them to be wholly irreconcileable with Evangelical truth; and they have an undoubted right to express their opinion in every fitting way; but they have no right whatever even as men, much less as Christians, to impute to their Christian brethren, either directly or by insinuation, wilful blindness or want of moral honesty. I can conceive nothing more opposed to the charity and brotherly kindness which the Gospel enjoins, or more necessarily fatal to all hope of harmony and mutual confidence, than such a course." A few statements will prove that Dr. Ashe is far nearer the mark than Dr. Parker. The number of Episcopal sufferers ejected in 1640 was much larger than those in 1662 and law and justice were alike outraged. Dissenters then ruled the House of Commons, upset the House of Lords, and occupied the Church with sad results. From 6000 to 7000 of the clergy, with bishops and archbishops, were ejected from their livings; and so, including wives and children,

about 35,000 were cast forth desolate upon the wide world to pine and starve:—

> "Driven from the place, no more their home,
> Forbid to linger, yet afraid to roam."

[A person at the further end of the hall shouted out something, but was promptly called to order.] The Lecturer said that it was not often he read a lecture, but he had been advised by the Church of England Institution that, as Dr. Parker had read his lectures and they were published, he should also read his. He meant them for publication, and therefore whatever he said he was prepared to stand by.—(Immense cheering.] Dissenting intolerance was displayed to the utmost. The pulpits resounded with savage statements and violent appeals, and the populace were thus stimulated to fanatical violence; so that we cannot wonder that the King and Archbishop were both beheaded on the scaffold, and the best of England's clergy turned out of their preferments to make way for incompetent Nonconformists. In fact, the great object of sermons in that day was to excite men to deeds of cruelty and bloodshed. Hugh Peter, an Independent minister, preached in St. Margaret's Church, Westminster, perverting the text, "Bind your kings with chains, and your nobles with fetters of iron,"—and describing King Charles as "the great Barabbas, a murderer, a tyrant, and a traitor." Another said: "When England shall see these Achans executed, then shall they rejoice in the Lord."—("The Troublers Troubled," by S. Faircloth, 1641.) Another said: "Should the Parliament put to death 100 rebels against the State in one day, it would in one sense be a sad spectacle, but in another sense a blessing in our Israel. Evening justice, noon justice, is not so acceptable as morning justice."—(Stanton's Sermon in 1644). Another said: "I here boldly affirm that he who refuseth to bear armes against the prelates is no other than a rebel and a traytor against God."—(Boden's Sermon, 1644.) Macaulay, a thorough Liberal, speaking of the Commissioners, (who were fitly called by Dr. Nalson "bloodhounds") says: "Cromwell established by his own authority a Board of Commissioners called 'Triers.' Most of these persons were Independent divines (of Dr. Parker's sort); but a few Presbyterian ministers, and a few laymen had seats. The certificate of the Triers stood in the place of institution and induction, and without such a certificate no person could hold a benefice. This was undoubtedly one of the most despotic acts ever done by an English ruler." (Vol. I. p. 158.) And again, "When our country was for the first and last time, ruled by the sword, the sword was

in the hands, not of her legitimate princes, but of those rebels who slew the King, and demolished the Church"—(Vol. I. p. 154.) Lord Clarendon also declares that all the learned and orthodox divines of England were looked upon under the notion of scandalous ministers; and if the meanest and most vicious parishioners they had could be brought to prefer a petition against either of them to the House of Commons (how false soever) he was sure to be prosecuted as such." The Independents were the dominant sect in the time of the Commonwealth. Well, what did this dominant sect do? Macaulay shall answer—(Vol. I. p. 167.) "They interdicted under heavy penalties the use of the Book of Common Prayer, not only in churches, but even in private houses. It was a crime in a child to read, by the bedside of a sick parent, one of those beautiful collects which had soothed the griefs of forty generations of Christians. Severe punishments were denounced against such as should presume to blame the Calvinistic mode of worship. Clergymen of respectable character (not scandalous or malignant) were not only ejected from their benefices by thousands, but were frequently exposed to the outrages of a frantic rabble."—(Hear, hear.) Even Neale, the great Puritan apologist and historian, says, "By far the greatest part were cast out for malignity," which he explained to mean "offences of speaking and acting against the Parliament." And again, "One of the six articles against scandalous clergy was their malignancy and disaffection to Parliament, discovered by their assisting the King with money."—(Neale, vol. III. p. 24.) On the 10th of December, 1641, ten bishops were sent as prisoners to the Tower. In London alone, in 1642-3, no less than 110 clergymen were ejected, and quite as many fled. We are told that the clergy had "cruel and barbarous sufferings by banishment, and manifold imprisonments, some in noisome and foreign jayls, among thieves and felons; some in ships under decks, nearly smothered; some starved and died in prison; others were murdered in prison, &c." — (Walker, part. I. p. 59.) He also quotes Lord Clarendon as writing that "very many persons of very good quality, both of the clergy and laity, were committed to prison, on board the ships in the river Thames, where they were kept under decks, and no friend suffered to come to them, by which many lost their lives." It was seriously proposed to sell a large number of the clergy to the Turks as slaves. The sad cruelties inflicted on some were almost diabolical. Dr. Walter Raleigh, a nephew of Sir Walter, Dean of Wells, was hurried from prison to

prison, and murdered by his keeper. Dr. Michael Hudson, Fellow of the Queen's College, Oxford, a man of large fortune, was reduced to beggary. The rebels attacked his house. He yielded upon promise of quarter, but this was afterwards denied him. He was thrown out of a window, but caught hold of a spout to save himself; his hands were then cut off, when he fell down to the ground sadly wounded. One Egborough knocked him on the head with a musket, one Walker, a grocer in Stamford, cut out his tongue and carried it about the country as a trophy, and for some time his body was denied Christian burial. So, too, the Rev. Mr. Powell, Rector of Sparxton, Somersetshire, was, with several other imprisoned clergymen, poisoned, by a dish of capons, with delicate poisoned sauce,—lest the plague should not kill them fast enough in their pest house. Most frivolous and absurd charges were brought against the clergy, who were not allowed to be present at the examination of witnesses. I copy some of these charges from Walker:—viz., keeping company with malignants, i.e. loyalists,—standing up at the Gloria Patri—reading the second service at the Communion Table —officiating in the hood and surplice—reading the Liturgy —charging godfathers to take their children to the Bishop to be bishoped (or confirmed)—saying that the Puritans were hypocrites—reading his sermons—wearing a square cap with a tassel on the crown—preaching on Christmas Day—Sabbath breaking in getting a button sewed on his trousers on Sunday—superstition, in breaking a cake over a bride's head—calling the Parliament a company of factious fellows —saying that the Parliament had deformed instead of reformed—kneeling down when he first came into the desk or pulpit—preaching often on a malignant psalm, as the 79th, "O God, the heathen are come into thine inheritance," &c.,— reading daily most malignant chapters—having affirmed that he had rather hear an organ (ten to one) in the Church than singing of psalms—eating of custard after a scandalous manner —not being able to pray by the spirit—constantly reading the epistles, gospels, and litany—keeping an inefficient curate, &c. Shame on those who, for such absurd charges, expelled clergymen from their livings! The fact is the clergy were ejected for the most part because they conformed to the Book of Common Prayer, which was proscribed by the act passed on the eve of "the Black Bartholomew."—(Hear, hear.) We can boldly challenge our opponents as to the characters of the ejected clergy. Some of these so-called scandalous and malignant ministers, whom their adversaries tried to rob of their characters, as well as their property, were men "of whom

the world was not worthy"—such as, Dr. Owen, the Bishop of St. Asaph—Dr. Roberts, Bishop of Bangor—Dr. Howell, Bishop of Bristol—Dr. James Usher, the learned and pious Bishop of Carlisle—the great and good Bishop Hall, of Norwich—Dr. John Cosin, Dean of Peterborough, and afterwards Bishop of Durham— the celebrated Jeremy Taylor—Bishop Pearson, who wrote on the creed—Dr. Pocock, the Oriental scholar—Dr. Hammond, the public orator, of Oxford—Bishop Prideaux—Kidder, afterwards Bishop of Bath and Wells—Sanderson—Davenant—Bryan Walton, author of the Polyglott Bible, in nine different languages—Fuller, author of "The History of Britain," "The Worthies of England," and other distinguished works—and, amongst many others, the immortal Chillingworth, at whose burial a Dissenting minister, Francis Cheynell, threw into the grave the works of the deceased, saying, "Get thee gone, thou cursed book; get thee into the place of rottenness, that thou mayest rot with thy author." Surely the indignities heaped upon these excellent men are enough to fix a stigma upon the very name of Nonconformists! Besides, who were the cuckcoos who took possession of our nests when the rightful owners were expelled? Did the Nonconformists refuse to take our places, when they had a chance? Oh! no; quite the contrary. Dr. Parker's predecessors were too good judges of what is profitable.—(Cheers.) Orme, the well-known Independent writer, states, "Both Baptists and Independents were in the practice of accepting livings,—*i. e.*, the temporalities of the Church." Dr. Parker has quoted Baxter; so I will do the same. He says, "I have known poor tradesmen's boys have a great mind of the ministry, and we have contributed to maintain them while they got some learning and knowledge: but they had not patience to keep out of the pulpit till they competently understood their business there; and yet many of the religious people valued them as the only men; and some of them shortly after turned to some whimsical sect or other. I begin to have a strong suspicion that the Papists had a finger in the pie on both sides, and that they had indeed a hand in the extirpation of episcopacy." Tombs, a Baptist minister, held the living at Leinster—and of him *Fox's Journal* says,—"He had a wife, and he had a concubine; his wife was the baptised people, and his concubine was the world." Do we want a further picture of the men who occupied our Church livings under a rebel government? Then let us go to Walker, whose account, according to Calamy, was compiled by the help of "several men of worth and eminence."

Well, what does he say of the intruders? Why, that they included amongst them,—troopers, tailors, jersey-combers, butlers, bakers, coachmen, mechanics, clerks, apothecaries' apprentices, weavers, joiners, pedlars, skinners, nailmakers, ballad singers, saddlers, cooks, felt-makers, stocking-menders, millers, gingerbread-makers, collar-makers, cheese-vat-makers, cobblers, ploughmen, thatchers, labourers, masons, grocers' apprentices, horse-keepers, bone-setters, boddice-makers, ostlers, Ranters, Quakers, Anabaptists, Papists, Presbyterians, Independents, Millenaries, representatives of every sect, and believers in every heresy, without education and without orders. In short, many of the so-called "godly ministers" who took the places of our ejected clergy, were described respectively in very curious terms,—such as, "a poor despicable canting fellow," "a notorious drunkard," "a beardless boy," "a very illiterate fellow," "an Irish bone-setter," "a poor drunken Scotch curate," "a reputed Papist," "one Gubbard, who was some time afterwards discovered to be a Roman Catholic," "a violent Anabaptist," "a rigid Independent," "a rank knave," "one Cosh, so mean a wretch that he could hardly read, and was the ridicule of the parish," "a very ignorant and gluttonous fellow," "not administering the sacrament for the space of nine years," "a bawling illiterate fellow, who refused to baptise, saying he was not sent to baptise, but to preach the Gospel," "one Wingham, who married himself without a minister, or so much as a justice, to his maid Bess," "one who had been a ship-joyner, and left behind him at the parsonage a table-board of his own making," "a worthy incumbent who could not write even his own name, and who used to make the mark of Arthur Okely, rector of Westmersea," "a squint eye'd fellow that used to sing and sell ballads," and "a fellow that made nails at Birmingham, and went up and down the country with a bag to his back to sell them." Such were the sort of intruders who took our places. The result may easily be supposed. As Nicholls said, "Everything was in disorder, and every common soldier was allowed to exercise the ministerial offices, the most commendable qualifications among them being preaching and plundering." Edwards, a Presbyterian minister, who had spent his fortune and risked his life for the parliamentary cause, wrote thus: "Things every day grow worse and worse. You can hardly imagine them so bad as they are. No kind of blasphemy, heresy, disorder, and confusion, but is found among us, or coming in upon us. For we, instead of reformation, are grown from one extreme to another, fallen from Scylla to

Charybdis; from Popish innovations, and prelatical tyranny, to damnable heresies, horrid blasphemies, libertinism, and fearful anarchy." Baxter said, "I am persuaded that all the arguments else in Bellannine, and all other books, have not done so much to make Papists as the multitude of sects amongst ourselves." "Was there ever more prodigious swearing, more profane Sabbath-breaking, more abominable uncleannesse?" — (Bowles.) The churches were "almost empty, publick worship neglected, the sacraments discontinued, the ministry discountenanced."—(Carr.) One of Calamy's sufferers, Cawdry, said that "toleration had done more for the rooting out of religion in seven years than the Act of Uniformity had in 70;" and Bull writes: "Thousands are gone to hell who in all probability had not come there if they had not been tempted from their parish churches for a communion in a purer church." We are informed "Instead of an establishment of faith and truth, we swarm with noisome errors, heresies and blasphemies; instead of unity and uniformity in matters of religion, we are torn in pieces with destructive schisms, separations, divisions, and sub-divisions; instead of true piety, we have opened the very flood-gates to all impiety and prophanenesse; instead of submitting to the government of Christ, we walk in Christlesse loosenesse and licentiousnesse." As Dr. Parker calls himself an Independent, I must not omit a quotation from the Life of Oliver Heywood, an ejected minister, by Hunter, —p. 61: "It was out of Independency that there sprang the numerous sects which are the reproach of that period, and of Puritanism itself—the Sabbatarians, Millenarians Grindletonians, Muggletonians, Fifth Monarchists, Ranters, Seckers, Quakers, Anabaptists, with many others, more short-lived than these." Baxter was certainly one of the best of those who took our place. He was Vicar of Kidderminster, and was offered a bishopric, and though he showed much unreasonableness in preparing a liturgy of his own in a few days, as a substitute for the national liturgy bequeathed to us by our martyred Reformers, he was, nevertheless, a man of real piety. Yet even Baxter, good as he was in many respects, was thus addressed by Pierce in 1659: "Can you take it for one of the best works you can do, to despoil a brother of his lawful possession, and then call him a bad man, thereby to justifie or countenance the depredation? Was Mr. Deance (your predecessor) a bad man? He hath a better report than you can comfortably believe. And is not his that benefice you now possess? How many hundreds are cast out, who must be granted, even by you, to be exceed-

ingly good men, at least exceedingly better than those that are thrust into their rooms. I long to see you a bright example of so necessary a duty as restitution. Hundreds may follow if such a man will but lead." The poor Quakers were terribly ill-used, Jas. Naylor to wit; 3173 were imprisoned at this time for Quakerism, and 32 of them died in dungeons. One of these writes in 1655 of the "great spoiling there was for tithes, by the Independents and Presbyterian priests, and some Baptist priests that had got the steeple houses, or churches; and the Nonconformists then had passed an act to enforce the payment of Church rates by authority of Parliament, without any deference to parochial majority, which act was rigidly enforced. What a great difference it makes, whether they want our money or we want theirs!" The English nation made full proof of the sectaries. It was seen that it would not do for a Presbyterian to occupy one parish, an Independent another, a Baptist another, an Episcopalian another, a Unitarian another, and a Ranter another; the plan had been tried, and proved most disastrous to the people, to religion, and to the interests of the country. It was therefore decided that the unordained persons who were occupying the livings that rightly belonged to loyal Churchmen, should either become real Churchmen or make way for others. Consequently, an "Act of Uniformity" was passed. But this was passed by the popular branch of the Legislature, viz., the House of Commons. When the House of Lords endeavoured to modify it, the House of Commons indignantly rejected all their proposals, consequently the people of England, and not the Church of England, are responsible for the Act of Uniformity, whatever may be its excellences or defects, and Dr. Parker has no right to say that it was "a clerical ejectment:" most of them had not been trained at the Universities, and had not been episcopally ordained. Some persons denounce the Act of Uniformity as very harsh. But it required no more of others than is required of me, and, I think, rightly. If we hold positions in the Church, we should be willing to use the Prayer Book of the Church, to teach the doctrines of the Church, to acknowledge the episcopal rule of the Church, and be duly ordained ministers, and obedient loyal sons of the Church; otherwise we have no right to occupy the benefices of the Church. The provisions of the act were plain and definite—more than three months' notice was given.—[A voice, "Question."] There is no question about it. I can give you dates if you like. No violent conduct was shewn, as in the former period, nor was any personal

property confiscated or destroyed—every beneficed occupant might have retained his position upon the same terms that I occupy my benefice ; and if I could not agree with the doctrines of the Church, and use the Prayer Book of the Church, and be an ordained minister of the Church, I would certainly cease to eat the bread of the Church.—(Hear, hear.) Besides, the ejected ministers of 1662 were not ejected from the Church of England ; they ejected themselves from positions unlawfully held ; and so far I agree with them. Owen, Howe, Baxter, Flavel, and others, were in favour of Church and State—(which Dr. Parker is not) and held positions for a time in the Church ; I hope no one will ever commit any greater sin. And those who had been previously the great instigators to war, and the great promoters of persecution against the clergy of the Church of England, in 1640, ought not to complain if, in fair time, our Church had to take a part in the supplanting of those who had usurped our places, and taken possession of our property. The English nation had tried Nonconformist rule, and was so sick of it as to demand the restoration of an educated, episcopally-ordained, and loyal clergy. And now, having thrown some light upon this matter, and shown how different it was to "a clerical controversy, and a clerical ejectment," I must hasten on to the next point, viz., the baptism of infants. Dr. Parker objects to the use of sponsors—says that if by baptism an infant is made "'a member of Christ, the child of God, and an inheritor of the kingdom of Heaven,'—then baptism takes the place of the Atonement itself, and anticipates a personal faith in the sacrifice of the Son of God. Faith can get no farther, love can soar no higher, baptism is the inclusive and ultimate sacrament. Can any human creature be more than 'regenerate,' more than 'a member of Christ,' more than 'a child of God,' more than an 'inheritor of the kingdom of Heaven.' And how has this been brought about ? What has been done by this infant, or its representatives ? Has there been any exposition of the nature, object, and efficacy of the Atonement ? I cannot resist the conclusion that to a large extent the whole baptismal service asserts the doctrine of salvation by water. The part which any sponsor can act is little better than a pompous mockery." In these remarks, there is an utter confusion of things that differ ; viz., baptism and admission to the Church of England. A child privately baptised has all the benefits of baptism, without sponsors ; but, if the child is to be admitted a member of the Church of England, it is required that we shall have some persons pledged that the infant be

taught all "things which a Christian ought to know and believe to his soul's health, and that the child may be virtuously brought up to lead a godly and a Christian life." Our Church regards baptism as a reality, not a sham: and believes that our blessed Lord would not have enjoined upon us an ordinance that is useless, or a sacrament that is valueless. But, it is not so easy to learn in what light Dr. Parker considers it. Will he declare what is the effect of baptism when administered by him to infants? Has it any effect, or has it not? If it has any effect, what is it? If it has none, why should it be administered at all? and why did Christ appoint it as the rite of admission into the Church?—(Hear, hear.) We have as much right to inquire about his honesty and truth in the matter, as he has to inquire about ours; and no man can declare the truth honestly by avoiding it, or by silence upon it. The Church of England, on the other hand, does make definite statements. She regards baptism as "generally necessary to salvation," though not essentially or absolutely necessary. She believes in a birth of water, as well as of the Spirit, that "the Kingdom of Heaven," as in the parables of the leaven, the mustard seed, &c., means the Church of Christ, that our Great Head has declared "Suffer the little children to come unto me, and forbid them not, for of such is the Kingdom of Heaven," or the Church of Christ;—that for little unconscious infants, who are incapable of faith, and love, or understanding "any exposition of the nature, object, and efficacy of the atonement," such faith, love and understanding are not required: that the little unconscious infant is not capable of actual sins, for the remission of which repentance and faith are pre-requisites in all who grow up to riper years; and that as, without any actual personal sin of his own, the little infant may suffer sickness and death as a sinner, and is born into the world a sinner, because of the sin of Adam, and the hereditary taint and corruption thus handed down, it is only right and fair that, also without any act of its own, he should also be reckoned as righteous, because of what the second Adam has done—(hear, hear)—and that, as his natural birth made him partaker of original, not actual, guilt, so the birth of water should be the sign or seal that he is made a partaker of Christ's Atonement. Conversion is required of adults; an infant is not capable of it; and where can we see the mercy of Christ more clearly shown than in the provision thus made for our dear little ones? Of such is the Kingdom of Heaven; of such is a vast company of the Church above, and God forbid that we should refuse those whom a gracious God accepts; if they be good enough for the pure Church

above, surely they are good enough for the impure and mixed Church below. Yes, however Dr. Parker may sneer, we believe that an unconscious infant can be "grafted into the holy body of Christ's Church"—(hear, hear)—that the guilt of original sin can be forgiven a little one without penitence on the part of a sinner—(hear, hear)—that a soul can be made an inheritor of the Kingdom of Heaven without having any determinate voice in the matter, and that a child may be by baptism "regenerate." But what means the word "regenerate?" It is rather hard that a Master of Arts should have to teach a Doctor of Divinity; but this I must endeavour to do. Jahn's Bib. Antiquities, Sec. 325, informs us that when the Jews by baptism admitted converts from heathenism into their church, they spoke of such persons as "regenerated" persons, or "the new-born sons of Abraham;" because of their entrance into a new state of privilege in the Church of God. The word *palingenesia*, translated "regeneration," only occurs twice in the whole of the New Testament. The first case is in Matthew xix. 28; "In the regeneration, when the Son of Man shall sit in the throne of His glory," where the word evidently refers to a new altered state of things. The second is Titus iii. 5: "After that, the kindness and love of God our Saviour towards man appeared, not by works of righteousness which we have done, but according to His mercy He saved us, by the washing of regeneration and renewing of the Holy Ghost." Now, by the washing of regeneration, we understand the washing of baptism, as introducing also to a new altered state, and as pointedly distinguished from the renewing of the Holy Ghost. Regeneration and baptism were synonymous words in the early Church, and the above scriptural authority sanctions this view. The learned Bingham (Antiq. v. i., p. 494), writes: "No art can elude this passage, so long as it is owned that regeneration means baptism. And for this we have the explication of Irenæus himself, who calls baptism by the name of regeneration; and so all the ancients commonly do, as Luicerns (against whom I am disputing) scruples not to own, alleging Justin Martyr, Chrysostom, and Gregory Nyssen, to this purpose." I could give similar testimonials from Clement, of Alexandria, Irenæus, (born A.D. 97, a disciple of Polycarp, who was a disciple of St. John) Origen, St. Augustine and others, but time forbids. Our sainted reformers, those giants in scriptural knowledge, well knew the theology of the early Church, and in bringing back our Church to the doctrine of the ancient Apostolic Church, also adopted the very terms in which those doctrines were expressed;

and whatever differences of opinion may exist amongst the different modern theological schools, the Gorham decision leaves all so free in their interpretation of the baptismal service, that neither High Churchman nor Low Churchman has any fair ground of complaint; each can honestly hold his own peculiar views; and so it should be in a National Church, which should be as comprehensive as possible. The statements quoted by my opponent from the late Bishop of Lincoln, the Bishop of Worcester, the Bishop of Oxford, Dr. Hook, and Dr. Pusey, agree with me very much in this matter. The burial of unbaptised infants is, however, a strong point with Dr. Parker, and he cleverly wishes to put them on a level with excommunicate persons, or suicides. There must, however, be some rule of qualification. Every chartered body makes its own laws. The medical student may be better qualified than many others who have received their diploma; a lawyer's clerk may be better conversant with the law than another who has been called to the bar; but the medical or legal status can only be attained in a certain way. Just so in the Church of England. Her burial grounds are consecrated or set apart for the interment of baptised Christians, not for the unbaptised. And even in the case of those who have been baptised, if guilty of such heinous sin as to be excommunicated from Church privileges, or to rush unbidden into the presence of God, then the office of Christian burial is refused to such. Surely any fair-judging individual can see the reason of this, and the difference made between each. We do not class the unbaptised and the suicide as alike, any more than we do the incompetent or dishonest lawyer; in the latter case one fails to be admitted because not up to the standard required, the other is struck off the rolls for gross dishonesty; so in the Church, one does not come up to our standard because destitute of a Christian name, and unbaptised; the other is struck off the list of Church members because of gross misconduct and sin. Still, we do not deny the mercy of God to unbaptised infants, nor does our Church. God is not tied to sacraments as we are, and, as good Churchmen, we learn the mind of our Church, not only from what she does say, but also from what she forbears to say; and where the Church shrinks from any opinion whatever, why should individual members speak, or be thought to pronounce the infamous, the most damnable conclusion of Dr. Parker?—(Hear, hear.) It would be well for the cause of peace and harmony amongst Christian people if Dr. Parker were half as charitable in his treatment of Christian brethren belonging to the National Church as he is of unconscious infants.

He charges the bishops with a one-sided charity. Does he ever preach from the text, "Physician, heal thyself?"—(Hear, hear, and applause.) Further, he says, "The priest refuses to bury an unbaptised infant, and yet will bury a notoriously wicked man in "sure and certain hope of the resurrection to eternal life;"—yes, and we can do this consistently. In the one case, we pronounce no sentence, but charitably hope and "believe that Almighty God, may in mercy interpose, with all the fatherliness of love, bend over the unbaptised infant, give him a better baptism, and cleanse him with a more potent lustration than that of our laver,"—while, in consistency, we only use a Church service over baptized Church members. And the other I commit to the ground sure that he will rise again to judgment, and live for ever, either in happiness or woe. Is there anything said of joyful resurrection, or his resurrection to eternal life? I know that now we generally use the phrase "eternal life" to mean "eternal happiness;" but this is not really implied in the word life, which strictly means existence, living. So, in the creed, "I believe in the resurrection of the body, and the life everlasting;" *i.e.*, that everybody will rise again, and live for ever in happiness or misery. And it is just the same with the words of the burial service. If Dr. Parker will read up the history of the Savoy Conference, (the failure of which, Neale remarks, that Baxter condemns the Independents for) he will find that the Puritan objectors were satisfied with the words, suggested by a Dissenter, "in sure and certain hope of the resurrection to eternal life"—because they only implied the resurrection of the body (what we all believe), and express our sure and certain hope that every body committed to the grave would come forth at "the resurrection to eternal life," to receive the due reward of their deeds, whether good or evil. I trust that I have as high a view of the supremacy of truth, and of God's revealed word, as my opponent; and that, as one of the party who, he says, "know the truth, and preach the truth," I am prepared to stand by a book, which so far from "directly contravening," faithfully proclaims the doctrines we propound. If "we all labour under infirmity of judgment, and suffer more or less from moral obliquity," I certainly know one who is no exception to the rule. Confirmation comes next: but as my time will not allow me to do justice to this, with other subjects, to-night, I will leave it till to-morrow evening. So I pass to the service of the Visitation of the Sick. I could very easily dis-

miss this matter, if I thought well. Dr. Parker, when treating of simony, refers to the 40th canon: perhaps he will allow me to take him on a little further, even to the 67th canon. This states that ministers shall visit the sick, to instruct and comfort them in their distress, according to the order of the Communion Book if he "be no preacher; or, if he be a preacher, then as he shall think most needful and convenient." In our times, every man who is ordained deacon is also licensed to preach; consequently, every clergyman is free from the service for the visitation of the sick, and as "a preacher," licensed to expound God's word, may open his Bible, read, expound and pray, "as he shall think most needful and convenient." If, therefore, Dr. Parker were a clergyman instead of a Dissenting minister, his experience might be mine; for never have I used the service from our Communion Book, never have I been asked to do so; and never do I expect to be asked to use the Visitation Service as long as I live. And even if I were asked, I can please myself about using it. Still, it may be said this is evading the subject, because of our "assent and consent" to all in the Prayer Book. I therefore at once enter upon the service for the Visitation of the Sick, to show that it is capable of a sound, scriptural, evangelical explanation. Suppose that the clergyman is in the chamber of one seriously ill; what then? He is directed by the rubric to exhort such person to make confession of sin, as the necessary pre-requisite to forgiveness. This confession being made, the minister is not, in every instance, to absolve the sick person, but may end his visit after the first exhortation, as declared in the rubric; or else (if he please) he may proceed, and "absolve him (if the sick person humbly and heartily desire it) after this sort," not after these very words. Well, suppose the absolution given—what does it consist of? First, a declaration that "our Lord Jesus Christ has left power to His Church to absolve all sinners who truly repent and believe in Him," and this I suppose that Dr. Parker would also admit. Next, we have a prayer to the same Lord Jesus Christ, that He will "of His great mercy forgive" the sick person his "offences." Is there anyone who would for a moment hesitate to offer up this prayer. Lastly, we have an expression of the act—"and by His authority committed to me, I absolve thee from all thy sins, in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost." Now, what does this mean? Is there here any ground for saying that "sacerdotalism penetrates the entire process—priest in the beginning, priest in the middle, priest at the end—and there does seem to be a reliance on cere-

monialism, and a dependence on priestly service ruinous to the best interests of the spiritual nature of man." In fact, the service for the Visitation of the Sick utterly contradicts sacerdotal assumptions. For, if the priest has power to pardon and remove sins, why does he pray that Christ will perform this, and say, "Our Lord Jesus Christ, &c., of His great mercy forgive thee thine offences." Surely, if I have the full power to perform an act myself, I need not call upon another to do it for me; so that this prayer proves that pardon comes from Christ, not from the priest.—(Loud applause.) Besides, if the words "I absolve thee" are not merely declaratory, but actually convey forgiveness, why does the priest afterwards pray another to do that which he has already done himself. For, mark the words of the prayer to be offered after the absolution; it is as follows:—"O most merciful God, who, according to the multitude of Thy mercies, dost so put away the sins of those who truly repent, that Thou rememberest them no more, open Thine eye of mercy upon this Thy servant, who most earnestly desireth pardon and forgiveness. Renew in him, most loving Father, whatsoever hath been decayed by the fraud and malice of the devil, or by his own carnal will and frailness; preserve and continue this sick member in the unity of the Church; consider his contrition, accept his tears, assuage his pain, as shall seem to Thee most expedient for him. And, forasmuch as he putteth his full trust only in Thy mercy, impute not unto him his former sins, but strengthen him with Thy blessed Spirit; and when Thou art pleased to take him hence, take him unto Thy favour, through the merits of Thy most dearly beloved Son, Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen." Could Dr. Parker compose a more evangelical prayer? Let him look at these words carefully, and he will find in them no recognition of sins being pardoned by priestly power, but a solemn and appropriate prayer to God that *He* may mercifully pardon the sick man. Why, it would be an utter absurdity to pray for a gift that had already been bestowed! And, instead of exalting priestly power, on the contrary, Jesus Christ is exalted. We are told that it is "the Lord Jesus who of His great mercy forgives" offences; and that it is "God who, according to the multitude of His mercies, puts away the sins of those who truly repent." Further, in pleading for forgiveness on behalf of the sick man, the priest is compelled to ask for it, not because the man trusts in priestly power, but (on the contrary) because he "putteth his full trust only in God's mercy." And then, as if to give a fitting climax to a series of Gospel truths, the minister is to assure

the sick person that "there is none other name under heaven given to man in whom and through whom he may receive health and salvation, but only the name of our Lord Jesus Christ." (Renewned cheers.) Oh, men and brethren, I pity the prejudice and narrow-mindedness of any man who censures this beautiful service as Popish, and as fostering extravagant notions of priestly power! The very contrary is the truth. One of the highest authorities in the English Church, viz.—Bishop Jewell, has fully stated the case of "Absolution." Strype, in his annals, declared Jewell's famous apology to have been "composed and written by this Reverend Father as the public confession of the Catholic and Christian faith of all Englishmen." And his statements may be received, not as a personal opinion of the good Bishop, but as an authoritative declaration of the doctrine of the English Church. As to the insinuation that "the clergy attach a secret meaning to words,"—we deny the impeachment. We are also told that "the Church which bears the State's name, the Church which wears the State's livery, the Church which eats at the State's table, shall be judged by the State's dictionary. Dear me, what a fine sentence! Does the Rector of Wigan, Mr. Chairman, wear the State's livery? I cannot see it; perhaps Dr. Parker does not know the difference between the footman and his master!—(laughter); he has made quite as great mistakes in other things. Then again, how does the Church eat at the State's table? I should like very much to enjoy the privilege: it would save me much expense in providing my own. And, where is the State's dictionary? I have Walker's, I have Johnson's, I have Webster's, I have the Imperial; but know nothing of the State's dictionary. Perhaps, however, it has not yet been printed and published; and it may be only one of the new inventions found out, but not yet patented, by Parker of Manchester!—(Cheers.) The same wonderful discoverer also says: "If it be asked whether clergymen have not a perfect right to believe in baptismal regeneration, I answer most certainly they have; but they ought to style themselves baptismal regenerationists, and build themselves chapels to worship in, and ought not to seal a sectarian dogma with the great name of England, or compel a nation to support the heresy of a minority." Well, and we do build our own churches and chapels—and we do not compel a nation to support our heresies or our truth. Parliament makes no grant for either the building of our parish churches or chapels—these are all erected by voluntary contributions;—and if in the last quarter of a century Dr. Parker can find a single £100 voted by the House of

Commons (where all money grants must be voted) for the erection of any parish church in England, or for the payment of any parish clergyman as such, I will promise him a handsome reward for his discovery. The people benefit by the clergy of the National Church, but are not taxed for their maintenance. But the people are taxed heavily for the Dissenters. The Cemeteries Act costs £5 for every £2 expended in this way before. The new system of Probate Courts makes a working man have to pay £5 for each £100 of legacy; whereas before, the cost was only £2. Then, too, registrars have been appointed to marry, &c., instead of the clergy, and this costs no less than £80,000 a year. Add to this, for the London University, £3,920; for Protestant Dissenting ministers in England, £1,695: for Regium Donum, also Protestant Dissenting ministers, £47,420; for Queen's Colleges in Ireland, £25,096; for Maynooth College, £30,000; and we have altogether a total of £188,131 per year. Thus, while more than £188,000 of public money is annually spent to further Dissenting objects in England and Ireland, the Established Church is supported by Church endowments, the clergy are not paid by Government, and the only State-paid ministers for whom the people are taxed are some of those who do not conform to the Church of England; and to these State grants we pay our quota without complaint. One thing more I must notice. Dr. Parker says, "There are men in 1865 (and he might say in 1866) who lend themselves to peddling and mischievous criticism by maintaining an argument founded on the transition of language. Is it true, indeed, then, that words do change their meaning?" Yes, most assuredly. For instance, the word villain; originally it meant a serf, or villager, now it means a rascal. So the collect, "Prevent us, O Lord, in all our doings," where the word prevent, (from *præ* and *venio*) signifies to precede and go before to help, whereas now to prevent means to hinder. And again, "neither reward us after our iniquities," where the word means "according to," and not, as now, after, as distinguished from before. Sir, a man who denies that words change their meaning must have a miserable acquaintance with the literature of his country!—(Hear, hear.) To fix upon particular words and phrases, and deny any explanation from the context, is unfair; or, as the editor of the *Wigan Examiner* well says, his fixing upon isolated passages from services used for special occasions was flagrantly unjust and unreasonable, and at the same time manifestly capable of being turned to pernicious purposes when applied to Holy Writ. The fact is, on such a "flagrantly un-

just and unreasonable" way of arguing, Holy Writ itself may be made ridiculous,—and to teach laziness, because we read "*labour not* for the meat that perisheth,"—to teach the violation of hospitality, because we read, "when thou maketh a dinner or a supper, *call not* thy friends, nor thy brethren, neither thy kinsmen, nor thy rich neighbours,"—and also, to teach hatred to those we are commanded to love, because we read "If any man come to me, and *hate not* his father, and mother, and wife, and children, and brethren, and sisters, yea, and his own life also, he cannot be my disciple." So again in Heb. xii. 22, we read "Ye are come unto Mount Zion, and unto the city of the living God, the heavenly Jerusalem," &c. where the Apostle speaks of the future as if it were present. So again: "This *is* my body which is given for you,"—and "this cup *is* the New Testament in my blood which is shed for you," the clear meaning of which is "This *represents* my body which will be given for you"—and "this cup represents the new covenant in my blood which will be poured out or shed for you;" for, at the Last Supper, the sacrifice on the cross had not been consummated, and his precious blood not yet shed "for us men and for our salvation." So, too, with our Prayer Book. As the preface says, "It contains nothing contrary to the Word of God or to sound doctrine, or which a godly man may not with a good conscience use and submit unto, or which is not fairly defensible against any that shall oppose the same, if it shall be allowed such just and favourable construction as in common equity ought to be allowed to all human writings, especially such as are set forth by authority, and even to the very best translations of the Holy Scripture itself." We are not required to believe that the Book of Common Prayer is incapable of improvement, much less that it is infallible; but we accept it because we have a loyal affection for the Church of England, and a sincere faith in the book as a whole. We must, however, be judged as to our doctrines, not by isolated passages in occasional services, but by the articles of our beloved Church. I no more expect that we shall all think alike on every point, than I expect the noses on our faces to be all alike. Dissenters of different and contradictory denominations and views all profess to derive their entire belief from the Bible, and have entire faith in the Bible; so the Independent and the Dependent, the Baptist and the Pœdo-Baptist, the Trinitarian and the Unitarian, the Quaker, the Wesleyan, the Presbyterian, and the Plymouth Brother, the Particular Redemptionist and the General Redemptionist, the Calvinist and Arminian, &c., all appeal to the Bible as the authority for their peculiar

views. So, too, does the Churchman. No doubt many of these would like to have our authorised version revised on certain points; and some Churchmen hold the same idea of the Prayer Book. If, then, differing Dissenters honestly hold to the same Bible, why cannot Churchmen, differing in minor views, as honestly hold to the same Prayer Book, and, with a good conscience, subscribe to its articles and formularies?—(Hear, hear). A clerical friend of mine writes as follows: An eminent Baptist minister once observed to me, "I cannot understand how you evangelical clergymen can remain in the Church of England." I lent him certain books, which, having carefully read, he returned with the remark, "I am perfectly satisfied." Another Dissenting minister once rather peremptorily demanded of me a categorical answer to the question, "Do you believe the Prayer Book and Church Catechism?" I answered without hesitation that "I did;" but ventured to suggest that it was not fair to argue the question in that manner. He maintained that it was. "Very well, then," I replied, "let us put it to the test; do you believe in the Bible?" He imagined that it was my intention to insult him, and indignantly replied that "of course he did." Knowing that he strongly held the doctrine of the justification of a sinner by faith without works, I said: "Now answer me this question categorically, yes or no. Do you believe the Apostle James when he affirms "ye see then how that by works a man is justified, and not by faith only?" His answer was precisely what I knew it would be. "I believe James in the sense he meant to be understood." "Yes, but what becomes of your categorical argument," I replied, "Dissenters take up the Prayer Book, and maintain that their view of it is infallibly true. The Unitarian, the Baptist, the Presbyterian, and others, take up the Bible, and think their respective views are right. I take the Bible likewise, and maintain that Episcopacy is scriptural. But I do not follow the example of some Dissenters and charge them, as they do the evangelical clergy, (see *Patriot* newspaper, Mar. 27, 1862,) 'with a crime of so black a nature as falsehood,' with 'wriggling, and cunning, and duplicity, and with an intention to deceive, which is of the essence of a lie,' because they deny what appears to me as clear as daylight." In conclusion. It has been necessary for me, in retorting the unfair and uncharitable statements and insinuations of Dr. Parker, in accordance with the scripture rule (Titus i, 13,) to "rebuke him sharply." But, let us not imitate his example or cherish his spirit. Let us not think all Dissenters

are like him, to be classed amongst those who are called in Acts xxiv. "pestilent fellows, and movers of sedition." I know many of a very different stamp—who rejoice in the great work which the National Church is doing in our land —in the great honour conferred upon our clergy by the abundant blessing vouchsafed from on high in prospering their ministrations to the conversion of souls and the edification of Christ's flock—and who, but for our past indifference, worldly-mindedness, and neglect, would never have been Dissenters at all. Let us reverence the image of Christ wherever we find it exemplified; for all Christians who are dear to the Saviour ought also to be dear unto us. It may be doubted whether, in the life of Calvin, there is anything more beautiful or worthy of imitation than his firm determination to love and honour Luther in spite of all his reviling, saying, "He may call me beast or devil, I shall not the less continue to call him a true servant of Jesus Christ." If we are enabled to act in such a spirit, the unjust accusations made against us will recoil upon those who make them—all around will see who manifest the more excellent spirit—and the very curses of our adversaries will be turned into actual blessings. Still, as Churchmen, let us rally round our beloved Church, and prove our ardent attachment and devoted loyalty. It is, indeed, useless to argue with one who says, "If the Prayer Book were revised and purified to the satisfaction of the most exacting Puritan critic, neither my judgment nor my conscience would permit me to have any connection with a State-bound Church." We are far better without such an one, and we may leave him as a striking example of "how much depends upon a traditional education, and upon the angle from which any subject is viewed."—(Cheers.) But, when attacked, we must defend. We are not afraid of public discussion, even if our adversaries are. Our interests are committed to the deliberatively elected council of the nation —and are not managed by a clique or chapel club—and, to quote words which my opponent even cannot despise, "At all events the public mind must be enlightened upon the great subject of Nonconformity; not a shadow must be permitted to linger;—light must come—'light, more light;' by speech, by pamphlet, by sermon, light must come; at all hazards we must have light. Light is healthful for truth, but every beam strikes death into error. Let it come then—come as the summer morning—come as the summer midday—come until it is 'above the brightness of the sun.' Woe unto the man who intercepts the light—he is the enemy of truth—of God! Whoever knows the

right word is bound to utter it. There are times when secresy is crime; when silence is treason. Such a time is this. Day by day the division-line darkens—deepens. Let us get to the right side of it, and there we may calmly await the arbitrament of men, and the decision of God!"—(Loud and continued applause.)

On the motion of the Rev. T. HIGHAM, seconded by the Rev. J. CRONSHAW, a cordial vote of thanks was passed to Mr. Massingham, who, in response, took the opportunity of replying briefly to two exclamations uttered by persons in the audience. The first was "Lord John Russell," which some one threw in at random at two or three points, and the second was "How about the Bishops," a remark made use of during Mr. Higham's short address. Putting forward the bishopric of London as an example, the Lecturer said that a while ago certain land at the west-end of London was left to the Church,—this land was laid out in building plots, and in a short time came back with good houses upon it. A portion of the funds thus available was devoted to the increase of the salaries of bishops, and the rest was lodged with a body called the Ecclesiastical Commissioners to improve the livings in the Church throughout the land. With respect to Earl Russell, Mr. Massingham said the House of Bedford had been enriched by Church property, and he hoped that, as a matter of gratitude, the noble Earl would ever prove her true and staunch friend.

The RECTOR proposed a vote of thanks to the chairman. He had listened with very great interest to the lecture, and he hoped many a one would go away from that room better able to meet the false and superficial accusations which were levelled against the time honoured religion of their forefathers by those who had left its communion. Like most undutiful children, too many of them thought the only way to justify their own conduct was by abusing other people, and especially their own parent. Believing, as he did, that the Church of England was the purest and most scriptural; that it possessed the purest form of Christianity; that it was, in fact, in all essential points the faith once delivered to the saints, he hoped and trusted that the day would never come when the people of the Church of England would suffer and encourage every man to follow his own weak judgment, and to do that which was right in his own eyes, for if they did he was sure it would end in anarchy and confusion. (Loud cheers.)

The Rev. T. F. FERGIE seconded the motion, which was carried with loud applause.

The CHAIRMAN briefly responded, and the proceedings were brought to a close.

LECTURE II.

January 17th.

Subject: "REASONS FOR A NONCONFORMIST AGGRESSIVE POLICY."

RALPH DARLINGTON, ESQ., IN THE CHAIR.

The meeting was opened by devotional exercises.

The CHAIRMAN introduced Mr. Massingham by bespeaking for him a fair hearing, and left it to the audience to judge between the sentiments expressed some time ago in that place by Dr. Parker, and those which they were now about to listen to.

The Rev. LECTURER, who was again received with hearty applause, said: Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen—Last night, I showed why these lectures were called for; and I commented upon the charitable and uncharitable statements of Dr. Parker. Especially I noticed the secession caused by the Act of Uniformity, the history of that period, the grievous sufferings inflicted previously upon the clergy, and the strong temptation there was afterwards to inflict some revenge when a reaction took place. Then the service for infant baptism, the burial of unbaptised infants, baptismal regeneration, the service for the burial of the dead, the service for the visitation of the sick, as connected with the 67th canon, and as apart from the canon; the question as to who are the State-paid ministers, and the large sums voted from the public taxes every year for Dissenting purposes and Dissenting ministers, the alterations that take place in language, or the meaning of words, and the fair construction to be given to isolated passages from the Bible and Prayer Book,—these occupied fully our whole time. I therefore left till now the consideration of what Dr. Parker calls "the mischievous" teaching of the Church of England as to the rite of confirmation, a service which he does "not hesitate to pronounce a piece of the most presumptuous and mischievous sacerdotalism." This is strong language. Is it true? And what have we to say in reply? We may not be able to satisfy Dr. Parker, but we shall be able to satisfy many others. Our 20th article states that "the Church has power to decree rites or ceremonies, and authority

in controversies of faith; and yet it is not lawful for the Church to ordain anything that is contrary to God's Word written." Consequently all obedient members of the Church of England would observe the rite of confirmation, as not contrary to God's Word written, even if it were only a good old custom, and had no authority at all from the Bible; and to oppose it would show much pride of heart, and want of due submission to those who have the rule over us in spiritual things. But confirmation is something more than a good old custom; it is one we can trace up to the Word of God, and to the practice of the Apostles, and we know it was practised by those who came after them for many generations; and, surely, if it were edifying and profitable then, it may be equally edifying and profitable now. The Bible teaches us that it was the custom for those who were advanced in years and office to lay hands on those whom they blessed. Thus, the patriarch prayed for the sons of Joseph, put his hands on them, and blessed them. So, when sick persons were brought to Jesus, He laid his hands on them and healed them; and, when little children were brought unto Him, He took them up in His arms, put His hands upon them, and blessed them. In this case, it does not appear that He performed any miracle, so that the laying on of hands was not necessarily connected with miracles, but was rather a sign of His giving a blessing; and I mention them to prove this,—not to prove the rite of confirmation to be scriptural. We have, however, sufficient scriptural authority: let me ask your earnest, candid attention while I mention them. A practice of the same kind existed among the Apostles. We read (Acts viii. 5) "Then Philip went down to the city of Samaria, and preached Christ unto them. Now, when the Apostles which were at Jerusalem heard that Samaria had received the Word of God, they sent unto them Peter and John, who, when they were come down, prayed for them, that they might receive the Holy Ghost (for as yet He was fallen upon none of them, only they were baptised in the name of the Lord Jesus.) Then laid they their hands upon them, and they received the Holy Ghost." From this, what do we certainly learn? Why, that Philip the deacon went down to the city of Samaria, and, by his preaching of the Gospel, many believed. He was only an inferior minister, but he worked miracles, preached Christ and the resurrection, and baptised (verses 5 and 7.) The people were amazed at his miracles, believed his doctrine, and submitted to his baptism (verses 12, 13.) When the Apostles at Jerusalem heard this, they sent Peter and John, as two of the Apostles, into Samaria, to lay hands on the young converts,

so that they might receive the Holy Ghost. These converts were thought to require something more to establish them in the faith than what was done by Philip; and this something more was the laying on of the hands of the Apostles, or chief ministers of Christ's Church. Now this is the model which our beloved Church of England (true to Scripture in all her teaching) follows. Ministers preach and baptize,—then afterwards the Bishop, as superior minister, visits from place to place, confirming the Church by laying his hands on the young converts, and by invoking the Holy Spirit to aid them. Again, in Acts xix. 5, we read, "When they heard this, they were baptised in the name of the Lord Jesus; and when Paul had laid his hands upon them, the Holy Ghost came on them, and they spake with tongues and prophesied." Here we learn that Paul found at Ephesus certain disciples of John the Baptist. Having been instructed, they were baptised in the name of the Lord Jesus, after which the Apostle laid hands on them. It is not particularly stated by whom they were baptised, but it is distinctly specified that St. Paul the Apostle laid hands on them. Here, then, is another Scriptural example. We find that after baptism comes laying on of hands by the chief minister. Because miracles have ceased, there is no reason why confirmation should also cease, for miracles were not necessarily connected with this practice. All the early Christians were not endowed with miraculous gifts, for the Apostle asks, "Are all workers of miracles? Have all the gifts of healing? Do all speak with tongues?" Besides, the Holy Ghost descended in a miraculous manner under the preaching of the Apostles, but no miracles attend the preaching of the Gospel now. Is therefore the ordinance of preaching to be laid aside? Surely not; miraculous powers were given for extraordinary purposes, and therefore not intended to continue in the Church; but the preaching of the Word was designed for ordinary results, even for the conviction and conversion of sinners, and the edification of believers; therefore it must not be discontinued. So also confirmation was designed for the strengthening and establishment of youthful believers, by instruction, encouragement, exhortation, and prayer; and why should it not be continued? But Hebrews vi., 1, 2, claims our special attention. "Therefore, leaving the principles of the doctrine of Christ, let us go on unto perfection; not laying again the foundation of repentance from dead works, and of faith toward God, of the doctrine of baptism, and of laying on of hands, and of the resurrection of the dead, and of eternal judgment." Observe that the Apostle here mentions six funda-

mental doctrines, which he calls the principles or foundations of the doctrine of Christ, and which consequently must be lasting and continual. One of these is the laying on of hands. Now, to what does this refer? Some try to get over the difficulty by saying that it refers to the ordination of ministers. But this is utterly inconsistent with the Apostle's statement. For it would then refer to only one class of persons, the ministers of the Church, whereas all the other doctrines—repentance, faith, baptism, resurrection of the dead, and eternal judgment—refer to all classes. If repentance, faith, baptism, the resurrection, and judgment, refer to all, why should not also the laying-on of hands? Is it likely that a doctrine of special application should be inserted among those of general application? Surely not. The celebrated reformer Calvin, in whose time, and by whose followers, the rite of confirmation began to fall into disuse, confesses that this one passage alone was sufficient to prove the rite of confirmation to be of apostolical origin. He says, "The children of the faithful, as they were adopted from the womb, and belonged to the body of the Church by right of the promise, were baptised in infancy, but, after the time of infancy, they having been instructed in the faith, presented themselves, as catechumens; another symbol was then added, the laying on of hands." This one passage abundantly testifies that this rite had its beginning from the Apostles, which afterwards, however, was turned into superstition, as the world almost always degenerates into corruptions, even with regard to the best institutions. Wherefore the pure institution at this day ought to be retained, but the superstition ought to be removed. And this passage tends to confirm the baptism of infants. For why else should the imposition of hands be named after baptism, except that, after having as children received baptism, they were taught in the faith as they grew up to riper years, so that nothing remained for them but the laying on of hands?" Thus, we have ample Scriptural authority for this ordinance: and Matthew Henry, a leading Dissenting commentator, says on Acts viii. 17, "The laying on of hands was anciently used in blessing by those who blessed with authority. Thus the Apostles blessed the new converts, ordained some to be ministers, and confirmed others in their Christianity. We cannot now, nor can any, thus give the Holy Ghost by the laying on of hands, but this may intimate to us that those we pray for, we should use our endeavours with." Again, on Heb. vi. 1, 2, as to the "laying on of hands," he says, this was "on persons passing solemnly from their initiative state by baptism to the con-

firmed state," and adds "the passing from incomplete to complete Church membership was performed by laying on of hands." So that our Church closely resembles the early Church. Nothing miraculous is now expected. We do not profess to cast out devils, and heal the sick, and cleanse lepers by the laying on of human hands; yet we do believe that, by the united and faithful prayers of the ministers, and the congregation, and the persons confirmed, great spiritual blessings may result; even that the demon of lust may be cast out of the heart, the idol of pride be cast down from the mind, and the soul sealed with the Holy Spirit of promise. Nor is our plan a new one; for Grotius, on Luke ii. 4, 2, informs us that the Jews had a rite similar to confirmation; for, while the males were circumcised, and the females baptised, as infants, the Jewish parents brought their children before the congregation at the age of 13 years, when they had learned the law and its interpretation; whereupon they attained a higher rank in the Church of God, and were declared to be "children of the precept." The testimony of Church history clearly proves that the rite of confirmation was observed generally after the death of the Apostles. Nor do I attach any undue importance to the traditions of the fathers in giving their testimony in favour of a fact. Now, just suppose that we could talk with some of those who lived soon after the death of the Apostles, and converse with them about confirmation. Should we not naturally ask how things were in their days, and what was the custom of the Church then? Hear the answer given by one who lived only eighty years after the Apostle St. John, and that is Tertullian. He says, "After baptism is the laying on of hands, by blessing and prayer inviting the Holy Spirit."—(De Bapt., c. 8.) Is not this the very same order which now prevails in our Church? Again, if we ask how matters stood a little later, we find that St. Cyprïan, Bishop of Carthage, who lived about fifty years after Tertullian, refers to the case of the Samaritans upon whom Peter and John laid their hands, saying, "The same thing is done among us. They who are baptised are brought to the rulers of the Church, that by our prayer and the laying on of our hands they may obtain the Holy Ghost, and be perfected with the seal of the Lord."—(Ep. 73.) So Clement, an eminent writer, who flourished at the end of the second century, tells of a young man who was given in charge by St. John to a certain bishop, and who, having baptised him, "afterwards sealed him with the Lord's signature." In the primitive Church, confirmed persons were commonly spoken of as "sealed," and in St.

Paul's Epistle to the Ephesians, i. 13, he reminds the converts who formed the early Church there, of their first hearing and believing the Gospel, adding, "After that ye believed, ye were sealed with the Holy Spirit of promise." Jerome comes afterwards, about 350 years after Christ, and testifies thus, "When persons are baptised in the inferior towns by priests and deacons, the bishop travels out to them to lay his hands upon them and invoke the Holy Spirit."—(Tom. ii., p. 56.) The descriptions given by these ancient worthies, not only agree with the Holy Scriptures, but clearly represent the manner in which the ceremony is now performed. The bishop goes round now, as then, from place to place, to lay hands on those who desire to profess the name of Christ, and to invoke the help of the Holy Spirit. At the time of the glorious Reformation, this rite was purged from those Romish corruptions which had gathered round it, and it was retained by our Church in its original, simple, and edifying form. It has been retained also by many of the Lutheran Churches, even though they could not retain the Episcopal form of Church government; and to this day, their ministers take the place of the bishop, and bless the young persons who, when come to years of discretion, avow their faith in Christ and his Gospel. Many of the Presbyterians and Nonconformists also acknowledge confirmation to be of apostolical origin and practice. Calvin, Beza, Owen, Matthew Henry, and others, admit this: and they would doubtless have continued it had they retained episcopacy; but they had no bishop, (as we happily have) to administer it according to Apostolical order. Confirmation affords the young, at a most critical period of life, an opportunity for gaining increased religious knowledge,—a season for deep self-examination—a call openly to confess Christ—a time when the special prayers of the Church are called forth—a rite which arms with strength against future temptations, because of the public vow;—and it is often a means of the greatest spiritual blessing. A young man from Wigan, now labouring usefully in Warrington as a Scripture reader or town missionary, (named Atherton,) confessedly owes his conversion to the preparation for confirmation; and I was reading the other day a funeral sermon for a devoted Christian lady (Miss Walker, of Repton) whose conversion is ascribed, under God, to the instructions of her clergyman while preparing her for confirmation. My own ministerial experience for the last thirteen years confirms this. The special instructions given publicly—the private interviews and conversation with each about spiritual things—the

papers each is expected to prepare or answer,—and the kneeling together in the parsonage study while help is earnestly sought from on High for each individually: these have not been in vain, as many confirmed, converted Christians are testifying by a consistent life. And it would be well for Dr. Parker, as a Nonconformist, to refrain from scoffing at a rite so often blessed by God,—and to abandon his sneering attacks upon our beautiful and Scriptural Confirmation Service.—(Loud applause.) I know that most of those who, when duly prepared and approved by their parish clergy, do, before God and the Church, publicly pledge themselves to the Bishop, (1.) to renounce the Devil and all his works, the pomps and vanities of this wicked world, and all the sinful lusts of the flesh;—(2) to believe all the articles of the Christian faith;—and (3) to keep God's holy will and commandments all the days of their life;—I say, I know that most of those who make such a profession would, upon a similar profession before a private assembly of Dissenting members called a Church meeting, be thankfully hailed as members of Bethesda, or Little Bethel, or Ebenezer.—(Applause.) Simony, however, comes next. And though Dr. Parker is not a canon, he appears to like quoting one of our canons ecclesiastical, and quotes the 40th with evident gusto. I quite agree with him that "it is plain language. The man who misunderstands it cannot be fit for the pulpit of any Church, established or unendowed." But, is he aware that he has thus pronounced his own unfitness for the pulpit? for he himself misunderstands it. That there may be no mistake on this point, I will quote the canon also at full length:—"To avoid the detestable sin of simony, because buying and selling of spiritual and ecclesiastical functions, offices, promotion, dignities, and livings, is execrable before God, all and every bishop or bishops, &c., shall respectively minister to every person hereafter admitted, instituted, &c., in or to any ecclesiastical living whatsoever, this oath, in manner and form following, the same to be taken by every one whom it concerneth in his own person, and not by a proctor:—'I, N. N., do swear that I have made no simonical payment, contract, or promise, directly or indirectly, by myself or by any other, to my knowledge, or with my consent, to any person or persons whatsoever, for or concerning the procuring and obtaining of this ecclesiastical dignity, place, preferment, office, or living (respectively and particularly naming the same whereunto he is to be admitted, instituted, collated, installed, or confirmed) nor will at any time hereafter perform or satisfy any such

kind of payment, contract, or promise, made by any other with my knowledge or consent, so help me God, through Jesus Christ." This oath I took when the Bishop of Lichfield nominated me to a parish in Derby, and also when Lord Lilford nominated me to my present parish in Warrington. This oath has also been taken by every beneficed clergyman in Wigan; and my reverend friends the curates are also doubtless hoping it may come to their turn to take it ere long. The oath proves how carefully our Church would guard the purity of her appointments, so that our benefices should be conferred upon us freely, "without money and without price," and that no clergyman should be able to purchase promotion for himself. Any Nonconformist can build or purchase for himself a chapel, and constitute himself, or any heretic he likes to appoint, the minister. It is not so, happily, with us. Clergymen can invest money in the purchase of advowsons, but they must give the livings to others, and not occupy them themselves. A great and good work is thus often done, where, as in the case of the Simeon trustees, the Church Patronage Society, and others, important benefices are purchased, and good earnest men appointed thereto. And laymen, by investing money, either in the endowment of a parish, or purchasing the advowson of a parish, may thus secure the appointment of a good faithful clergyman. Dr. Parker gives first some *old* advertisements of livings for sale, or exchange, and then adds, "Ay, you will say these are, perhaps, old advertisements—ten years old or more, and therefore don't apply to the present day. Do you say so? Well, then, just let me read you, if you remember the 40th canon, one more advertisement:—"Lot. 1, comprising the advowson and the next presentation to the vicarage of St. Peter-cum-Normanton, Derby, the estimated annual income from which is about £300, and the age of the present vicar 42 years. The vicarage house is a newly-built and commodious residence, very pleasantly situated, and the living will be found in many respects a most desirable investment." This is not an old advertisement, for I cut it from the *Examiner and Times* of October 11, 1865. "Is it inquired what we, as Dissenters, have to do with this simony; I answer, much every way. Every man should be jealous of public morality. We have a mission against all perjurers, felons, and liars, whether clerical or lay. If a clergyman has taken an oath, and then deliberately violates it, I tell him that it is quite possible he may have an apostolic ancestry, but that he is a lineal descendant, not of Simon Peter, but of Judas Iscariot," &c.—(Some applause.) Now, I happen, from my

long residence at Derby, to know all about this vicarage of St. Peter's ; and what in the wide world has it to do with the simony oath ? The gentleman who has bought it is one well known, as a county magistrate, a banker, the leading partner in the Butterley Ironworks, the owner and occupier of Osmaston Manor, near Ashbourne, and one who is ever anxious to do his utmost for the welfare of the people at large and the good of the Church. No gentleman is more widely known for his generosity and worth in the counties of Derby and Nottingham. The only fault I ever heard attributed to him was, (what Dr. Parker ought not to object to) that he was a Low Churchman, a Liberal, and too much of a Dissenter. Well, this excellent gentleman has re-built Osmaston Church, endowed it, and built a new vicarage ; he has also built and endowed, or helped in doing so, Ironville, near the ironworks, and many other churches, parsonages and schools, simply from a desire to consecrate his wealth to God's glory. The advowson of St. Peter's, Derby, was for sale; as a Derbyshire man he wished to secure a good clergyman there, so he has invested his money simply with that object ; and though he may never have to exercise the patronage, for the present vicar may out-live him, yet, if it became vacant to-morrow, I am sure that Francis Wright, Esq., would give it to the best evangelical clergyman he could find, in the hope and prayer that many precious souls may be saved. Well, what has this to do with the oath of simony ? Nothing at all. If the layman were a clergyman, and buying it for himself instead of for another's advantage, and appointed himself, and, as a perjurer swore a false oath, then I would agree with Dr. Parker, for I admit that "every man should be jealous of public morality, and feel that he has a mission against all perjurers." But, never yet have I known such a case amongst the clergy, whether High Churchmen or Low Churchmen. But, when my opponent says, "I have charged some of the clergy with perjury"—I have a right to say, "prove your charge." And, further, if he will give me legal evidence of any living clergyman having thus acted, I will be the first to join him in denouncing the offender, and ousting him from his benefice.—(Cheers.) But, if he cannot,—and I defy him to come forward with any sufficient proof,—(applause)—then, as an Englishman, and as a professed disciple of Christ, I call upon him to retract his foul charge and his unsubstantiated libel upon the clergy of England's Church.—(Renewed applause.) I want to know who are those clergymen "who," he uncharitably says, "found their way to the pulpit as felons ;"—(hear, hear)

and, if not, I demand the retractation of the charge. Evangelical clergymen, indeed, to turn the Church into a market-place for their own benefit; and to be guilty of perjury! No, no, they are not to be found in my experience—and I am sure they cannot be found in the region of Dr. Parker's. And unless he either substantiate or retract the statements, I will proclaim him throughout the length and breadth of England as a foul libeller of the clergy of our National Church.—(Vehement cheers.) Some, I know, wish to prohibit the transfer of ecclesiastical property and the sale of livings altogether. On the contrary, I do not. Were I possessed of great wealth, there is nothing that would please me so much as to invest money in advowsons, and to give them to the best and most devoted curates I could find,—each of whom could take the oath of simony with the greatest truth and purity. The fact is, Dr. Parker does not understand the matter or the object of the 40th canon, and his own sentence is very severe upon himself, viz., "the man who misunderstands it cannot be fit for the pulpit of any church, established or unendowed." My own opinion however is a little more charitable. I think his power of language and party spirit fit him very well for the pulpit of many a Dissenting conventicle; but, as he values his own reputation, I advise him to keep to the pulpit of the chapel, (hear hear)—and not to interfere with matters too high for him; for, if he think himself fit for his crusade against England's Church, it must only arise from an undue share of vanity, and over-weening conceit.—(Applause.) Our patronage system in the Church may be found fault with; but I like it. Every party is fairly represented. And I should not like any one kind of patronage, whether episcopal, clerical, lay, public, or private, or trustees, to have the whole patronage. And I believe our system to be a fair one. If a Baptist or Independent congregation elect a minister, they have to find his stipend, and therefore choose the man to enjoy that stipend. So, if, instead of a number, one gentleman find the endowment of a church, it is only fair that he should select the minister who shall enjoy that endowment. Besides, patrons can only present to vacant benefices men whose learning has been tested, and whose testimonials as to fitness for the ministry have been so approved as to enable them to be duly commissioned by those in authority in the Church. The tares will always mingle with the wheat, a Judas was found even when our blessed Lord selected the men; but I boldly ask (though, like St. Paul, I may appear to magnify my office), where is there any body of men that, as a whole, can excel

the clergy of our National Church?—(Applause). It is very easy to assume a negative character, and say, "We are Nonconformists; there is something to which we object, something which repels our judgment and our heart." I suppose we can all, as Englishmen, easily find grounds for grumbling and objections, otherwise Dissent would be unknown. But when he goes on to say: "For example the Church of England puts forth a certain doctrine on baptism, and demands that that doctrine be subscribed with 'unfeigned assent and consent,'—we examine it, we compare it with scriptural testimony, and we say we cannot accept that doctrine: in relation to it we are Nonconformists." Here I must join issue with him. Dr. Parker's starting point is incorrect. Sufficient latitude is legally allowed to members of the Church of England. Every member of it can hold honestly his own view on infant baptism. The Judicial Committee of the Privy Council gave judgment, Mar. 8, 1850, in the matter of Gorham *v.* Bishop of Exeter. The doctrine held by the former (and espoused by many of his clerical brethren) was that baptism is a sacrament generally necessary to salvation, but that the grace of regeneration does not so necessarily accompany the act of baptism that regeneration invariably takes place in baptism, any more than grace always accompanies the outward sign in the Lord's supper, as the 29th art. of the Church says: "The wicked, and such as be void of a lively faith, although they do carnally and visibly press with their teeth (as St. Augustine saith) the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ, yet in no wise are they partakers of Christ, but rather in their condemnation do eat and drink the sign of so great a thing." The Rev. G. C. Gorham contended that the grace of regeneration may be granted in, before, or after baptism; that baptism is an effectual sign of grace, by which God works invisibly in us, but only in such as worthily receive it, in them alone has it a wholesome effect; and that without reference to the qualification of the recipient, it is not in itself an effectual sign of grace; that infants baptised and dying before actual sin are certainly saved, but that in no case is regeneration in baptism unconditional. The legal decision was, that these views were not contrary to the articles, formularies, and rubrics of the Church, that many of the absolute expressions in the services must be construed in a qualified or charitable sense, and opinions similar to those of Mr. Gorham had been propounded and maintained, without censure or reproach, by many eminent and illustrious prelates from the time when the articles were first established, as Bishop Jewell, Hooker, Archbishop Usher,

Bishop Jeremy Taylor, Bishop Pearson, Bishop Carleton, Bishop Prideaux, and others. This proved, at least, that liberty in maintaining that doctrine had been allowed, a liberty which Mr. Gorham was entitled to claim, and for the exercise of which the Bishop of Exeter ought not to have refused him admission to the vicarage of Brampford Speke. As, therefore, a latitude is left on this question, no one can reasonably complain. Even a Baptist has no fair ground for dissent, because if anyone not baptised in infancy should wish to be baptised by immersion, and give evidence of true repentance for sin and real faith in the Redeemer, then any parochial clergyman would baptise by immersion, and is bound to grant it. Doubtless he may retort by ridiculing the decision of a legal tribunal, and pointing to it as an evidence of "a State-bound church." But what do the Nonconformists do? What was their line of procedure in the matter of Lady Hewley's charity? Did they not seek for a legal decision? And are not Dissenters often compelled to appeal to the decision of a law court? To prove this, let me give a report of a case nine years later, tried at Warwick assizes, before Chief Justice Erle, between a Baptist minister, of Bond-street Chapel, Birmingham, the Reverend Sanders Joseph Chew, and some "disorderly walkers" in his late church or congregation, as reported in the *Birmingham Daily Post*, of Aug. 12, 1859, which the following extracts will illustrate:—"It was the case of the Rev. S. J. Chew *v.* William Duke. Mr. S. J. Chew had been an honest and witty auctioneer, but deeming it his duty to employ his versatile talents upon the drum ecclesiastic, instead of the ivory hammer, he became a student for the ministry of the Particular Baptists, at the Bristol College of that sect, under Dr. Gotch. Mr. Chew, having taken honours at Bristol, went to Cheddar to a pastorate, thence to Leicester, and afterwards to Bond-street Chapel, Birmingham, where his candidature was successful in preference to three sound divines. He was to have £150 a-year at first, and if the Church prospered and the congregation increased, he was to have a rise. Mr. Chew was at first very popular with the Church and congregation. Shortly after he became nominated minister, a dispute arose about a candidate member, and he was black-balled. But Mr. Chew, *proprio motû*, as the Pope says, admitted him, notwithstanding the adverse vote of the majority. Such was the charge against him by defendant. Then came the case of the expulsion of 'a member who was charged with being intoxicated.' Mr. Chew was charged by defendant with retaining this rickety brother against the will of the Church, to which Chew said

'Not guilty.' After nine months, so well pleased were his little republic with Pastor Chew, or Bishop Chew, as 'The Congregational Year Book' would desire each minister to be called—that they presented him with a purse and testimonial, which defendant signed *inter alios*. But the course of true love does not ever run smooth, and between October, 1858, and February, 1859, a storm fell upon the presiding 'bishop.' In that inauspicious month, Bishop Chew sought an interview with Deacon Duke, the defendant, and ventured, incidentally, to pop the delicate question of an increase of salary. Brother Duke appears to have been more able in the purse than most of his brethren, and this delicate question appeared to rile him, for thereupon he called a meeting of the faithful to consider this troublesome point. No notice of this meeting was given to Bishop Chew, at which, behind his back, a violent onslaught was made on him. A resolution was drawn out, and put to the meeting, calling upon Chew to resign. This resolution was negatived by fourteen votes, yet he at once tendered his resignation. A fair meeting of the church was afterwards held, and Mr. Chew was called upon to remain in office; and, the pastor not being present, another was called to receive his decision, which was that he could not withdraw his resignation unless the three conspirators, Deacon William Duke, Cooke, and Smart, were expelled, and they were expelled accordingly. But Korah, Dathan, and Abiram got up a demonstration—held a meeting—and passed resolutions, viz., that, 'being deeply anxious for the peace and prosperity of their own souls, and anxious also for Scriptural teaching, conversion of others, (not of themselves, who were already converted) and tenaciously maintaining the right of private judgment, &c., were scandalised at their democratic president pastor, or bishop, on account of his having introduced to the church unsuitable persons, chiefly boys and girls, and the retention of a known drunkard as a member, although seen in a state of beastly intoxication in the streets, challenging persons to fight!' These brethren also resolved that their own exclusion was a great crime, and recorded their unmitigated reprobation of the arrogant and overbearing conduct of their pastor at a late meeting of the church, and his very disgraceful and disorderly conduct in leaping upon a chair (like an old auctioneer), and moving, seconding, and insisting (like 'going, going, gone') on the meeting excluding them, himself putting it to the meeting, &c. They further resolved, behind Mr. Chew's back, that he was a teacher of false doctrine on baptism

and original sin, and that the children of God (which doubtless meant themselves) were not sought for by their pastor, but such creatures as will enable him, at any time he pleases, to introduce and carry any change he may see fit, &c. They concluded by appealing to the other Baptist churches in the town for sympathy, an appeal which was not very opportune, for there were splits in most of them, only they were cunning enough to keep out of court; so, though their democratic system of Church government brought them into all sorts of difficulties, while Mr. Chew sought shelter and justice under the wing of the State, and rushed to the assizes and to a profane jury for help, others suffered in silence. The libel for which Mr. Chew prosecuted was partly spoken, and his counsel gives some specimens of the utterances of these 'children of God.' Mr. Duke was charged with using these words with regard to the ex-auctioneer, Pastor Chew. 'He is not fit to preach; he is mad. He preaches lies. He has been turned out of four churches already.' Evidence was given to this by Mr. Thomas R. Carver, who met Deacon Duke one day, and Duke said that 'Chew must be turned out of Bond-street Chapel; that he was not fit to preach the Gospel; he was mad, and his wife said so. He must go to auctioneering again. The Apostle Paul worked, and so must Chew. That Chew cried himself into Bond-street Church, or he would never have been there.' Chew had charged Duke, Cooke, and Smart, with being disorderly walkers. His reason for this was, because they interrupted a prayer meeting, and had spoken disrespectfully of Mr. Chew, and so as to damage the cause at Bond-street. The judge, with Christian consideration, tried to get this scandal to Christianity settled out of court, but failed, so the case went on. The next witness, Joseph Perry, twenty years a member, met Duke in Parker-street one day, who said to him that 'Chew was a devil, and a madman, and had been in a madhouse.' Thomas Tongue and Henry Cotterell gave evidence of the proceedings of the meeting on the 14th of April as disgraceful. On cross-examination, this witness said that Mr. Chew, a short time before, said to him, 'William Duke loves his money, but if I can only get a verdict for £300, I can go to Leicester, and pay my debts, and then return to Birmingham; in that case I shall not require much from the church.' Next, the plaintiff himself was put in the box. On being asked why charges had been brought against Cooke, Smart, and Duke, as to their being disorderly walkers, he said he would take them *seriatim*. As to Cooke, he, one Sunday morning after service, pushed one of the mem-

bers into the gutter.—(Laughter.) He also told some of the congregation that they did not know what a hypocrite he (Chew) was. And Cooke's son said that he (Chew) was a liar. Cooke also charged plaintiff with creating disorder in his family; and on another occasion interrupting a prayer meeting, till it was broken up in consequence. At that meeting, respecting the man that was charged with drunkenness, Cooke put himself into an uncontrollable passion, and said, 'I hope he was drunk, I can take my oath he was.' In fact, he behaved so disorderly that it was impossible to bear the atmosphere.—(Great laughter). As to Smart, he told plaintiff that he was a tyrannical high priest. He also laid a wager of an ounce of tobacco with one of his workmen that he (Chew) would not be in Bond-street three months.—(Loud laughter). All these things caused a great shock to the church.—(Laughter). One of the defendant's nephews, because he admired plaintiff—(laughter)—remained at Bond-street after defendant had left. Plaintiff did not know anything of the finances of the church. He understood they were in a much worse condition than when he entered his ministry. That was owing to this move,—(Laughter). He did not declare that baptism was necessary to salvation, nor had he denied the doctrine of original sin. Dr. Gotch, of the Baptist College, Bristol, stated that a copy of the resolutions had been sent to the college. The resolutions, the fourth especially, would prevent his being appointed to any Baptist congregation. This closed the case for the plaintiff. Mr. Serjeant Hayes rose to defend, saying that Chew's object was clearly to get money out of Duke's pocket, and hence the case had gone on. He called John Cooke who had been a Baptist many years, and who proved that Waldron was drunk in the street, and that when Smart met the said brother Waldron in the street, and charged him with being drunk, Waldron put his fist in Smart's face, and said, 'I'll black your face for you, you nasty, disgraceful, dirty little wretch, I will.' —(Laughter,) The meeting at which Waldron was charged with drunkenness became noisy. Mr. Egginton jumped up and gave out a hymn!—(Laughter.) Chew then said 'pray short—(laughter) and when we have done Waldron shall be examined.' After the meeting, Waldron denied that he was drunk. Four or five persons went to the other end of the chapel to inspect Waldron.—(Laughter.) Two gave their opinion that he was not drunk; another said he thought he had been drunk, but he had rather say nothing about it.—(Laughter.) The witness described the proceedings of the meeting when Duke, Cooke, and Smart were expelled. He said Mr. Chew, in

putting the resolution, leaped upon a chair, and, on the motion being carried, clapped his hands. On another occasion Mr. Chew told witness that he should like to get rid of the old members, because without them he could manage the young ones very well.—(Laughter) At last counsel conferred, a juror was withdrawn, and all imputations damaging to the character of Mr. Chew being also withdrawn, the action came to a close."—*Birm. Daily Post*, Aug. 12, 1859. Even at the risk of leading my clerical brethren to yearn for an escape from quiet episcopal rule to the independence of a Dissenting minister, I have given this narrative because of the lessons it conveys. Dr. Parker may revile us as a State-bound Church, and he might also call me a State-bound husband; we are content with the so-called bondage, we do not desire the freedom he would like to confer upon us; we are only restrained from illegal, licentious, and unhallowed acts; and, by God's help, we will manfully resist every attempt to divorce us either from the wife of our bosom, or the Church of our loving choice, till death dissolve the bond.—(Cheers.) The case of Mr. Chew and his "dearly beloved brethren" clearly proves that Nonconformists are sometimes, like Churchmen, forced to seek the help and protection of the State, and that the Sectaries and Dissenters have quite enough to do to set their own house in order, without going about to magnify the shortcomings, and misrepresent the scriptural services of the Church of England. Whatever may be the imperfections and failings of the Church of England, she is admitted to be a blessing to our native land. And Dr. Parker will do well to mind his own business, and promote an "aggressive policy" on the evils of Nonconformity. But, not only the Baptist parson Chew, but the dignitaries of the National Church, are open to attack: and so, without any reference to past abuses, (which we fully admit, but which are now happily reformed,) Dr. Parker brings before us a Bishop of Llandaff, who was Dean of St. Paul's, and also the Dean and Chapter of Carlisle. He says, "I have charged some of the clergy with perjury; I have now to charge, not all, but others, and I hope they are not many, —with dishonesty, associated with the most pernicious selfishness and the most tyrannical oppression. Dr. Copleston received £40 per week and discharged his office by proxy, and gave his deputies £4 14s. 6d. per week! Was he descended from Simon Peter or from Simon Magus? The Dean and Chapter of Carlisle received £1,000 in tithes from Hesket, and for doing the duty they paid a curate one shilling per day. Are they successors of Peter or of

Judas? In the name of hard work, I call this oppression; in the name of humanity, I call this the most heartless selfishness; in the name of God, I openly brand this as unpardonable villany. Strength should alway defend weakness. It is the order of God—it is the purpose of heaven, that strength should be found by the side of weakness, not to crush it, but to maintain its rights." Most cordially do I agree with the few latter sentences; and, if there be any such abuses in our National Church, I, as the holder of a poorly endowed benefice, have the greatest interest in promoting a reform. Never let us rest till every proved abuse be rectified; but, let justice be done to all: and let us carefully guard against unjust and unfounded statements. What, then, about Dr. Copleston? Those who know of his reputation for learning, benevolence, and worth, will surely be slow to hear accusations against the dead man. Even the heathens could say "*De mortuis nil nisi bonum*," "nothing about the dead unless what is good;"—but Dr. Parker, the Nonconformist, does not exercise even the charity of the heathen!—(Hear, hear.) Those who are acquainted with ecclesiastical matters well know that, until, by a recent Order in Council, the Bishopric of Llandaff was augmented, it was so poor a bishopric as to furnish a very insufficient maintenance. Consequently, the Deanery of St. Paul's was also held by Dr. Copleston; and when necessarily absent, and attending to his diocese, he may have employed a substitute, and given him only £245 14s. 0d., or £4 14s. 6d. per week;—not a bad salary for an assistant. If the good bishop were alive, and could answer for himself, I am sure that he would be able to give such an explanation as would completely confound his accuser. But "dead men tell no tales"—and Dr. Parker was cunning enough to select a dead man.—(Laughter.) The character, however, of Dr. Copleston still survives; and it will be well for my opponent if, when he has done with earth, his life may furnish as satisfactory a biography as that of Dr. Copleston. (Applause.) An interesting memory of this worthy bishop has been published, written by Sir Thomas Phillips,—and one extract from the appendix will be quite enough to refute the malevolent statement of Dr. Parker, and show the generosity and benevolence of Dr. Copleston.—(Applause.) Mark the words—"It is due to him to record that, with an episcopal income which did not average £1,000, he expended in a single year, in occasional donations and subscriptions, public or private, connected with his diocese, and wholly distinct from claims elsewhere, £1,132, while, throughout his episcopate, the whole income derived from

his see was never equal to his expenditure within its limits for objects of Christian benevolence." Is such a man, who worked hard for the Church of England, who consecrated high talent and valuable time to her service, and spent, not only his official income, but also his private property, to promote her welfare;—is such a man, after his death, to have his memory blackened by an anti-State Church agitator,—(applause), and to be held up to the people of England as guilty of "dishonesty, associated with the most pernicious selfishness, and the most tyrannical oppression?" Dr. Parker exercised a wise discretion in avoiding a public discussion; for I have sufficient confidence in the English people to believe that the retailer of such slanders against a sainted bishop would, if present here, be deservedly hissed from the platform.—(Vehement and prolonged applause.) And when Dr. Parker asks, "Was he descended from Simon Peter or from Simon Magus?" I have no answer. I simply ask the question—I call upon this meeting to give a reply, and I will be satisfied with the verdict. Next comes the assertion, "The Dean and Chapter of Carlisle received £1000 in tithes from Hesket, and for doing the duty paid a curate one shilling per day. Are they successors of Peter or of Judas?" This is not mentioned as an abuse of former times, which no longer exists; or why mention it at all? Besides, we are not told when this was; it may have been, for all we are informed, when artisans received a penny a-day, and for that penny could buy a little pig. But Dr. Parker shows so little reverence for antiquity, and speaks in the present tense, saying, "Are they successors of Peter or of Judas?" and again, "These *are* some of the men who complain of the insufficiency of voluntaryism"—that, therefore, we must presume it to be a modern case. Is it so? Then whom are we to charge with it? Was this—the glorious payment of one shilling a-day—paid by the present active and earnest Bishop of London when Dr. Tait was Dean of Carlisle? No; in the name of the present devoted Bishop of London, and in the name of the Dean and Chapter of Carlisle, I deny it. I find from the Clergy List that the cure of Hesket-with-Armathwaite (near Penrith, Cumberland, in the diocese of Carlisle, and with less than 2,000 people) was committed to the Rev. W. Hudson in 1830, who had, and still has, an endowment of £150 *plus* £50, *i.e.*, £200, with a good parsonage-house, &c., so that the appointment is worth at least £250 a-year; and in the gift of the Dean and Chapter of Carlisle. Now,

£250 a-year, according to my reckoning, is, not 1s. per day, but 13s. 9d. per day, and by what kind of arithmetic this is made a "vanishing quantity" till it becomes a shilling per day, I cannot understand. I can only conclude that arithmetical calculations form no part of the curriculum needed for the Dissenting title of doctor of divinity, and that one who makes such treacherous statements is as much entitled as anyone else to be called "a successor of Judas." The present Dean of Carlisle, Dr. Close, the former incumbent of Cheltenham, is too well known to need any defence from me; for those who have watched his course, and who know what he is doing at Carlisle, will never suspect him of paying a curate a shilling a-day. What is more, curates are not so foolish as to accept such a payment. I know curacies now vacant of £120 a-year and upwards, and each of the three curates now at work in my parish has £120. A fourth had £150, and has now become minister of a legal district, which a private gentleman has generously endowed with £300 a-year; and I suppose Dr. Parker is ignorant enough to regard these as "State-paid clergy." If anyone will recommend me good and able curates, I can always find them £120 a-year; and, therefore, a shilling a-day curate is a visionary biped which I never expect to meet with, and which exists only in Dr. Parker's brain, as an excuse for the manifestation of a very cheap sympathy with the weak and oppressed. To make sure of the real state of the case, however, I wrote to the Very Rev. the Dean of Carlisle; and by this morning's post I have a reply, which I will give you:—"Deanery, Carlisle, Jan. 16, 1866. Dear sir,—For three centuries there have been monstrous abuses in cathedral chapters. At present, thank God, no such reproach holds against us. We have received back so much of our lands as the Commissioners thought equivalent to the income assigned by Parliament, and the story of Hesket and its curate is quite fictitious. The Commissioners endowed the cathedral itself with a portion of the tithes of Hesket for its repairs, but we are not now benefitted in any way by Hesket. The perpetual curate always had about £120 per annum; but it will this year be augmented to £300 per annum for the future, out of the property which was ours. Our lands will yield £12,000 per annum eventually to the Commissioners, for the augmentation of these small livings over and above what they have settled upon us,—Yours very truly, F. Close." I ask you, what truth is there in Dr. Parker's statements?—(Cheers.) We find, then, that the 1s. per day curate of Hesket turns

out to be in the enjoyment of at least £250 a-year, and henceforth will have £300 and house, &c., equal to £350 a-year. How many Nonconformist ministers would think this a good income? What says the minister of Broadmead Chapel, Bristol, in his tract, *The Cry of the Labourer?* "A few only of our ministers in large towns receive adequate incomes. Even most of them, and nearly all in our small towns and villages, are badly remunerated. In the list of churches, (*i.e.*, chapels) in almost any association, we can point out church after church whose pastor receives only £60 per annum, while many do not receive £40, and are compelled to seek assistance from some benevolent fund. Most of these ministers are educated, and able, and all useful and holy men: many have large families. Sickness still further reduces their scanty means, and teaches them to live by faith indeed. Old age finds them paupers; the scanty charity of a few friends is their only refuge from the union." Again, in the *Dissenting Christian's Penny Magazine*, October, 1849, we read, "I can assure you that there is not a common labourer, nor sailor, nor weaver, that walks your streets, who is half so distressed about the necessaries of life as many of your respectable-looking (Dissenting) ministers. This is the case, too, with ministers who have the professed affection of their people, whose labours are acknowledged to be abundant, faithful, and successful, and whose congregations consist of considerable numbers. Many individuals there are in their churches and congregations who are laying up for themselves treasures on earth, and others who pride themselves on their appearance or possessions, who do not give twenty shillings a-year for the support of their much-praised minister." The Rev. John Angell James says, "They love their minister dearly with their lips, but hate him as cordially with their pockets. They treat him as they would wild beasts, which are tamed into submission by hunger, and keep him humble by keeping him poor. It is curious to hear how some persons will entreat of God to bless the minister in his basket and his store, while, alas! poor man, they have taken care that his basket shall be empty, and his store nothingness itself," &c., &c. Well might the Rev. A. Mursell, Baptist minister, say, "There is not a more brow-beaten, abused, and overborne set of men out of slavery than some of the Dissenting ministers in country places. They become the mere tools of one or two rich or well-to-do men, whose ignorance is only to be exceeded by their arrogance." (Lecture, July 12, 1863, entitled "Notice to Quit.") The minutes of the 93rd annual assembly of New Connexion of

General Baptists, held in North Parade Chapel, Halifax, June 24-6, 1862, (and printed by Winks and Son, of Leicester) show that out of 148 chapels, no less than 54 had no minister, and that in several of the others, unless a great alteration took place, and more funds were raised, the ministers would be starved out. I cannot here give full particulars, but if Dr. Parker will peruse them, he will see that there is plenty to do amongst his brother Baptists without going out of his way to abuse the dignitaries of our National Church, or touching upon the stipends of our curates. The fact is, there must be in the best-regulated Church inequalities as to income and qualifications. I have read somewhere of a wag who once represented the candidate at a Marylebone election as promising that he would do his utmost to have the planets placed on an equality as regards size and distance from the sun; and who, on the subject of primogeniture, would say, "I consider that no person has a right to come into the world before anybody else." When these views are embodied in an Act of Parliament, then, but not till then, we may expect to find equality of talent and remuneration. It is no new thing to me to meet with shameful misrepresentations of episcopal incomes. But, now that no bishop save London, Durham, or Winchester, has more than £5,000 a-year, no further reduction is needed. Our episcopal rulers need an income suitable to their dignity and requirements. Many of them devote, not only the revenues of their see, but also large private fortunes to the service of the Church; and this even in the rich bishoprics. For instance, Durham has often been invidiously named on account of its ancient large income. But take the case of a former diocesan, Bishop Barrington, who at one time received £17,000 per annum;—was it appropriated to his own private advantage? No; his London agent, the late Chas. Buller, Esq., a Roman Catholic, asserted that through his own hands had passed more than £100,000 for charitable purposes, besides the vast sums which the Bishop himself expended in his diocese and elsewhere. So, in the memoir of the late Bishop (Stanley) of Norwich, the following entry occurs in his private journal; "I accepted the bishopric with a determination not to make it a source of profit to myself or patronage for others, it being my unshaken determination to expend, not only the whole proceeds of the emoluments on the diocese, but the greater part of my private fortune also, saving little or nothing more than it was my wish to do at Adder-

ley; that with regard to patronage, no motives of private interest, or mere connexion, or formal friendship, should sway me in giving preferments." These resolutions were adhered to to the very letter. So the apostolic Bishop Wilson, who occupied the see of Sodor and Man, twice refused translations to a bishopric of greater value, declaring that he would not desert his wife because she was poor. Some time since I had put into my hands a paper headed "Nice Pickings, published for the perusal of those who pay the taxes," which stated that the Bishop of Lichfield received £12,590 annually, with 48 livings. The statements are false in every respect, and put forth in order to deceive the people. It is intended, without actually asserting it, to lead people to believe that bishops are paid out of the taxes, instead of from lands and endowments attached to their sees, the rentals of which are received by the Ecclesiastical Commissioners; next, that the Bishop has £12,590 a-year, instead of £4,500, and lastly that the livings are held by the Bishop, instead of being merely in his gift, as rewards for the laborious, pious, and useful curates of his diocese. We know that the amiable, learned, and benevolent Bishop of Lichfield consecrates his wealth to the service of England's Church, and allows one of his worthy sons to occupy a schoolmaster's position, lest it should be thought by any that his right rev. father was guilty of nepotism.—(Applause.) Only a few months ago, the *Liberator* had a strong article on the late Primate of Ireland, Lord John George Beresford, Archbishop of Armagh, and the sums he had received from the Church. Yet, where could be found a more princely man than he was? During the time of the Irish famine, every curate was kept at his post, and all deficiencies in the salaries paid by the Archbishop, and such was his princely benevolence that Dr. Whately, the Archbishop of Dublin, declared at a public meeting that not only the whole income of the primacy, but much of his private income besides, was freely devoted to the interests of our beloved Church. The characteristic of the English people is fair play; and I am sure that they only need to have facts plainly placed before them, and they will treat with deserved contempt the false statements of interested agitators. And as to the *Liberator* newspaper, I consider it a great compliment when any one is attacked in its columns. Dr. Parker seems to have felt a little uneasy on the next point. The maintenance of the grace of Christian charity and fraternal relations of clergy and Nonconformist ministers, might be jeopardized; he knows that discord is one of the works of the Devil, and that ever since the Evil One

sowed discord between God and man, he has done all in his power to foster discord between man and man in nations, societies, political parties, families, and churches. Some, therefore, would regard him as Satan's agent, engaged in disseminating strife, and hindering the exercise of peace, harmony, and charity. Very true: how is this estimate to be set aside? Why, he vainly attempts it by a few illustrations of "a fine feeling of cordiality!" The Ven. Archdeacon Daubeny, because he believed in episcopal ordination, and therefore could not consistently recognise Dissenting ministers, was the first great sinner. Next comes a late Lord Bishop of Bristol, who held the same view. Can we wonder at this? He was only consistent with sound Churchmanship. The authority that is sufficient for Dissenters is not regarded as sufficient for us, so what is the use of pretending the contrary? We know what a clergyman is; but what is a Dissenting minister? I know not. Is he one chosen by any number of persons as their teacher? Is he invested with Presbyterian ordination in any form? or is he a man at all? for females often hold forth, in direct opposition to 1 Cor. xiv., 34-5.; 1 Tim. ii., 11. Who then can wonder that a real bishop should repudiate such claims? Then, too, the Rev. Isaac Taylor, M.A., the Ven. Archdeacon Sandford, the Rev. J. W. Brooks, late Vicar of Clarebro', Retford, and even the Rev. J.C. Ryle, have been compelled, like myself, to remark upon the evil workings of violent political Dissenters, and these are brought forward as specimens of "a fine feeling of cordiality." But Dr. Parker did not say what violence of language and what uncharitableness of conduct had extorted these statements. Let me, therefore, supply this deficiency, and briefly reverse the picture for a few minutes, and show how true it is that "some Nonconformists are widening the breach between the Church clergy and themselves," for the bitter language applied to us by some must provoke counter observations.—(Cheers.) "The ministers of the Church of England play fast and loose with words," says the Rev. G. B. Johnson, Dissenting minister of Birmingham; "to do so was to commit frauds which only a corrupt church could call 'pious,' and they who did it were liars, whom the sanctity of religion did not appal, and murderers, whom the destruction of souls did not deter." There is a fine feeling of cordiality for you!—(Laughter and cheers.) Again, what says the Rev. A. Mursell, of Leicester, (*Patriot*, May 14, 1854). "Even in the presence of sovereigns my cry should be, — in the name of the great cause of liberty—Down with the Church of England." There's a fine feeling of cordiality for you.—(Laughter and

cheers.) Again—"The Act of Uniformity shuts up men to this alternative,—perjury or secession." (Ipswich Bicentenary Committee, 1862). There's a fine feeling of cordiality for you.—(Increased laughter.) Again—"Pure Dissent requires to be kept up in minds of a certain class by a keen hatred, and now and then a little round abuse, of the Church." (*Eclectic Review* 1832. p. 144.) There's a fine feeling of cordiality for you.—(Prolonged laughter and cheers.) Again—"Of three-fourths of these (the English clergy) it may be remarked without the smallest breach of charity that they are practically ignorant of the great spiritual principles of the Gospel, the purifying power of which they had never felt, nor even professed to feel."—(Mr. Miall.) There's a fine feeling of cordiality for you.—(Laughter.) Again,—"The Ecclesiastical Establishment works mischief on the souls of men—a mischief deep as hell, and durable as eternity."—(Anti-state Church Society Tracts I. 269.) There's a fine feeling of cordiality for you.—(Laughter.) Again,—"Mr. Binney, of London, has said that the Church of England destroys far more souls than it saves; and, for my part, I heartily believe it."—(Rev. J. Gawthorne, Derby.) There's a fine feeling of cordiality for you.—(Laughter.) Again: "The Church of England is an impious pretence. I wish to God that I had this evening to preach the funeral sermon of that hoary harlot mother Church, which is a blast and nuisance upon the earth, both black, bloody, and useless."—(Mr. Ed. Miall.) There's a fine specimen and feeling of cordiality for you.—(Prolonged laughter.) It would be easy to multiply such examples; but I forbear. Let me give Dr. Parker a text for his next Sunday' s sermons viz., Matt. vii, 3. "Why beholdest thou the mote that is in thy brother's eye, but considerest not the beam that is in thine own eye?" And again Rom. xii. 18. "If it be possible, as much as lieth in you, live peaceably with all men." Next followed a local matter, respecting which I will only say that my ministerial experience has proved that the Nonconformist ministers often shamefully neglect their sick members, and leave them unvisited and unassisted, even when in want of the necessaries of life. Many such are indebted to our Church for the blanket to cover them, the food to nourish them, and the medical attendance and medicines needed by them. And right well do the poor know where to apply in case of distress. Were it not for our rectories, parsonages, and vicarages, and the charity flowing from them, what, I confidently ask, would be the condition of the poor? Really the "modesty," of Dr. Parker, is extraordinary! Dissenters are to separate them-

selves from our communion,—to revile our Prayer Book—denounce our teaching,—and yet demand that we shall be their relieving officers, and give them money when in need. If those who belong to other parishes, and to a wealthy Dissenting congregation, are to be helped also by the clergy, such will get help from both Dissenters and Churchmen, and so be better off than our own members. Would not this be a premium upon Dissent? Surely the rector of any parish can exercise his voluntary principle, and bestow his own money without any dictation from Dr. Parker. The attack upon the British and Foreign Bible Society, as not a strictly Church society, and not within my present limits, I pass by. Believing its object the greatest and most divine that man can propose, I am glad to act as an hon. local secretary, in conjunction with two Nonconformists. If they were of Dr. Parker's stamp, which happily they are not, I should imitate the example of the Preston clergy, and have my own meeting apart, and for this others would be responsible. "With all my heart I pray that the benediction of God may rest perpetually on that honoured institution the Bible Society."—(Hear, hear.) Further, it is a sign of self-sufficiency when no respect is shown to age, and past experience, and the testimony of antiquity is dishonoured. In religion what is new is not true, and what is true is not new, but as old as Christ and his Apostles. The old Apostles are our Apostles—the old truths are those we proclaim. And it is generally a ground of thankfulness when for generations past the same property has been held and handed down unimpaired—and when the same good old time-honoured truths have been handed down to posterity. Churchmen reflect with pleasure that the dying expressions of the martyr Polycarp, the friend and disciple of St. John, are still chanted in our solemn liturgy; (Ecc. Smym. Epist. de S. Polyc. Mart. 14)—that the words of Clement, the fellow-labourer of St. Paul, are still heard in our sacred services (Clem. ad. Corinth. Ep. 1, 59); and that, while these services are filled with the very forms of expression which fell from inspired lips, they contain expressions more ancient than the most ancient of liturgies. But, unfortunately, Dr. Parker has no such antecedents, either as to family, or as to religion, or as to liturgy, to boast of. The ministers of the primitive Church were sent forth by the heads of the Church, as the clergy are now. And John Angell James, in his "Church Members' Guide," (p. 12,) admits that there can be found in the inspired history no Scripture authority for a congregation

choosing their own minister. And, as to that dependent thing called Independency, it was utterly unknown in Apostolic times. Well, what then? As antiquity is against Dr. Parker, of course Dr. Parker must be against antiquity. So he makes the sapient remark—"Is truth established by mere time? Then how truthful must be the Devil. Has the Church of England existed eighteen centuries? The Devil has existed since before the creation of Adam. Time can never make falsehood true, or make truth a lie." Well, who said it could? A true Church may also be an old Church; and a Church originated by Christ is certainly no worse than even an older system originated by the Evil One himself, and who has been styled the first Nonconformist, because he refused to conform to God's will, and instigated others to do the same. Is Dr. Parker prepared to admit such an ancestry? Is it any better than that of Simon Magus, Simon Peter, or Judas? But this I will say. We have our pulpits, and we will guard them. We have our church-yards, and we will keep them from intrusion. We have our colleges, and as Dissenters keep the rule of their colleges in their own hands, we will do the same; even while we liberally give Dissenters the educational advantages we enjoy. The grammar schools, endowed by the piety of Churchmen, shall not be handed over to those who seek the destruction of that Church to which the donors belonged, and those who refuse to conform to the regulations of any society, by such refusal exclude themselves. When Dr. Parker has banished the differing opinions of contending sectaries, it will be quite time enough to turn his attention to the differing opinions of Churchmen. Nonconformists differ most widely, some having seven sacraments and others none at all, some baptising infants and others only adults, some believing a Trinity and others the reverse, some having ordained preachers and others non-ordained and women preachers; but we Churchmen, whatever our minor differences, do agree as to one baptism, one faith in the Triune Godhead, one episcopal form of rule, one common Book of Common Prayer, and we have creeds and standards of faith to appeal to. The very Act of Uniformity, which our opponents condemn, enables us to secure a great measure of uniformity in doctrine and ritual. We must trust to the good sense of the people of England to condemn all extremes of ritualism, and all such mummeries as the little Prayer Book. We have the real thing in our Prayer Book. We want no mockery. In a season of real life and activity, some excesses will be manifested by a few individuals, but a

re-action afterwards takes place, and good generally results when excesses in either doctrine or ritual are toned down. The Church, as a church, witnesses for the truth and against error, and her truth is no more impaired by the nonsensical mockeries of the odd deacon Brother Ignatius, or the heresies of a Colenso, than the Church of Christ, in apostolic days, was marred by the covetousness and treachery of Judas. If report be true, all kinds of neologian and rationalistic errors are being inculcated among Dissenters. One of them, the author of "Our heavenly Home," "God is Love," and other well-known books, writes: "We but testify what we have seen and heard when we say that even in the sermons of the most noted of the Tractarian clergy, the name and work of Christ are more frequently to be found than in the pulpit ministrations of many Dissenting ministers, who have acquired some reputation among the bodies to whom they belong. Instead of, like Paul, glorying in the cross of Christ, they seem ashamed of the cross. Instead of being able to say with that devoted servant of the Saviour. 'We preach not ourselves, but Jesus the Lord,' they do preach themselves, and not Jesus the Lord. It is their own talents or acquirements as intellectual men, not the person or work of the Redeemer, they hold up to the admiration of their hearers. Who, then, shall wonder that there is so much coldness and lifelessness in our Dissenting churches? How can we feel surprised if we see all spirituality languishing and expiring before our eyes, and Nonconformist places of worship, in the great majority of cases, so thinly attended? You may listen for weeks to some of these Independent and Baptist preachers, without meeting with any distinct recognition of the work of the Holy Spirit as a personal agent." And as to the Church of England being Popish, what could be more untrue? And how can any one talk such nonsense? In the reign of Queen Mary, the English nation was Popish, but in the reign of Victoria, under our National Church, how do matters stand? Let the census returns of Mr. Horace Mann, for 1861, reply. The Roman Catholic worshippers in England and Wales were 610,786, or 3½ per cent., which was nearly 2 per cent. less than the small section of Dissenters represented by the Baptist preacher Mr. Spurgeon. Besides, who fought for, and secured, our Protestant liberties, but the members and martyrs of England's Church, such as our Ridleys, Cranmer, Hooper, Ferrar, Latimer, and others, giants in theology, saints in life, and martyrs in death? The precious privileges enjoyed by Dissenters are all owing to

England's Churchmen. Yes ! for every page of the Dissenter's Bible, as well as three-fourths of every Dissenter's library, they are indebted to Churchmen. Often has the Church of England suffered persecution, but she has never died, and never will while time shall last. She came forth from the fires of Oxford, Gloucester, and Smithfield, &c., as gold refined with fire. She emerged from the dust and ashes of the Commonwealth more precious than ever in the sight of her possessors. And every fresh persecution will only cause her to take deeper root in the hearts and affections of an attached and devoted people. In conclusion, allow me to say that I have no fears for the future of our beloved Church of England, and the attacks made upon her will do her no harm. A Church which (as good Matthew Henry says) is "twisted in" with the very constitution of our country, which marries 84 per cent. of the population, and commits to the grave 70 per cent.; a Church which educates 78 per cent. of the day scholars, and possesses 83 per cent., of the day schools; which is ministerial to 42 and missionary to 25 per cent. more, of the population; a Church which is the friend of the people, and the ally of the throne; which, (as Sir W. Clay and the Liberation Society state) between 1831-51, contributed nearly six millions of money to build and restore churches, parsonages, and schools, and has been even more active since 1851; a Church which is cemented by the blood of martyrs; a Church whose articles and creeds (our enemies being judges) are scriptural and sound, whose formularies of public worship are satisfying to the truly spiritual worshipper, whose humble confessions breathe forth the desires of every true penitent, whose *Te Deum* and *Gloria in Excelsis* are worthy of being sung by the angelic choir above, whose steeple towers and spires are the chief ornaments of town and country; a Church which has nurtured the greatest master-minds of Britain, and furnished the richest supply of classical, scientific, and theological learning to the literature of England; which is the great bulwark against Romanism; the great rampart against infidelity; the great upholder of true religion; the great pillar of the throne; the great protectress of the altar; the great friend and supporter of true liberty and freedom at home and abroad;—a Church which is being increasingly prospered by her great Head,—for such a church there is no fear, if we be true to our responsibilities, our faith, our country, our Church, and our God. Then let us be watchful, active, and decided. "There are times when silence is crime. Men have to study, not themselves only, but their children and

posterity at large. You are fighting not only your own battle, but the battle of your children. Our fathers troubled themselves for us ; they have left us precious legacies ; their memory shall be our inspiration. We meet at their hallowed tombs, and take up the vows which fell from their dying lips. We would lay our hand on God's Word; by that we stand, by that we live, by that we will die. Our debt to history we will cheerfully pay. We can only do it in one way, and that is by paying it to posterity ; knowing that we have but a short day to work in, we will work with all our might. Let there be no shrinking, no cowardice, every man can do something ; every woman can speak a gentle word ; every child can be taught what is right and what is wrong. Let us pay our obligations to history by being faithful to the present. We are not sprung out of the dust and stones of yesterday. We are accompanied by a cloud of witnesses—

We're the sons of sires that baffled
Crowned and mitred tyranny ;
They defied the stake and scaffold
For their birthright, so will *We*."

(Loud and prolonged applause.)

The Rector was received with cheers on rising to propose a vote of thanks to the lecturer. He said it appeared to him that Mr. Massingham had taken Dr. Parker's lecture sentence by sentence, and pulled it thoroughly to pieces. He had answered every objection; he had proved Dr. Parker's assertions to be at once false and uncharitable, and had actually cut away the ground from under his feet. —(Hear, hear.) It seemed to him that he had thoroughly exhausted the subject. There was only one remark of Dr. Parker's which he had not noticed, and that was one in which there was some sense. Towards the close of his lecture he remarked that he could honour a consistent Churchman, and he could honour a thorough-going Nonconformist, but there was what he was pleased to call a thing between the two extremes, which was neither Establishmentarian nor Nonconformist, and that he could not respect.— —(Hear, hear.) Now he was afraid that it must be allowed that a great number of the people could not be called honest Dissenters nor honest Church people ; they could not fairly lay claim to a share in any religion. If there were any such there that night, he hoped what they had heard would enable them to form an opinion on the right side.—(Cheers.) He would venture to offer them this short piece of advice, which he need hardly tell them was not his own—to stand in the ways, and see and ask for the old paths, and walk therein, and then he thoroughly believed that they would find rest to their souls.—(Cheers.)

The motion was seconded by the Rev. J. CRONSHAW.

In acknowledgement, Mr. Massingham, after expressing his thanks, referred to a letter he had received during the day from a friend who conveyed his thanks for the lecture of the preceding evening, but expressed a doubt as to Mr. Massingham's accuracy in putting the London University as a Dissenting Establishment, adding that some Churchmen took degrees there. Mr. Massingham said he knew it. At the Dublin University some Roman Catholics and some Dissenters took degrees—any one could go to a Church University. Nevertheless, the London University, where Roman Catholic priests and Dissenters of various kinds took degrees, was instituted specially for Dissenters, not for the Church of England. He knew some members of the Church of England went there, as members of Dissenting bodies went to Church of England establishments.—The Rev. P. HAINS moved a vote of thanks to the Chairman, and the Rev. T. F. FERGIE seconded it.—The motion was cordially passed, and after the doxology and benediction, the proceedings terminated shortly before eleven o'clock.

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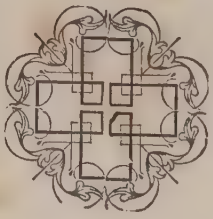

THE POSITION OF THE EVANGELICAL CLERGY IN REFERENCE TO THE BOOK OF COMMON PRAYER;

BEING

A LECTURE

DELIVERED IN ST. GEORGE'S HALL, BRADFORD,

JANUARY 9th, 1866,

BY THE

REV. H. A. MITTON, M.A.,

Incumbent of St. Barnabas', Heaton.

IN

ANSWER TO DR. PARKER,

Minister of Cavendish Street Chapel, Manchester.

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A LECTURE.

Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen,

You have been invited, on a previous occasion by Dr. Parker, to consider the reasons why a large number of Englishmen do not conform to the Established Church of the country, and accept the Book of Common Prayer. To-night you are invited to consider the reasons why a large and influential body of clergy, holding evangelical opinions, are found ready, not only to conform, but to declare their unfeigned assent and consent to all that is contained in that book.

The subject is one of great importance. The work of Evangelical Clergy is conspicuous. It is a matter of the deepest moment to themselves and others, that their position should not be ambiguous. I will, for my own part, admit that if such charges as are now continually brought against them could be substantiated, then it would become their duty as honest men, to quit their position in the Church, yes, even though it were at the cost of leaving father and mother, houses and lands, all that is most dear in life, because it would be for Christ's sake and the Gospel's.

On the other hand, so fully convinced am I, that these charges cannot be substantiated; that I appear before you to-night not merely to claim a *pitiful toleration*, but boldly to assert that our position in the Church is a thoroughly intelligible, a perfectly consistent one throughout.

Our plea is not "put me into one of the priest's offices that I may eat a piece of bread," but as firmly holding the great doctrines of the Gospel we claim admittance into the ministry of the Church of England—because we believe that she is a *Gospel* Church—and that a Gospel ministry is that which has been bequeathed to England by the work of our glorious Reformation.

And here at the very outset, a question of some interest arises. You have, in effect, been told by Dr. Parker, that the doctrines of the Prayer Book are as nearly as possible, if not altogether, the doctrines of the Church of Rome. Then, I ask, what was the Reformation about? Was it merely to make Henry VIII. pope instead of the reigning pontiff? That was done indeed, during his life, but the Reformation then could scarcely be said to have begun. I say, did Ridley, and Latimer, and Hooper, and Taylor, and Cranmer, and a noble army of martyrs less distinguished in name, dare even to die for doctrines differing scarcely the shadow of a shade from those of the corrupt church they had abjured? I shall, I trust, this night be enabled to give a full answer to that question.

Now, my friends, let me just say a few words, before I enter upon the express subject of my lecture. I am not here now to *speak against* Nonconformists or Nonconformity. My quarrel is with Dr. Parker. I am not going to mince words, or pretend to feelings which I have not. He shall not, if I can help it, find me one of those MILK-AND-WATER brethren for whom he expressed so much contempt the other night. I intend openly and honestly to fight him now and hereafter, until either he or I can fight no more. He has brought against the Evangelical Clergy (and mark, by 'Evangelical Clergy,' I mean all those who, though differing perhaps in minor points, yet fully *preach*, and to the best of their power, *practise*, the great central doctrines of the Gospel,) I say he has brought against *them* charges of immorality and dishonesty. He says of them: "They know the truth, and preach it, and yet they stand by a book which directly contravenes many of the doctrines which they point out." He has, moreover, informed his audience on high authority, (that of an "EX-clergyman,") that the Evangelical Clergy have "*two consciences*," (with that I don't quarrel, believing it impossible to have too much of a good thing,) and he terms the ultra-ritualistic party in the Church, "men who do not trifle with holy vows."

Now I doubt not, some of my friends—Churchmen—will say, on hearing this, "Why do you take any notice of such charges; better treat them with contempt; it is undignified to meet them." The objection is a reasonable one. But I think the case stands thus: Suppose you are one day entering the door of your own house. A man across the street who knows nothing about you shouts, "Hallo! there is a thief! That house is not his; he has gone in to steal!"

Why you don't run across and say to him, "My dear Sir, don't think so badly of me, pray. It *is* my house. Come with me, and I'll shew you the title-deeds; and then when I've proved that it is so, perhaps you'll stay with me for a few days, and honour me with your friendship." You don't do that. True; but suppose at the same time, a number of respectable people are passing, who do not know you, and as the man goes shouting on, they begin to look one at another, and say, 'Is he a thief? We'd better fetch a policeman.' You turn round to them and say quietly, 'My good people, it is all right. This is my house. I'm Mr. So-and-so. I've lived here ten years,' &c. And then these honest folks call out to the accuser, 'For shame of yourself, calling an honest man a thief. Let us hear no more of it. It's just because you haven't as good a house yourself,' &c. Ladies and Gentlemen, though my Lecture is an answer TO Dr. Parker, it is FOR you. I am not about to deal merely in assertions. Every assertion shall be *proved*, and I beg your kind and patient attention to all and everything I have now to say. For the sake of clearness, I will just state the plan I intend to pursue.

I. I shall examine Dr. Parker's charges one by one as they occur, honestly and fairly giving his own words where necessary; and as all his charges lie against the *offices* of the Prayer Book, I shall, in the first place, endeavour to make these offices *answer* for themselves, and for the present almost entirely omit reference to other parts of the Prayer Book.

II. I shall shew what the true teaching of the Church is as authoritatively set forth in the XXXIX. Articles.

III. I shall notice, and briefly refute, some of Dr. Parker's minor charges and statements, and conclude with a few general observations.

I. I begin then by a few quotations.

(1) "The Prayer Book is not to be pronounced upon indiscriminately. An exception is to be made of almost the entire devotional services. We all know the beauties of the Liturgy. But I should no more think of endorsing any book in its entirety, simply because it contained many noble and inspiriting passages, than I should think of caressing the hand of an assassin because of the jewellery that sparkles on his fingers."

(2) "I am about to charge the Prayer Book not with mere crudities of arrangement, or infelicities of expression, but with offences against *God*, against reason, against society, against truth; and if these be proved, I shall expect every convinced man to announce himself a resolute and conscientious Nonconformist."

These are his words. And, first of all, he has revived a threadbare charge against the clergy, and one which has been often effectually answered. He glances at the events of 1662, when 2000 (?) puritan clergy either resigned, or were ejected from their livings. He states that this was because they could not conscientiously declare their "unfeigned assent and consent to all and everything contained in the Book of Common Prayer," and further states (what is true) that the Prayer Book is the same *now* as it was then. He then says,

"If its doctrines were unscriptural in 1662, they are unscriptural to-day. If its offices offended tender consciences in the seventeenth century, they may equally offend tender consciences in the nineteenth. I cannot see but that the men who accept the Prayer Book *ex animo*, with mind, soul, and full affection, are as guilty of the ejectment of the 2000 puritans as the bishops of the time of the second Charles."

This is, I scruple not to say, a dishonest statement. It is impossible that a man like Dr. Parker should not be acquainted with the true circumstances of the case. The idea intended to be conveyed evidently is, that conformity to the Prayer Book was the ONLY thing which prevented those puritans remaining in the Church, and that *we*, the clergy of this day, stand in exactly the same position in this matter, as they did. It will be enough simply to remind you that every one of those puritans had sworn to keep the *Solemn League and Covenant*, with his "hands lifted up to the Most High God." And what were the provisions of that Covenant? One of them was, that they would, without respect of persons, endeavour to *extirpate* Prelacy, i. e. church government by Archbishops, Bishops, their Chancellors and Commissaries, Deans and Chapters, Archdeacons, and in fact all other church officers EXCEPT THEMSELVES. It is to be remembered, also that great numbers of these men had never been episcopally *ordained*, but were put into the places they then occupied, by a usurping government. Now, upon the restoration of Charles II., the Church of England was restored to its original condition. Bishops were replaced, and the puritans were not merely called upon to subscribe to the Prayer Book, they were, at the *same time*, called upon to take this oath:

"I do declare that I hold there lies no obligation upon *me*, or on any other person for the oath commonly called The Solemn League and Covenant, to endeavour any change or alteration of government, either in Church or State: and that the same was in itself an unlawful oath, and imposed upon the subjects of this realm against the known laws and liberties of this kingdom."

That was the bitter pill they could not swallow. In addition to this those of them that had not been Episcopally ordained were compelled to submit to re-ordination.

Now I ask, have *we* ever sworn to extirpate bishops? Why our cry is now all through the Church: "More Bishops!!"

That oath which they had to take *in addition to subscribing to the Prayer Book* only lasted for 20 years, then it ceased. It was supposed that the case of all those who had sworn to the League and Covenant would by that time have been disposed of. I say, then, how could they have continued for a moment in their livings on such conditions? They were honest men, and they did not. But remember, they were simply "unprofitable servants," they did that which it was their duty to do.

This is indeed merely an *outwork* of Dr. Parker's, but it will give you some idea of the kind of thing we have to deal with to-night. The key-note of it all is—PARTIAL STATEMENT!

Let us now examine his objections to the Baptismal Offices. I desire to handle this subject with all reverence, for it is a solemn one. I would remember that Baptism is no invention of man, but the express command of our Lord. I might almost say His *last* command. As He at the beginning of His ministry said, "except a man (anyone) be born of water and of the Spirit, he cannot enter into the kingdom of God."—so after the resurrection, and immediately before the Ascension, He said, "Go ye and teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. He that believeth and is baptized shall be saved, and he that believeth not shall be damned."

Now mark the studied moderation of the Church in dealing with this command. She has declared, judging from these words, that Baptism is "*generally* necessary to salvation." Not ABSOLUTELY, mind, as the word must have been had she taught the doctrines imputed by Dr. Parker.

The Church *nowhere* says that an unbaptized person is on that account alone unsaved. I challenge Dr. Parker to bring any proof of this. On the contrary, I could quote passages from the writings of the Reformers shewing that they had the highest hope of the salvation of unbaptized infants; but forasmuch as Christ has made the rule, the Church deems it mutiny to make any unauthorized declaration on their part: just in the same way that an officer has no right to call any man a soldier of the British Army, whatever be

his valour, until he has been duly entered on the regimental roll, taken the oath of obedience, and donned the Queen's uniform. In these things, I say, the Church remembers those other words of Christ: "Ye are my *friends* if ye do whatsoever things I command you." This is an important statement, because it is the key which will be found to unlock some apparent difficulties. I have put it as briefly as possible, and shall proceed to examine specific objections.

First, there is an attack on the sponsorial system. You know that in Baptism, the godfathers and godmothers do, in the name of the child, *before* it is baptised, make solemn promises, (not in their own name,—in that of the child,) whereupon Baptism is administered. Dr. Parker joins in the puritan objection to this matter of pro-parentage. At the Savoy conference, the bishops explained the matter thus:

> "What the Sponsors do for the Infant in this case, the child himself is truly said to do, as in the courts of this kingdom daily, the infant does answer by his guardians."

Upon this he says,

> "It must be a dull eye that fails to perceive a vital difference between a court of law and the court of God; between material property and moral character; between an hereditary interest in an estate, and man's relation to the kingdom of heaven. It was unfair, therefore, and unscriptural, to draw any parallel between a guardian-at-law, and a sponsor at the baptismal font."

There is a plausibility about these words which requires to be exposed. They will not bear examination for a moment. They amount to saying that an earthly relation or transaction cannot adequately represent a heavenly. "There is a vital difference between a Court of Law and the Church of God, between material property and moral charater, between an hereditary interest in an estate, and man's relation to the kingdom of God." True, in *one* sense there *is* a difference. They are not absolutely the *same* thing, but the *parallel* between them may be complete. Why the *whole Bible* is based on such parallels. Think of all the parables of Christ, all the epistles of St. Paul. For instance, think of the parable of the Prodigal Son: "Father, give me the portion of goods that falleth to me." There is the very thing, material property representing moral character. Or come to the illustration itself, i. e., the comparison of the proceedings of a court of law with those of the Church of Christ.

Look at the 7th of Romans, where the *earthly law* as regards divorce is used to illustrate the Christian's freedom from the bondage of the moral law. Again he says, "there is a vital difference between an hereditary interest in an estate, and man's relation to the kingdom of God." See Gal. iv. 1—3.

"Now I say, That the heir, as long as he is a child, differeth nothing from a servant, though he be lord of all; but is under tutors and governors until the time appointed of the father. Even so we, when we were children, were in bondage under the elements of the world: but when," &c.

Hundreds of other instances might be adduced, and to all of them Dr. P.'s words might be applied with equal force. Just think of the dilemma he would be in if those words about "a dull eye" were applied to the examples I have given.

As regards the express case of a proxy appearing in court for a minor, it is true that is not *literally* found in the Bible. No reasonable person will quarrel with me for it. Dr. P. would be hard set to find parallels for some of his own illustrations there. But we have the *principle* involved, i. e., the entering into a covenant with God for children, unable as yet with their own lips to assent unto it. Look at the 29th chapter of Deuteronomy, 10—13.

"Ye stand this day all of you before the Lord your God; your captains of your tribes, your elders, and your officers, with all the men of Israel, *your little ones*, your wives, and thy stranger that is in thy camp, from the hewer of wood to the drawer of thy water: that thou shouldest enter into covenant with the Lord thy God, and into his oath, which the Lord thy God maketh with thee this day."

I say was not that *sponsorship* of the clearest kind? Entering into covenant with God, and making with Him an oath for themselves and little ones?—even for *unborn children*, for it is implied in the same passage (v. 15) that they too were bound by this oath. All then that the Church contends for, as regards sponsorship is, that it is according to scripture principles, and, where rightly observed, of benefit both to sponsors and infant.

But now notice his objections to what is said of Baptism itself in the Prayer Book. Dr. Parker takes neatly out those words in the Catechism which form the answer to the question, "Who gave you this name?" "My godfathers and my godmothers, in my baptism wherein I was made a member of Christ, a child of God, and an inheritor of the kingdom of heaven." Upon these he remarks—

"This form of expression seems to me an insuperable difficulty. It attaches to the Sacrament of Baptism an efficacy for which I cannot find any

warrant in Scripture, for if by baptism an infant is made 'a member of Christ, a child of God, and an inheritor of the kingdom of heaven,' then Baptism takes the place of the Atonement itself, and anticipates a personal faith in the Son of God. Baptism is here declared to bring with it the ultimate results and the whole economy of redemption. Faith can get no further, love can soar no higher. Baptism is the inclusive and ultimate Sacrament; and he who is sprinkled from the font is raised to the highest elevation of the Christian character."

It really is hard to refrain from strong language on hearing such assertions as these. Why in this way the Bible itself might be shewn to contain the most pernicious doctrines. Look in 1 Peter, iii. 21. There we read, "Baptism saves us." What!! Baptism save us? Horrible discovery! But perhaps this statement may be explained by something in connexion with it. Let us read on then. "Baptism doth also now save us; not the putting away the filth of the flesh, but the answer of a good conscience toward God." O then Baptism *alone* doesn't save! There must be the answer of a good conscience too! In the name of justice and common sense, if this principle of interpretation be applied to the Bible, why not to the Prayer Book? Dr. Parker *has* applied it to the Prayer Book to suit his own ends, for he tries to prove his point about the *public* office of Baptism by referring to the *private* office. Read on then in the Catechism:

"What is required of persons to be baptised? Repentance, whereby they forsake sin, and Faith, whereby they stedfastly believe the promises of God made to them in that Sacrament. Why then are infants baptized, when by reason of their tender age they cannot perform them? Because they promise them both by their sureties; which promise, when they come to age, themselves are bound to perform."

Does not that alter the whole matter? But Dr. Parker, taking that one short passage out of the Catechism, separating it from its context, and I might say *refusing to notice* the obvious explanation which follows, has declared the doctrine of the Prayer Book as to Baptism to be that "Faith can get no farther, love can soar no higher." To be consistent with himself, he ought long ago to have treated the Bible as he told you the other night to treat the Prayer Book—"Cast it from him as an unclean thing."

Now, to my mind, these two answers in the catechism alone would be sufficient to settle this part of the controversy. How Dr. P. can say as he does, that the doctrine of the Prayer Book is that of "salvation by water," that it supersedes the Atonement, that "faith can get no further, love can soar no higher," &c., when it is here

plainly declared that Baptism is incomplete without *repentance* and *faith*, is a thing that I, with my "two consciences," fail to understand.

Here I would notice a remarkable and amusing plan pursued by Dr. Parker in his late lecture. It was not fair that the poor Church should have no one to defend her the other night, so with admirable generosity, Dr. P. himself personated a churchman, and replied to his own arguments, and then he became the mighty Dr. Parker again, and demolished himself. So that you see the Church was not wholly unrepresented. There is nothing like fair play.

And what were some of these Church defences? Why, an Archdeacon somewhere in Ireland had said that 'regeneration' meant nothing *inward*, but only ECCLESIASTICAL regeneration; and that the Church did not hold the doctrine of Baptismal Regeneration in its highest sense. Unhappy man! If he had been a *Fenian*, he could not have fared worse; nay, he would have come off better, for Dr. Parker *roasted him alive*. And many other airy gentlemen walked the stage, and in a pitiful voice pleaded for the Church, but it was their last confession—they were executed immediately. In fact, Dr. P. assumes, apparently, that whatever a churchman has written, bad or good, that is the authoritative voice of the Church. Now I can only say that if the Church rested on such defenders as Dr. P has quoted, and if their weapons were all I had to fight with, instead of appearing here to night, I should long ago have commenced a "strategic movement." I can only suppose that Dr. P. in his "diligent and immense study of this subject," has confined his attention to what I may term the Church's "works of fiction." There are many of them, and very poor stuff they are. I commend to him something a little more solid. He is about to commence a Rural visitation, for the purpose of delivering to the rustics and country clergy that able *Charge* which you heard the other night. I will gladly furnish him for the time with Dean Goode's *Rule of Faith*, and work *On Infant Baptism*, if he will accept them; and I do not doubt that the careful study of those works, aided by the pure country air, will effectually allay the mental excitement to is evidently under from his late sensational course of reading.

Now let me say at once, I disclaim all quibbling, all word-splitting or roundabout interpretation. Regeneration means *new birth*; a transference from a state of wrath to a state of grace. Those words of the Catechism—"a member of Christ, a child of God, and

an inheritor of the kingdom of heaven,"—do undoubtedly, I hold, convey a spiritual meaning. But the Catechism plainly says, that in the case of infants, they are *prospective*, not immediate.

"What is required of persons to be baptized? Repentance, whereby they forsake sin; and Faith, whereby they stedfastly believe the promises of God made to them in that Sacrament. Why then are infants baptized, when by reason of their tender age they cannot perform them? Because they promise them both by their sureties; which promise, when they come to age, *themselves are bound to perform*."

Mark the whole course of the Public Office of Baptism: after the opening prayers, the gospel, and solemn address to the god-parents, equally solemn questions are put to these god-parents, representing as they do the child. Time will not allow them all to be quoted, but I will give one as an illustration:

"Dost thou, in the name of this child, renounce the devil and all his works, the vain pomp and glory of the world, with all covetous desires of the flesh, so that thou wilt not follow nor be led by them? Ans.—I renounce them all."

It is then upon the *basis of these promises* that the infant in the *Public* Office is baptized and pronounced regenerate.

Let me conclude this part of my argument by an illustration, which I think enough to satisfy any reasonable mind about those words in the Catechism "wherein I was made," &c.

A man rents a piece of land under a kind and considerate landlord. He takes great interest in it; spends all his time in labouring upon and cultivating it to the best advantage. One day, while he is thus engaged, the landlord comes near. He says,

'It gives me great pleasure to see you make so good a use of this land; you must take a great interest in it.'

'I do, sir,' says the man, 'but I should take even more if I thought my pains would not be lost altogether to my family. It would be a great comfort to me if I thought my little boy there—pointing to a little fellow, say two years old,—were going to have it after me upon the same terms.'

'Well,' says the landlord, 'will you engage for him that he shall do well to it,—pay his rent, and bring him up honestly and soberly with this view?'

'Aye, that I will,' says the father.

'Then,' says the landlord, 'my little boy, *the land is yours*.'

Now mark, according to Dr. Parker's argument, when the land-

lord said, 'the land is yours,' he must have meant, It is *now* yours; you *have* possession of it; you are able to work it, and there is no reference to any conditions about it.

Again, I know the father of that child might have argued about the matter. He might have said, 'How do I know whether he will do this or not. I can't promise for him,' and so forth. But in the face of such obvious advantages, I doubt whether any parent ever would. And, although *without* that promise on the part of the landlord and father, the boy might have had the land all the same, if he had grown up steady and industrious, yet surely he would not have had, during the intervening time, that strong motive urging him to become so, that he had in the remembrance of his promise.

Consider, again, how the father would speak, continually, after this, to his son, and you will have an exact parallel with the words of the Catechism. 'My Son, what was it that you got that day the landlord came to talk with me in the field; a day I have so often told you of?' The ready answer of the boy would be, 'I got the land.' 'But what was it I promised for you then?' 'You promised that I should be regular in paying my rent, and do well to the land.' 'Don't you think, then, you should strive to do this?' 'I do, father, and to the best of my power, I will,' &c.

My friends, I leave you to apply this. I think it will be found to touch the case of (1) Sponsors, (2) Infant Baptism, and (3) those words of the Catechism so strongly denounced by Dr. Parker,—"Baptism, wherein I was," &c.*

But there is still another objection which, though it has no real weight, calls for examination. It is drawn from the Office for the *Private Baptism* of Infants. Here the minister offers up certain prayers taken from the Public Office, and baptizes the child. After which he says the following words:

"We yield Thee most hearty thanks, most merciful Father, that it hath pleased Thee to regenerate this infant with Thy Holy Spirit, to receive him for Thine own child by adoption, and to incorporate him into Thy holy Church. And we humbly beseech thee to grant, that as he is now made

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* This illustration is not in any way intended to represent the whole case of sponsorship or infant baptism. There are important points in each which are untouched by it. No illustration drawn from earthly matters can completely set forth spiritual truths.

partaker of the death of thy Son, so he may also be of his resurrection ; and that finally, with the residue of thy saints, he may inherit Thine everlasting kingdom through the same Thy Son Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen."

Upon this Dr. Parker says, "Here we have the result without the process;—neither Godfathers nor Godmothers have appeared;—neither renunciation nor promise has been made, yet the child is pronounced regenerate, and incorporated into God's holy Church." I say, "it must be a dull eye that fails to perceive a vital difference between the two cases." *Private* Baptism is administered in the prospect of immediate death ;—it can only lawfully be used at that time. The infant in this case is pronounced regenerate not *merely* because of the *outward* baptism, but because the Church has no doubt whatever as to *Infant Salvation. Only the Church, for reasons which I have already given, avoids any express declaration as to the state of* UNBAPTIZED *persons.* Of the state of an infant *baptized,* and dying before it has committed actual sin, there can be no doubt, and the Church does not hesitate to declare, in effect, that such of her members are saved.

Does Dr. Parker believe in infant salvation? I could quote words of his which, logically pressed, would prove he did *not*; but from the tenor of *other* words quite inconsistent with these, I should infer that he *did.*

Can there then be salvation without regeneration? Can any creature go to God that is not born of God?

But now, I would call your particular attention to what Dr. P. has said in this case about the absence of godfathers and godmothers. I consider his words here the most disingenuous in his whole lecture. He certainly conveyed the impression the other night—for I listened most carefully—that in no case were godfathers and godmothers required for any infant that had been *privately* baptized ; that if the infant recovered, it was simply brought to church, and the minister said all had been "well done," and there was nothing more This is entirely contrary to the fact. If the child supposed to be dying shall *not* die, then the parents are directed to bring it to the Church, not to be re-baptized—for as there is "one faith," so there is "one baptism,"—but, I might say, to make it impossible for any one to mistake the Church's doctrine on Baptism ; in order that godfathers and godmothers may appear, and in the name of the

child, make exactly the same promises as in the Public Office—make promises, i. e., of such things, as in the case of all persons *living to commit actual sin, are essential to salvation.*

At this point in his lecture, Dr. Parker quotes largely from those "works of fiction" to which I have before alluded. He is penetrated with horrôr at the subterfuges employed by the clergy on this point. But it seems the clergy are not the only persons to blame; "educated persons give their own meaning to the words," while the peasant understands them as Dr. P. does; and so he sublimely nnd elegantly concludes: "The cultivated squire smiles at the infatuation of the rustic."

I will say one word here, for it is a practical point. I have dealt for many years with Sunday scholars, examine them now every Sunday, see those of other clergymen and talk with them, but never yet met with one who had got that notion about Baptism which Dr. P. says the rustics have. Why? Because they learn the *whole* Catechism, and are not instructed only in what I may term Dr. Parker's "Elegant Extracts." The key to the interpretation of the Book of Common Prayer is *Common Sense.*

But we now come to an important point; one which the lecturer considers clearly to prove that those clergymen who deny baptismal regeneration, do practically believe it. The point is this: that unbaptized persons, including of course infants, are, by the rubric of the Burial Service, excluded from the use of that service in case of death. He says,

> "Look at the character of the excepted. Unbaptized infants, suicides, and excommunicated villains,—all classed together, all denied the privilege of Christian interment. The thief, the libertine, the drunkard, die, and are buried in 'sure and certain hope of the resurrection to eternal life.' An infant dies without baptism, and may be buried without one word of hope being breathed over his little grave, as if he had gone down to the eternal gloom. The self-murderer, and the unbaptized infant, are alike thrown into the grave like dross; while the man who died in a fit of drunkenness, is called, 'our dear brother here departed,' and is buried 'in sure and certain hope,' &c.

Now, with respect to that unhappy man, who, according to some authorities, is *always* dying in a drunken fit, and whom, according to the same authorities, the state priest appears to spend his *whole time* in burying, I will come to his case presently. First let us consider the exclusion from the Burial Service of the unbaptized infant, the suicide, or excommunicate person. I think this may be

explained by an illustration. Suppose that a member of the Church of England, a moral respectable person, were to go to a Baptist chapel, on the occasion of the administration of the Lord's Supper, and endeavour to join in that Sacrament with the members, he would be *refused*, on the ground that he was not a joined member of the body. Suppose, at the same time, a man who had just committed an atrocious crime were to present himself, I fully believe he too would be rejected, whether a member or not, on account of his *crime*. Would the churchman have a right to go away and say that, just because he was not a member of that body, he had been classed with a murderer, or fornicator, and that the Baptists there evidently thought that just because he was not a member of their body, he had no participation in the benefits of Christ's death? I need not explain this illustration; I will only say, that the *Church* is a society, having certain rules. I have already shown that the Church strongly holds that Baptism is a positive command of Christ; and, believing this, wisely and rightly refuses her outward privileges to those who, for themselves or their children, violate this rule. The Burial Service makes no difference to the dead, but its absence may make persons reflect, and hereafter seek to fulfil the law of Christ. And remember, (I believe this is not generally known,) that this rule is interpreted in the most liberal sense. Baptism is required—but not necessarily *church* Baptism, that of any Nonconformist body—is a sufficient title, in case of death, to the Burial Service.

But now, let us come to what is, after all, the great point, the Burial Service itself; one at which not only Nonconformists, but even many excellent church-people, have staggered, and believed the objections to it insuperable.

In the first place, I again disclaim all hair-splitting about words. I will not quibble about the term, "*the* resurrection," but at once concede that, though in the Burial Service there is no *certainty* expressed as to the future state of the departed, the words do imply STRONG HOPE.

It must be candidly admitted, that there is in the Church at this day a laxity of practice, in giving the benefit of this service almost indiscriminately, which I do not hesitate to term most injurious to the best interests of the Church and religion. But mark, with the *present practice* of the Clergy we have nothing now to do. Dr. P.'s own words are:

"Our position as Nonconformists relates to the Prayer Book *as an authoritative* record, and not to the practice of any priest or number of priests."

This is a valuable admission, for to my mind it settles the matter. Who are, by the rubric, excluded from the Burial Service? *Unbaptized, suicides, and excommunicates.* With the cases of the first, I have already dealt. With the second I need not deal. But the third class makes the whole thing clear; for when the Prayer Book was compiled it was the rule to excommunicate every person whose outward conduct was inconsistent with his Christian profession. Should Dr. Parker say, You have no right to pronounce words of strong hope over any person whatever, then, without arguing the matter, I should simply beg to disagree with him, and suggest that, in common fairness, he ought to point his indignation against great numbers of Nonconformist *funeral sermons*, (with which, mind, I find no fault, but) which certainly do express something more than hope as to the state of the departed brother.

Now, regard the matter thus: Suppose a father die, and leave a large property to a number of his children, upon certain conditions named in his will, these conditions failing, the property to be forfeited. Suppose then that some of these children *do* violate the conditions, but the other brothers do not enforce against them the provisions of the will, is that a just grouud of accusation against the will? By no means. The Prayer Book was written upon the assumption that every outwardly immoral person would be excommunicated. Because he is not so now is not the fault of the Prayer Book.

Now, come, to a practical case Here I can only speak for myself, but I do not doubt my course would only be found similar to great numbers of other clergy. Suppose a grossly immoral person is brought for burial, and I know it. In such a case, I omit the strong words—they are very few,—of faith and hope, by the grave side. I also take the opportunity of speaking, to the best of my power, words of warning to the assembled mourners, not pronouncing doom upon the deceased, but reminding them that they that "sow to the flesh, shall of the flesh reap corruption; while they that sow to the Spirit, shall of the Spirit reap life everlasting."

If it be said, Then you break the Rubric, I reply, The *letter* here is broken, owing to the *present disuse* of excommunication, but the *spirit* is kept; and I read that "the letter killeth, but the spirit giveth life." If again it be urged, You lay yourself open to prosecution, I reply, Not without the sanction of the bishop. And if I knew of the case in time

before, I should already have obtained his sanction to omit certain parts of the service. If not, I should be assured that the case fully explained, would be heard of no more.

Let it be remembered, however, that the minds of the best churchmen are fully awake on this subject. It has already been frequently discussed; and I do not doubt that, ere long, some such rule will be enacted in the Church, so as to make it impossible for an immoral person after death, to obtain the privilege of the Burial Service *as it now stands*.

I hasten on to review the objections to the Service for the Visitation of the Sick—one which, after the Burial Service, is perhaps the most beautiful of all the remaining Offices. There are perhaps in it some *quaint* expressions and directions, more adapted to the age in which they were written than the present. For myself, I love them, remembering the service they have once done. In the armoury of the Church there are some antiquated weapons, but it has been with these that in olden time Giant Pope has received many a hard knock, by which—to use the words of rare old Bunyan—his limbs have grown so crazy, that (in England at least,) he can only sit at his cave's mouth, grinning and biting his nails at pilgrims as they pass Zionward. These quaintnesses, however, having received Dr. Parker's passing sneer, he comes to the stone of offence, which is the Absolution, and which is as follows:

"Our Lord Jesus Christ, who hath left power to his Church to absolve all sinners who truly repent and believe in him, of his great mercy forgive thee thine offences: And by his authority committed to me, I absolve thee from all thy sins, In the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. Amen."

Here Dr. Parker says,

"I feel, after this, there is no escape from the conclusion that a death-bed repentance will meet all the requirements of God. How short and easy, how simple is the whole process here set forth! Live as you list; eat, drink and be merry; establish your own rules of enjoyment; and when you come to the last scene, avow your belief in all the articles of the Creed, make a simple confession of your sins, declare that you are heartily sorry for them, make your will, be liberal to the poor, and the Word of Absolution shall go forth. Behold the easy possibility of doing the work of a lifetime in the compass of an hour."

There is something to wilfully perverse in this interpretation, that it suggests the question whether a mind that could bring itself to make this charge, is capable of seeing anything out of its own narrow range. It would be enough, to refute this accusation, simply without *comment*

to read *the whole Service*. How surpassingly beautiful it is! Almost every expression in it contradicts the notion that the mere *saying* of the Creed, and a bare confession of sins is thought enough for salvation. But the time will not suffice for this. Let us then look at the Absolution itself. It is only to be pronounced after good evidence of *true* repentance, charity towards all men, a humble, penitent state of mind, and if the sick man "humbly and heartily desire it." Dr. Parker has concentrated attention on the Absolution, and ignored the power with which this state of mind is enforced. But now, as to *Absolution*. We are accustomed to hear of *it* only in connexion with the grossness of the Church of Rome. Let us beware lest, in rejecting her husks, we also cast away the sweet kernels of truth found beneath them. There is a *Gospel* Absolution, the power of which is undoubtedly committed by our Lord to His ministers. You remember those words of our Lord to his disciples, recorded in the Gospel of St. John: "Whosesoever sins ye remit, they are remitted unto them," &c. Now, I say, Did our Lord give His Apostles any *peculiar* power in this way; power, that is, to remit sins apart from the *spiritual condition* of the sinner? Certainly not. He gave them power to work miracles on the *body*, but not on the *soul*. They clearly understood, that those only who should repent and believe should be absolved. That no express case of Absolution is recorded in the New Testament does not affect the case, since A power of this kind was undoubtedly given by Christ in the words already quoted in the Gospel of St. John. And NOW, just as *then*, in this sense, are all faithful ministers ambassadors for Christ, empowered to speak as his representatives, pouring upon the broken and the contrite heart the authoritative declaration of forgiveness. It is thus then that the minister pronounces that Absolution; and as for the words, "*I* absolve thee," I conceive they were put for an express purpose, for we find that in the Absolution in the Morning and Evening Service, it is written, "HE pardoneth and absolveth," &c. The fact is, the man (penitent and faithful) is supposed to be *dying;* he is in the valley of the shadow of death, and we know that there, even the saint may tremble. It may be, too, that the Great Enemy is even then assaulting the soul with the last device of hellish malice, therefore the very strongest assurance of forgiveness to him that TRULY repents, is to be imparted. But lest this should be mistaken, and lest it should be supposed that any magic charm resides in the words, immediately after the Absolution the minister is still to pray that he may be forgiven, in these words—

"O most merciful God, who, according to the multitude of Thy mercies, dost so put away the sins of those who truly repent, that Thou rememberest them no more; Open Thine eye of mercy upon this Thy servant, who most earnestly desireth pardon and forgiveness. * * * * Impute not unto him his former sins, but strengthen him with Thy blessed Spirit; and when Thou art pleased to take him hence, take him into Thy favour, through the merits of Thy most dearly beloved Son, Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen."

I have still to add, that if any minister scruples to use the Visitation Service, through fear of misleading an ignorant mind, it is, according to the 67th canon, expressly left *optional* with him; for he is there enjoined, in visiting the sick to instruct or comfort them according to the order of the Communion book; or if he be a preacher, (which in this day all are), then "*as he should think most needful and convenient.*"

I believe that few Clergymen do use the entire service, while many scarcely ever fail to make some selection from it, feeling that there are no words, after those of Scripture, so likely to awaken or comfort, any sick member of the Church.

I have now but one more charge to deal with, and it will not occuuy much time. It relates to the Confirmation Service.

I may say, by the way, the very *fact* of the ordinance of *Confirmation* is the strongest disproof of Dr. Parker's assertions about the doctrine of the Prayer Book as to Baptism. If our doctrine is "salvation by *water*," why *confirm*? What is there to confirm? But I do not dwell upon this point.

You will remember Dr. P. stated that in this rite, the Church professed "that the seven-fold gifts of the Spirit were conferred." I confess I was struck with amazement at such an assertion. In all the Confirmation Service, the words, "sevenfold gifts of the Spirit" never once occur. The only words which could give the shadow of the shade of ground for such an assertion, are in that beautiful *prayer* contained therein:

"Strengthen them, (the persons confirmed) we beseech Thee, O Lord, with the Holy Ghost, the Comforter, and daily increase in them thy manifold gifts of grace; the spirit of wisdom and understanding; the spirit of counsel and ghostly strength; the spirit of knowledge and true godliness; and fill them, O Lord, with the spirit of Thy holy fear, now and for ever. Amen."

That is what Dr. Parker calls "CONFERRING." This is simple *dishonesty*.

Again, Dr. Parker quotes PART of the Preface of the Confirmation Service, in which it is ruled that none shall hereafter be confirmed but

such as shall say the Lord's Prayer, the Creed, and the ten commandments, and answer such questions as in the short Catechism are contained. He then, in a most extraordinary accent, dwells upon the word "*say*."—*Say* the Creed, &c., and extinguishes the merits of the Confirmation Service *thus*, amid a roar of laughter. It strongly reminded me of the story of the old lady who went to hear Mr. Whitfield preach. She came back deeply affected: "What was it touched you so much?" said her friend. "It was the way," she sobbed, "in which he said *Mesopotamia*." There is a good deal of the *Mesopotamia* style in Dr. Parker's arguments.

But whence all this contempt for *saying*. Is *saying* nothing? I can only infer that Dr. Parker thinks nothing of what he says himself, and I hail the inference. He has only *said* that the Prayer Book was "an offence against reason, society, and God;" he has only *said* that the Evangelical Clergy are immoral and dishonest. He didn't mean it, he only SAID it.

But I confess to some surprise at hearing Dr. Parker's contempt for *saying*, because, you will remember, he has an equal contempt for *thinking*. That gentleman in Lancashire, who, when appealed to for aid by Dr. P., said he would "*think about it*," was held up to utter ridicule. Dr. Parker despises *saying*, he ridicules *thinking*. What *does* Dr. Parker approve of? Surely it cannot be SPIRIT RAPPING!

But now just let me dispose of this absurdity. The Preface in the Confirmation Service *does* state that all candidates for Confirmation must be able to say the Creed, &c. But that is not their *spiritual* qualification. The Church has wisely determined that a basis of sound religious knowledge must be laid; that a clear and accurate notion of the great doctrines of the Gospel should be possessed by each person who desires full church membership.

I believe (I don't profess to speak with authority on this subject,) that in many congregationalist bodies, young persons, before admission to communion, are required to write out a confession of their belief. We might just as fairly retort, then, that if ours is all a matter of *saying*, theirs is all a matter of *writing*.

The fact is, saying *merely*, is a very small *part* of the necessary qualification. According to the Rubric after the Catechism, no person is eligible for Confirmation who is not declared by a written certificate from the minister to be A FIT person.

According to the same Rubric, the Curate of every parish is exhorted diligently to *instruct* and *examine* so many children of his parish sent

unto him as he shall think convenient, in some part of the Catechism; and remember, the Catechism is a text to be expanded into an explanation of *all religious knowledge.*

The Sponsors are exhorted, at the end of the Baptismal Service, to see that the children learn

"All other things which a Christian ought to know and believe to his soul's health, and that they may be virtuously brought up to lead a godly and a christian life; remembering always, that Baptism doth represent unto us our profession; which is, to follow the example of our Saviour Christ, and to be made like unto him; that, as he died, and rose again for us, so should we, who are baptized, die from sin, and rise again unto righteousness; continually mortifying all our evil and corrupt affections, and daily proceeding in all virtue and godliness of living."

Moreover, in the Confirmation Service, the candidates are taught that they are then called upon in their *own* persons, to ratify and confirm the promises made for them in their Baptism, by their godfathers and godmothers, and to "promise that, by the grace of God, they will evermore endeavour themselves faithfully to observe such things."

I say, "What could have been done more unto this vineyard that hath not been done unto it?"

Is there any rite in Nonconformity in which they that submit to it do witness a better confession? If there be "sour grapes" it is not the fault of the culture.

And now we have reviewed the four services appointed for the use of members of the Church, from infancy to the grave. The services for (1) *Baptism*, (2) *Confirmation*, (3) *Visiting of the Sick*, and (4) *Burial of the Dead*. I beseech you to notice that each and all of these services are framed CONDITIONALLY.

(1) The infant is baptized *upon condition* of repentance and faith hereafter, if he live to commit ACTUAL sin.

(2) The young person—now come to years of discretion—is confirmed *upon condition* not merely of *saying* the Creed, Lord's Prayer, and Commandments, but of solemnly "promising *by the grace of God* evermore faithfully to observe all such things as were promised in his name at baptism by his sponsors.

(3) The sick member of Church, visited, carefully examined, *upon condition* of *true repentance and charity towards all men*, is declared forgiven "if he humbly and heartily desire it." While

(4) The same person, dying, and having in life lived consistently with his christian profession, (upon condition of that, according to the Prayer Book,) is buried with words of thanksgiving that he has

been delivered from the miseries of this sinful world, and in sure and certain hope of the resurrection, &c.

Notice that in these things the difference between the Church of Rome and the Church of England is simply the difference between *Heaven* and *Earth.*

Of Baptism.—The Church of Rome (in the Council of Trent) declares:

"If any person deny that the guilt of original sin is remitted by the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, which is conferred in baptism; or even asserts that the whole of that which hath the true and proper nature of sin is not taken away. *Let him be accursed.*"

What says the Church of England?

"Baptism doth represent unto us our profession, which is *to follow the example of our Saviour, Jesus Christ*, and to be made *like unto Him*, that as He died and rose again for us, so should we who are baptized *die unto sin, and rise again unto righteousness, continually mortifying all our corrupt affections, and daily proceeding in all virtue and godliness of living.*"

So of all other points.

With Rome it is all the priest and the holy water, and the oil, the mystic signs.

With the Church of England it is all Christ speaking by His ambassadors, and repentance and faith, and charity towards all men.

I have but to add that on all the points on which Dr. Parker has touched, he has shown a profound ignorance of the *internal state* of the Church.

He fixes on a Rubric of the Prayer Book and assumes that the *bare obedience* to that Rubric is all that is required or implied; overlooking not merely other explanatory parts of the same Rubrics or services, but *the spirit in which they are applied* to actual cases. He forgets that the solemn charge made at ordination to every minister is "be thou a faithful dispenser of the *Word of God.*"

In many respects the Prayer Book is written on the same principle as the Bible. In the *Bible* we find no express rules for particular cases, but *general principles* which are to be a guide to all Christians under the most varied circumstances.

So in many cases, general directions are given, which the ambassador of Christ is to adopt to special cases as shall most tend to the good of souls, and the glory of God.

A very short residence with an evangelical clergyman would shew

Dr. Parker that what he views as a fleshless skeleton is a clothed body instinct with spiritual life and health.

I would wish to observe than in answering Dr. Parker's objections, I have so far put myself at obvious disadvantage, by confining myself to the offices. It has been much the same thing as repelling the attack of an enemy by merely sending a few skirmishers to the front, and letting the main body of the army remain inactive.

Now for one moment glance at thirty-nine battalions of the Church, any of which (of those that deal with doctrines) will be sufficient for the same work.

Why did Dr. Parker omit all reference to the thirty-nine articles the other night?

Ready answer, "Because he is a wise man." ('Wise as a serpent,' not 'harmless as a dove.')

The Articles are the authorized exposition of the doctrine of the Church of England, the rock and foundation on which the Church is built. This is clearly stated in their preface:

"The Articles of the Church of England do contain the true doctrine of the Church of England, agreeable to God's Word."

In them is stated with admirable clearness the Church's views in the great doctrines of the Trinity, Sufficiency of Holy Scripture for salvation, Original Sin, Justification, Election, the Sacraments, &c. &c.

Let me now just quote ONE by way of assisting Dr. Parket's assertion that the Church's teaching is that of *Salvation by Water*. Art. xi.—"We are accounted righteous before God, only for the merit of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, by FAITH, and not for our own works or deservings; Wherefore that we are justified by *faith only* is a most wholesome doctrine, and very full of comfort."

I have heard it said, (an absurd saying!) that the Articles of the Church of England were EVANGELICAL, her offices, Sacramental, or *Romish*.

If my arguments to-night have been worth anything at all, I think that assertion needs no refutation.

Yet for a moment, let us suppose this to be the case.

The common cry now is among Nonconformists, that *Evangelical* Clergymen are perjured, &c. &c. While they lavish all manner of praise on the honesty of HIGH Churchmen.

As for all this abuse of Evangelical Clergy, of course, we are not for e moment deceived by it; we know what it means, well enough.

During the late American War, the Southerners found out that poor Abm. Lincoln was a remarkably bad man, utterly unfitted for the post he occupied. Everyone knew what that meant too.

Yet take the matter as our opponent choose to put it. It seems to me that at least we must all be perjured traitors together.

If the Evangelical Clergy can claim the Articles, and High Churchmen only the Offices; whose position is the best?

But, the *very same men* who compiled the articles (the same as now, to all intents and purposes) gave *their present shape* to those very offices to which Dr. Parker so strongly objected, formally approved them, and delared that "all things had been removed from them which could nourish superstition." *(Martyr's Letter to Bullinger.)*

These are not *my* assertions merely. Greater men than either Dr. Parker or I know these things, and have testified to them. The men who are *barking* so valiantly now against the clergy, are they simple enough to believe that the Clergy have never ascertained the rights of their case? No doubt they *do*. We retort, it is *they* who shew a total ignorance of the subject they handle.

The highest authority in the kingdom on these matters (Dr. Lushington) has declared that the Prayer Book is to be interpreted *by the Articles*.

The judgment given in the celebrated Gorham case, and in which we should expect to find legal caution, declares the status of the Evangelical Clergy unimpeachable.

Mr. Maskell, a most able and learned man, a High Churchman, and Chaplain of the Bishop of Exeter, said what must be allowed to have great weight as coming from such an authority. He was present during the whole of that trial, and afterwards wrote,

"As the case went on, it was impossible not to see that the reasons and arguments of the Evanglical Clergy, had been too lightly esteemed. Whatever my opinion may have been some time ago, further enquiry has convinced me that the real spirit and intention of the Reformers of the Church of England are shewn and carried out by the Evangelical Clergy as truly as by ourselves."

It is not generally known that a very important alteration was made last session of parliament, in the terms of subscription required of the clergy to the Book of Common Prayer. Under the old form, the clergy, before ordination, were called upon to declare their "unfeigned assent and consent to all and everything" contained in that Book. Those of us who have been ordained have, of course, been able, with a clear

conscience, to subscribe that declaration; yet it cannot but be feared that some men whose services would have been most valuable to the Church, have felt themselves unable, through sundry minor points contained in the Prayer Book, to subscribe to that stringently-worded declaration. The amended form then runs as follows:

"I, A. B., do solemnly make the following declaration: I assent to the Thirty-nine Articles, and Book of Common Prayer, and the ordering of Bishops, Priests, and Deacons; I believe the doctrine of the United Church of England and Ireland as therein set forth to be agreeable to the Word of God; and in Public Prayer and Administration of the Sacraments I will use the forms in the said book prescribed, and none other, except so far as I shall be ordered by lawful authority."

I ask, could any declaration at all sufficient to guarantee a faithful Clergy be more moderately worded than that?

We must remember that these subscriptions are not for Clergy, but for the *laity*, and the laity rightly demand some security that their Clergyman shall be sincere in his *Churchmanship*, neither adding to, nor taking from, the words of our Scriptural Prayer Book.

It has been said, (I think truly) that this amended declaration, little as it is known, amounts to no less than a "peaceful revolution" as regards the Church.

Now in conclusion, a very few words on some other parts in Dr. P.'s Lecture. He began by saying that he would deal "not with *persons*, but with *principles*;' and yet I do not hestitate so say that one half at least of what he said was entirely about persons. I am not going to repeat all he said, I should scorn even to refute such personal and scandalous charges as he was not ashamed to make; yet one or two instances I may give, as a specimen of the sort of argument he thought good enough for his audience. Here is one of Dr. Parker's *principles*.

An old woman had been for 70 years to Church, and declared that she never knew that she 'had a soul.' She went to chapel for a few Sundays, was awakened by the preacher, and was then threatened with being ejected from her house if she did not return to the Church.

Now I would not question the piety of the Nonconformist minister there, he might have been a good man. But whose fault was it, the old woman's or the Church's. that during 70 years she never knew that she had a soul? Why put the matter on the lowest ground, if there had never been a sermon preached all the 70 years in the Church, she must have heard in that time the most striking portions of the whole Bible read 70 times over. The very first words that would reach her

ears on entering church would be, "When the wicked man turneth away from his wickedness that he hath committed, and doeth that which is lawful and right, he shall save his SOUL ALIVE."

And as for the oppression of turning her out of her home, Churchmen would condemn that as strongly as anybody. But are Churchpeople the *only* persons who ever do such things? I have only to mention the name of *Harden near Bingley* to my hearers, to refute that idea.

My friends, I will dwell no more on these things; I merely give that as an example of words employed to excite the passions of the multitude against the Church.

Let it suffice to say of all such things, "it needs be that offences come, but woe *unto him* by whom they come."

We do not contend that the Church of England is immaculate, but we do hold that in that Church we have the Word of God, and the Spirit of God, and that they who faithfully hold her doctrine, and by grace seek to practice her precepts, shall at length be presented unto Christ as a glorious Church, not having spot, or wrinkle, or any such thing.

A gentleman who had, at one time, left the Church of England for Nonconformity, and who afterwards had returned to membership with his Church, said, in very striking words, "I left the Church as the dove left Noah's Ark; but I could find no rest. I returned, and am content now to stay here until the floods of this troublesome word shall have subsided, and there shall be "a new earth." I know that in this Ark there are many *unclean beasts*, but Noah is there, and where *he* is, let me abide."

O that the coming generations of Englishmen would arise not to destroy, but to *fulfil;* not to clamour for the extinction of a Church which, for at least three centuries, has been a bulwark alike against Rome and Infidelity; but to seek with zealous care to remove every *noxious parasite*, to cast forth every defilement, and to enlarge, and adorn, and purify their spiritual parent. Dr. Parker has said, "If ever the Pope enter England, it will be over the beflowered altars of the Church." I will not defend the "beflowered altars," though I think the common sense of Englishmen will deal with them effectually enough. But may not the pope find another back entrance into England, I mean by his alliance with political dissenters against the Church?

Dr. Parker has compared the Church of England to an old, worn-out public clock, which must be pulled down and sold for old iron. I can

only say, that if he talks in this strain much longer, that old clock will commence *striking*, in a way that will strike terror to his soul. But if it be an old clock, bad or good, multitudes *go by it*. Take it down, and what are they to go by then? Shall we set up Dr. Parker's GENEVA? Why it would take a telescope to see it!

No, I'll tell you, the pope's pedlars then would busily hawk Italian watches, aye and sell many of them too; watches that said it was *mid-day*, when it was *mid-*NIGHT, and people would go to bed when they ought to be getting up; and have their meals when they should be taking rest.

My friends, if to-night I have seemed to say hard things against Dr Parker, believe me it has not been with *pleasure*. It was a matter of grave thought with me whether or not to answer his lecture without one word of reference to himself; yet so closely did I find his *ridicule* connected with his *argument*, that it was scarcely possible to contend with him otherwise than with his own weapons. Should I have said aught to night to wound his feelings, I ask his pardon for it. Yet not the less do I consider his conduct deserving of the severest reprobation. The Prayer Book an "offence against reason, against society, against God!" I say, God forgive the man that could forge such a slander.

God forgive him that does not scruple to wound the feelings of a vast number of humble and earnest Christians. God forgive him who can lavish all his scorn on those of his own brethren who stand aloof from this destroying and unhallowed work. God forgive him who, in the presence of many sweet innocent children, can endeavour to impart that hateful thing, a spirit of religion bitterness.

And yet, on one thing more, I would dwell with peculiar emphasis. Is Dr. P.'s visit to Bradford an accident or cursory thing?

No, it is merely part of an organized scheme for visiting all the parishes of England. Since he has been here, he has delivered the same Lecture in Sunderland. He is at this moment saying the same thing in Hull.

He is now engaged in raising a fund of £1500 in order to prosecute three objects:

(1.) To circulate 500,000 pamphlets, to stir up the people's minds against the Church.

(2.) To publish weekly in some metropolitan newspaper, an article with the same object, to be sent gratuitously to members of parliament, &c.

(3.) To visit EVERY RURAL DISTRICT and village, to excite the mind

of the inhabitants in the same way against the Church, which, in most cases is the *only* religious body to be found therein.

I say, can fanaticism and bigotry go farther than this?

Think of this last. There is to be NO DISTINCTION. It does not matter how excellent the *Clergyman* may be, the crusade is against the CHURCH. The poor unlettered men who have from year to year worshipped at the Church, and *there heard the word of life;* there been *educated*, and have educated *their children;* and have *buried their dead*; they are to be stirred up, and told that all this is a *lie*, and a SHAM? that their minister is a PERJURED TRAITOR, and their Prayer Book an offence against GOD!

I do not appeal to *Churchmen* on this matter; I appeal to NONCONFORMISTS; those that are men of *prayer*—men of God—and there is a goodly number of them in this Town. I appeal to them as christians, as men to whom the Apostle has said, "If ye bite and devour one another, take heed that ye be not consumed one of another," to say to the man who would do this, We will have none of you, "You know not what spirit you are of."

I appeal also to you as men of sense. The Church in the rural districts might, by such attempts, suffer some damage; but depend upon it, the work will in the end recoil upon its authors in a manner at which they will stand aghast. I *know*—I don't say I believe, or "fancy,"—I *know* that many of the best Nonconformists are filled with disgust at these things, and are beginning to ask themselves whether a religion like this, which declares its holiest work to lie in destroying the faith of others, is that which will comfort them in the time of tribulation, in the hour of death, and in the day of judgment.

My Nonconformist brethren, it may be that even to the end of this earthly life we shall continue to seek one common Father after our own mode. But do let us seek to observe that admirable rule of S. Augustine—

"In essentials, UNITY; in *doubtful points*, LIBERTY; in *all things*, CHARITY."

I would beseech you, before attempting to pronounce judgment on the Prayer Book, to examine it carefully, not turning at once to those traditionally offensive passages which are so continually brought up to prove false doctrine, but to see how one part harmonizes with another part. And if some passage appear to you of doubtful orthodoxy, consider well, whether it is the *Prayer Book* or YOURSELF that is at fault, whether *your* range of theology may not be confined to some express doctrines of Scripture, ignoring all others, and whether the Prayer Book

by APPARENT inconsistencies here and there, is not really following in this respect the Bible, and saying in effect, "ALL Scripture is given by inspiration of God."

And now, my friends, I have done. Dr. Parker at the end of his own lecture cried out, eloquently enough, for LIGHT. "Light, light, more light, light as the summer morning, light as the summer noon-day!" To that prayer and cry let us all add our fervent "Amen."

But let us remember that light is given unto him who in the meek and lowly spirit of his Lord, shall, in his own station, and in his own degree, strive to re-echo in this dark world the song of the Angelic host: "Glory to God in the highest, and on earth peace and good-will towards men." Amen.

G. F. SEWELL, PRINTER, BRADFORD.

SECOND ANSWER

TO DR. PARKER,

BEING

A LECTURE

DELIVERED IN ST. GEORGE'S HALL, BRADFORD,

FEBRUARY 8th, 1866,

BY THE

REV. H. A. MITTON, M.A.,

Incumbent of St. Barnabas', Heaton.

London:
W. MACINTOSH, 24, PATERNOSTER ROW.

Bradford:
G. F. SEWELL, 23, DARLEY STREET.

Price One Penny.

G. F. SEWELL, PRINTER, BRADFORD.

A LECTURE.

Mr. Chairman, Ladies, and Gentlemen,

After the famous battle of Waterloo, the French nation had a serious ground of complaint against the English, it was this—that the English were really beaten, only they would not run away. By all the arts of strategy and rules of war, they ought at a particular moment to have retreated; but, owing to their insular stupidity, they failed to see it, so the French had to run away instead. But this was not all. The English added insult to injury. They not only declined to run away, but they declared that by none of the rules of war, by none of the arts of strategy, *ought* they to have done so. In fact they were altogether right in staying where they did, and the world at large has since ratified that opinion.

Now, Ladies and Gentlemen, you see *I* have not run away, though I understand some of Dr. Parker's friends cannot imagine how I could avoid doing so. They must also pardon me if I declare, and proceed to shew, that there is not a particle of reason for doing so.

It seems to me, that to lovers of fair play and men of candour, this meeting will appear one of considerable importance. It is the fourth that has been held in this Hall on this subject. Dr. Parker has had his opening attack upon the Prayer Book, and his reply (or what he calls his "examination") of my defence. I shall, to-night, have made my reply to both his attack and his examination. It may then be fairly assumed now, that we have both done our best. It is for *you*, by fair consideration of the arguments adduced on either side, to arbitrate between us. I was present at Dr. Parker's lecture the other night, and greatly rejoiced that so fair and respectful an attention was given him by the many churchpeople who were present. I do not doubt that the same impartiality will characterise this present assembly.

I shall now proceed, step by step, to examine Dr. P.'s "examination." First of all, let me ask you to remember what was the subject of my last lecture, It was, "The position of the Evangelical Clergy in reference to the Book of Common Prayer." It is well that Dr. P. has not dignified his pamphlet by the title of a 'Reply' to that Lecture, for a reply it is not in any sense of the word. Let

Dr. Parker reply to it, step by step, argument by argument. This is what I have done with *his* first lecture, and what I am now going to do with his second.

The first point of his lecture may seem trivial. To my mind it is somewhat important. Dr. P. says he has read my MS "as thoroughly as its abbreviations and occasional private marks would allow." The insinuation is that he could not make it all out, and so had not a fair chance of replying. I answer briefly,—there are no abbreviations in my MS which could not, with the greatest ease, be read; and there is not a single private mark. In corroboration of this statement, I will leave the manuscript upon the counter of Mr. Sewell's shop in Darley Street, until the end of next week, for any one to examine who likes. It is unaltered since Dr. Parker had it.

The next thing Dr. P. remarks is "my assertion that he had said in effect that the doctrines of the Prayer Book were 'almost, if not altogether,' the doctrines of the Church of Rome." He says,

"If I ventured to hint that there was a Romish element in any office or doctrine, he affirmed that I charged *all* the doctrines with Popery, which is about as just as to say that because I hinted that a man had the tooth-ache, I declared that the man and his family were all dying of hydrophobia."

Stop, Dr. Parker! This is all very well, only it savours of what a rude "state-priest" would term "shirking." Some of us have awkward memories. I have an awkward record against you, in a verbatim copy of your first lecture. In that lecture, Dr. Parker said,

"I am about to charge the Prayer Book (not the *offices* of the Prayer Book) not with mere crudities of arrangement, or infelicities of expression, but with offences against *God*, against truth, against reason, against society."

I could quote other words quite as strong. This is what Dr. Parker calls "venturing to hint"! and this is nothing more than "having the toothache"! Dr. P.'s "toothache" must be a serious matter. Why, you could not say more of the Romish Missal. If the English Prayer Book is an "offence against God;" if it teaches the doctrine of "salvation by water," and declares that "Baptism brings with it the whole economy of redemption;" that he who is sprinkled from the font is raised to the highest elevation of the Christian character; if it teaches that the priest has the power to forgive sins, and that in the Rite of Confirmation the seven-fold gifts of the Holy Spirit are conferred, (all this Dr. P. asserted) what more is wanting? Dr. Parker is the man who is to be bound to precision of statement, and that tone of injured innocence is quite beyond the mark.

Dr. P. does not find much "milk" in my lecture, but insinuates

there is a good deal of "*water*." Well then I will proceed to administer to him a cold shower-bath.

Upon the illustration I gave of the man across the street calling another man a thief, as he was going into his own house, he makes these remarks: He says

> "Is that a correct description of facts? Is a dissenter a man across the street, who knows nothing about the Church of England? Suppose he says, 'You call that the only house in England; you fine other ratepayers to keep it in repair: you openly sneer at all passers by; you put on your door an immense brass plate, bearing the name of the 'House of England,'" &c.

Then he says,

> "The man across the street might have the best of the argument."

Now if this had anything to do with the matter, I should say, "We *don't* call this the only House in England; we *don't* fine other ratepayers to keep it in repair; we *don't* openly sneer at all passers-by; and as for the brass plate, even if we did put it on our door, you can put another twice as big on yours if you like. But this has *nothing* to do with the matter. Clearly understand, my controversy with Dr. Parker was on the "posítion of the Evangelical Clergy with reference to the Book of Common Prayer." Now if the Church and State were totally separated, and if Dr. Parker's words about the Prayer Book are *true*, our position *then* would be just as "immoral," just as untenable. He has said of the Evangelical Clergy,

> "They know the truth and preach it; and yet they stand by a book which directly contravenes many of the doctrines they proclaim."

Now, I ask, is a lie told in private any better (morally) than a lie told in public? I do not question, and never did, Dr. P.'s right, and that of any other dissenter, to criticise the Church, if it be done in a fair way. But I *do* deny his right to judge *private conscience*. Look at the matter thus—If a Unitarian (unknown to be so) were to get possession of any place of emolument among Dr. Parker's own body, by publicly professing his belief in the creed and other accepted formulas, and were then, after he were secure in his enjoyment of certain revenues, to turn round and preach Unitarianism; would he not be fairly open to the charge of dishonesty? And yet there is no connection there between Church and State. Well then, if what Dr. Parker says is true, it is equally true whether the Church is united with the State or not. Dr. P. may say, 'If the Church were not so, I would not have brought the charge.' We reply, 'We don't care what you *would* have done under certain circumstances; our business is with what you *have* done. You HAVE charged us with "immorality," and it is our business to repel the charge.'

Now to the question about those Puritan divines in 1662. Dr. P. speaks as if I had dragged that matter in of my own accord, and says,

"If Mr. M. wishes to enter into events which transpired 200 years ago, he is at liberty to give you a lecture on that subject, and I shall be at liberty to follow him if he misinterpret any fact or doctrine pertaining to that period."

I can only say, I have no wish at all about the matter. I am merely answering Dr. P., who himself brought this point forward, and put it in the forefront of his first lecture.

His position, honestly stated, was this: that because the puritan clergy of the 17th century left the Church rather than accept the Prayer Book, *therefore* the clergy of the 19th century are guilty because they *do* accept the Prayer Book. My reply was this: The acceptance of the Prayer Book was not the real cause of their resignation and ejectment. The two positions are totally different. The Puritans were compelled, if they wished to remain in the Church, solemnly to abjure the League and Covenant, to which they were bound by oath,—in fact, to eat their own words. Dr. P. says,

"We have nothing to do with anything relating to the Solemn League and Covenant,"

I say we have, in this case, everything to do with it. Dr. P. says

"Because there were two reasons, does it follow there was not one?"

I reply, Certainly; but if old-fashioned arithmetic be correct, two is twice as much as one. If you have two reasons against doing a thing, and one of these, and much the greater, is removed, the other might, perhaps, be overcome. The fact is, Dr. P. has given no answer to this argument at all. Next time he "takes his stand" by the Puritans, I trust he will stick to them rather more closely than so far he has done.

We come now to the question of Baptism. Dr. P. remarks upon my words, "The Church *nowhere* says that an unbaptized person is on that account alone unsaved. I challenge Dr. Parker to bring any proof of this." And what is the reply here? I will give it at length.

"The Prayer Book says that a baptised infant is regenerate. It would follow, then, that an unbaptized infant is unregenerate. · · Mr. M. has of course read the note attached to the Baptismal Service. I wish he could clear my mind of the awful inferences which I cannot fail to draw from it. The note reads thus: "It is certain, by God's word, that children who are baptized, dying before they commit actual sin, are undoubtedly saved." Then how can we resist the converse of this proposition. Children which are *not* baptized are unsaved."

This is Dr. Parker's proof. The converse of a proposition, then,

is necessarily true? Very well; then let us now see what this will bring us to. Because I say of any particular man, he is a *wise* man, I mean every other man is a *fool*. Because I say *my* children are *good* children, I mean necessarily all other children are *bad* children. Were I to say to our chairman to-night, I believe you to be a good man, *therefore* I mean that all the other gentlemen sitting around are *bad* men. Now, look again at Dr. Parker's own words. He says,

"If two men are walking *from* each other along a line which lies east and west, if I point out the man who is going *west*, it is quite unnecessary to point out the man who is going east."

But stop, Dr. Parker, the second man is your own invention altogether. The Church only speaks of *one* man. The proper illustration is this: If I say of a certain man, he is going west, do I necessarily mean every one else is going east? Clearly not. Dr. P. says,

"If the Church tells us who is going to heaven, it is clearly not necessary to tell us who are going to hell."

Well then, again—If you say of a particular friend of yours, whom you know, that he is going to Heaven, you clearly mean (according to the new system of logic just invented by Dr. Parker) that all your neighbours are going to hell.

Now, I ask, what can be thought of a man who deliberately *prints* such childish folly, such palpable sophistry as this? I ask, can any one be willing, after this specimen of Dr. Parker's reasoning powers, to call him 'Master?' I would "venture to hint" to Dr. P, that an elementary course of logic might be of some assistance to him before he proceeds further in his crusade against the Church.

Now, then, we ask, Why does the Church say nothing about unbaptized persons? In the first place, remember this is not a question about *infant or adult* Baptism. Dr. Parker himself fully believes in Infant Baptism, and my controversy is with him. I wrote to him a few days ago to set that question at rest, and his own words are these, "I undoubtedly believe in Infant Baptism." I then ask of you as Christians, do you believe that Baptism, in its general sense, is a positive command of Christ or not? We may differ as to the *time* of baptising, but as to the fact of baptism being an express command, I think there will be no difference of opinion. Indeed, I cannot understand myself how any one can accept the New Testament, and read those plain commands of Christ on this subject, and yet deny that it *is* a command. If this, then, be true, is the Church intolerant in declaring that baptism (as one of the sacraments) is "generally necessary to salvation?" Dr. Parker did not condescend

to notice the part of my lecture in which I alluded to these words. If the Church held that Baptism alone *constituted* salvation, they must have been Baptism is "*absolutely* necessary to salvation." Is it conceivable, that had the Church held such a doctrine, she would have used so loose a word as "generally,"—"generally necessary to salvation"? Well, then, suppose the Church, believing Baptism a positive command of Christ, and so "generally necessary," were to treat and speak of all persons, baptized or unbaptized alike, what would become of Baptism, whether infant or adult, in the Church? Remember, the Church speaks as a public body, not as a *private* individual.

In my lecture, I compared christians with soldiers, the uniform representing Baptism,—"the outward and visible sign;" the soldier's valour representing the "inward and spiritual grace." But Dr. P. rejects that illustration altogether. He says,

> "All men cannot be soldiers, but all men may become Christians. (evidently Dr. P. is a strong Arminian); we must therefore have a wider illustration if we would cover the subject."

And he goes on to say he should prefer the term "patriot." Well, what Dr. Parker rejects, St. Paul accepts, and urges Timothy to

> "Endure hardness as a good soldier of Jesus Christ, not to entangle himself with the affairs of this life, that he may please Him who hath called him to be a soldier,"—2 Tim. ii. 3, 4.

So the illustration is perfectly warranted. It is true the soldier's uniform *alone* does not make a soldier, neither does the Church assert that it does, but the very contrary. The Church says, "Baptism doth represent unto us our profession, which is to follow the example of our Saviour Christ." What does the soldier's uniform? It "represents unto him his profession." The red coat may cover a coward's heart, but the sight of that coat should make a coward wearer blush for shame every time it meets his eye; while to the valiant soldier it should, and does, prove a stimulus to feats of valour and endurance.

I now come to a point on which I candidly admit Dr. Parker has the best of it. He here has a triumph peculiarly his own. Let no carping critic seek to dim the lustre of his victory, or to soil his well-earned laurels. What is that point? Why in giving an illustration, I *named a man*. It was truly a moment of infatuation—

> "'Twas but a step—that step his last."

I mentioned "James Wilson." Here was a victim; here an unanswerable *argument*. Before this, Dr. P. had only the miserable little word "say" to play on; "*Say*" the Creed, "*Say*" the Lord's Prayer, &c. *Now* he has seized a sober and respectable name—"James

Wilson;" and so we had "James Wilson" at every turn throughout the Lecture, in season or out of season, until the poor man was utterly consumed. This *argument*, I fully admit, I *cannot* answer. Fully acknowledging, then, that "James Wilson" is defunct, the illustration in which that departed individual figures remains intact. That illustration was never intended to set forth the *whole case* of sponsorship, or of infant baptism. No illustration can *ever completely* represent a spiritual matter. The parables of the New Testament themselves are only intended to illustrate some one or two points, and cannot be pressed beyond these. My illustration was chiefly intended to indicate the *general principle* of *sponsorship*, and not to vindicate it in every aspect.

Dr. Parker has laid much stress on this matter of sponsorship, far more than he did in his first lecture. I will therefore examine what he says on each point. And, first of all, he says nothing against the *father* promising for his son in the matter of the land. His main point is, that in the Church of England parents are not sponsors, and he again made the scurrilous remark about the cabmen. He says also—

"What would the kind and considerate landlord have said if J. W. had called in two strangers, who had never seen the child before, and would never see him again, to promise that he would do well to the land."

We have, then, immediately before us two points—

(1) The character of the persons who are to be sponsors.

(2) The reasons of the Church for preferring others than parents for sponsors.

After discussing these, I will proceed to consider the general question of sponsorship. Now as to the first point:

"We deal (says Dr. Parker) with the Prayer Book *as an authoritative* record, and not with the practice of any priest or number of priests."

Then what does the Book of Common Prayer clearly and unmistakeably imply as to the character of sponsors? That they are to be neither irreligious persons, nor *strangers* to the child. The exhortation to them in the Baptismal Service is as follows:

"It is your parts and duties to see that this Infant be taught, so soon as he shall be able to learn, what a solemn vow, promise, and profession, he hath here made by you. Ye shall provide, that he may learn the Creed, the Lord's Prayer, and the Ten Commandments, in the vulgar tongue, and all other things which a Christian ought to know and believe to his soul's health; and that this Child may be virtuously brought up to lead a godly and a christian life."

This is sufficient for the first point. If Dr. P. will cleanse the Church of her *motes* of abuse, having duly removed the *beam* from

his own eye, we shall be infinitely obliged to him. But let him not confound practical abuses with the doctrines of the Prayer Book.

(2) Why prefer others than parents for sponsors? Are not parents the likeliest persons to provide for the spiritual wants of their children? I answer, Sponsors were never meant to *supersede* parents in this matter; sponsors are not intended to *hinder* parents from doing their natural work, but to *see that they do* it. The rule about sponsors is rather from solicitude for the child, that if the parent should prove unworthy, there may be double security for the due and right training of the child in religious truth.

But this is not all. The original institution of sponsorship throws great light upon this subject. It was undoubtedly the custom of the Early Church as far back as the year 192 A.D., only 90 years after the death of the Apostle St. John. Those were times of persecution indeed, when men and women knew by experience what that meaneth, that "through much tribulation they must enter into the kingdom of God." Martyrdom thinned the Church's ranks. Many a Christian parent was torn from his family, that—for the love he bore his Lord—he might be cast to the wild beasts, or burnt to ashes at the stake. And in such a case, if there was one bitter thought, it would be this, that the little ones at home were left unprotected to pass through the waves of this troublesome world. Hence the *sponsorship of friends* who could take and care for the orphan children, and teach them to walk in that strait and narrow way which their parents had trodden before them. If it be said this cause is now removed, we reply, to a considerable extent it is; but there are other causes which remain in full force. Is it true that a parent is invariably the best person to provide for the spiritual wants of his children? Leave the case of ungodly parents out of the question, are *godly* parents always the best trainers of their own children? Experience proves it not so. Remember Isaac and his two sons Jacob and Esau; remember Eli and his two sons; David and Absalom: Solomon and Rehoboam. Or look at modern times, where there are countless instances of the most godly parents strangely blind to the faults of their own children. In such cases, the intervention of one authorized and fitted to look after the spiritual wants of such persons' children would, I doubt not, be of inestimable advantage.

There are still other reasons, which, though not so weighty, deserve serious consideration. We believe the institution of sponsorship is calculated to draw together more tightly, the bonds of union between Christians. If I can ask a Christian friend to stand as sponsor for my child, our mutual interest in that child henceforth strengthens and cements our previous friendship. If it be admitted

that it is a good thing in common life for people to have social gatherings, to see and converse freely with one another, is not the same thing true in regard to spiritual things? To quote the words of a recent writer on this point,

> "Is it nothing that one man can say to his fellow-man, 'Brother, we stood together at the same font, we prayed side by side over this child; we were united then—united let us be always?'"*

But I hasten to notice the great question of all, i.e. the *principle of sponsorship*. I shall endeavour to express the common objection to this as fairly as I can, and quote Dr. Parker's own words on the subject. It may then be said, Even admitting the cogency of the previous arguments, we deny the principle of sponsorship altogether. Dr. P. says

> "The sureties promise repentance and faith, and the child is bound to repent and believe 'because his god-parents promised that he should!' The idea is, to me, absurd! Repenting because *bound* to do so! Believing because *bound* to do so!"

Here then is clearly expressed the grand fallacy which underlies all the common objections to sponsorship. It is assumed by Dr. P. that the Church professes to impose on baptised children some *new* obligation, one which did not previously exist. It seems to be taken for granted that baptized children are held bound, unbaptized children, unbound. Is that true? Are not *all* men *equally* bound to repent and believe? Dr. Parker says that to him the idea is absurd. To me *his* idea is simply irreverent. Is it not written in the Acts of the Apostles, "God now commandeth *all men everywhere to repent*"? And again, is it not written in St. John's first Epistle—"This is His commandment, that we should believe on the name of His Son Jesus Christ"? These examples might be infinitely increased. Does Dr. Parker mean to say that any person whatever (at least those to whom light is given) is *not* bound to repent and believe? Well, then, when sponsors in Baptism say those things in the name of an infant, they are not *creating* an obligation; they are merely by word of mouth acknowledging an *already existing* obligation. This is the Church's mode of doing what all other dissenting bodies which admit Infant Baptism also do *in principle*. We do it in this way because we hold that it brings before the child afterwards his obligations in the most powerful and urgent manner. But the Church professes to create no *new* obligation. The mountains and rocks shall not, in the Judgement, fall upon and hide that man from the wrath of the Lamb, who, having had light, shall ere that time have failed to *repent, believe, and obey*.

* Rev. Archibald Boyd, from whose recent work on Baptism, the substance of what is here said on sponsorship is taken.

Dr. Parker says

"If Mr. M. can furnish one passage of Scripture sanctioning such conditions of repentance and faith · · we shall value it more than a hundred pictures such as that of James Wilson and his little fellow of two years old."

Most cheerfully do I accept the challenge; only instead of saying one passage of Scripture is worth a hundred J. W.s, I should say *a million*. We are, I think, agreed as to the *general* obligation which lies upon men to repent and believe. We have now before us the much narrower question of that contract obligation acknowledged for an infant by another. I reply, The whole of God's dealings with His ancient people Israel are based upon that principle. I will give you an express case in a moment, but would first anticipate a common objection.

It is said, "We have nothing now to do with the Old Dispensation—with God's dealings with Israel; ours is a Christian Dispensation," &c. Very well, then I should desire nothing better than to meet such objectors on the ground as to whether Christians are called upon to accept the *whole*, or only *half* a Bible. It is true the *positive precepts* of the Jewish economy are not now binding upon christians; but the *principles* which underlaid them are eternal. and expressly intended to be a guide to us. Are you aware that Christ and His Apostles and Evangelists quote the Old Testament in proof of their teaching no less than 289 times? Did not St. Paul tell the Corinthians (1 Cor. ix.) that what was done in the case ot the Israelites "Happened unto us for ensamples," and "were written for our admonition, upon whom the ends of the world are come"? How did St. Paul prove the right of Christian ministers to receive pay for their work? By referring to the Jewish priests, who, "ministering about holy things, lived of the things of the temple." Read the whole of 1 Cor., ix., and then see if we, as Christians, have nothing to do with the old dispensation.

Well then, take a particular case. In Deut. 29, you find all Israel drawn up before the Lord. The captains, elders, officers, the *little ones*, the wives,—to enter into a covenant with the Lord their God, and into His oath which He was about to make with them that day. As appears from the 15th verse, unborn infants were bound by the covenant then made. You will find that covenant to correspond with the covenant engagements entered into by sponsors in this day. The baptismal promises are—

1. To renounce sin. 2. To believe. 3. To obey.

What were the engagements entered into by Israel that day? One was, that they should not add *drunkenness to thirst*. Was not that the renunciation of sin? Then too they entered into covenant that the Lord should be their God. Does not that necessarily include

both faith and obedience? I suppose Dr. Parker does not expect me to shew him the literal words of the Catechism and Baptismal Service in the Bible; but really, to hear him talk, one would think nothing short of that would be accepted.

I adduced this argument, with the reference to the Book of Deuteronomy in my last lecture. For reasons best known to himself, Dr. P. does not "remark" upon it at all. I really think, however, that if, instead of busying himself so much about "James Wilson," he had manfully set to work upon that and others of the same kind, it would have looked more as if he had a good case.

Te best thing he can say of my illustrations is—They are not "parallels, but angles, and most of them obtuse." Well done, Dr. Parker! O'Connell of old beat the London fishwife by calling her a "parallelogram;" you have quite finished me by that joke about the obtuse angles. Pardon me, however, if I deny that the "extremities of any of your lines are *points*.

I must now notice what Dr. Parker has said about Private Baptism. First of all, he charges me with misrepresenting him on this subject, and demands a withdrawal of what I said. You may, perhaps remember that what I said was this: "Dr. Parker certainly conveyed the impression the other night—for I listened most carefully—that in no case were godfathers or godmothers required for any child that had been privately baptized. That if the child did not die, it was brought to church, the minister then said all had been 'well done,' and there was no more." Dr. P. states that he both wrote in his lecture, and also *said* in his lecture in St. George's Hall, that provision *was* made for sponsors after private baptism, but that after the child had already been pronounced regenerate, of what use could they be?

I reply, This was no doubt *written* by Dr. Parker. If he positively declares that he *said* it in the Hall, courtesy demands that I should accept his statement. Yet I must say, not only did I not hear it, but several of my friends also failed to do so. In the clear and able report of his lecture which appeared in the *Bradford Review*, there is no mention of any such saying.

However, Dr. P. admits that after Private Baptism, if the child *live*, there are sponsors. I will endeavour, then, briefly to answer his questions and objections.

1. *Why are there no sponsors to begin with in Private Baptism?*

Obviously because the promises of sponsors have reference to *actual*, and not to *original* sin. The child is supposed to be dying. We believe that in such a case, original sin is washed away by the sacrifice of Christ.

2. *Why do you not then declare the child is regenerate, whether he is baptized or not?*

Because we believe that Baptism is a positive command of Cheist, although it is but "an outward and visible sign," and although we fully remember Christ's love and mercy, we do not consider ourselves *authorised* to make any express declaration on this subject.

3. *Why are sponsors provided in case the infant (privately baptized and supposed to be dying) shall* NOT *die?*

In order to shew that Baptism, in the case of infants who are likely to live, is administered conditionally upon the fulfilment in after years of *repentance and faith.*

The great question before us is not concerning the rightfulness of Infant Baptism. In that Dr. P. says he "undoubtedly believes." And yet, at this part of his lecture, he clearly implies it does not matter whether an infant is baptized or not. I would "venture to hint" that next time Dr. P. comes to Bradford, it should be to hold a controversy with his Baptist friends on this point; and I must say that if his arguments are not more logical and consistent than we have hitherto found them, he will get the worst of it. It is, however only fair to acknowledge that Dr. Parker's language becomes much more satisfactory towards the close of his lecture. He says on the 17th page,

"Pædo-Baptist Nonconformists (O what a pity it is any one should be forced to call himself by such a long name!)—I speak for those alone whom I know best—believe that Baptism is an outward and visible sign of an inward and spiritual grace: they attach the most simple and sublime significance to the act, though they decline the services of godfathers and godmothers, and reject the figment of sacramental efficacy s aa delusion and a lie."

With one exception, to that I reply "Well said!" But is Dr. P. aware that when he says he believes Baptism to be "an outward and visible sign of an inward and spiritual grace," he quotes the very words of the Catechism? Why, excepting for the rejection of godparents, what Dr. P. holds is exactly what the Prayer Book teaches. The Prayer Book teaches that Baptism is "an outward and visible sign of an inward spiritual grace;" the Prayer Book attaches the most simple and sublime significance to the act; and the Prayer Book in the XXXIX. Articles, rejects "the figment of sacramental efficacy as a delusion and a lie."

If Dr. Parker does not take care, he will find himself in the enemy's camp. There is only a godfather and godmother between him and the Church, so far as this subject is concerned; and if we can only persuade him that a godfather is not necessarily "*a cabman,*" or a godmother "a passing woman," he may even get over this too. Dr. Parker says, on the 15th page of his lecture,

"In looking at Mr. Mitton's defence of the Baptismal Office, I am struck with the total absence of *scriptural* proof in support of Baptismal Regeneration as taught in the Prayer Book."

Surely here is strange confusion of thought! I appear here to-night, and did appear last time, to DENY that Baptismal Regeneration (as stated by Dr. Parker,) *is* taught in the Prayer Book at all; and Dr. P. is "struck" because I do not quote Scripture to defeat my own arguments. I will candidly admit that Dr. Parker's own quotations *do* defeat *his* arguments; and I suppose he means, that for the sake of fair play, I ought to do the same thing. I cannot, however, force myself to be so kind.

Dr. Parker next turns to my explanation why unbaptized persons, including infants, are excluded from the Burial Service. As you will remember, I explained this by a practice which prevails among a considerable number of Baptist congregations, of allowing only joined members to participate in the Lord's Supper, and refusing others on the grounds of non-membership. Allow me to say at once, I did not in the least allege this as a reproach against the Baptists. Far from it. They have a perfect right to make the rule; and in my own opinion, the rule is likely to strengthen them rather than otherwise.

I said, then, that unbaptized persons were refused burial on the same ground; and that Dr. Parker had no more right to say the Church necessarily considered unbaptized persons lost on that account, than a churchman would have to say the same thing if he were refused participation in the Lord's Supper by the Baptists, at the same time as a notoriously immoral person. Well then this is Dr. Parker's reply:

> "Private bodies may claim rights which national corporations ought not to assume. . . A Railway Company may have a clear right to say who shall travel along a certain set of iron rails, but they have no control over the highroad, and the ancient footpaths of the country."

Yes; but Dr. P. keeps back what I said also: The rule of the Church here is as wide as the Church. Baptism (I said) was required, but not necessarily *Church* Baptism: that of any Nonconformist body was accepted as a sufficient title to the Church's Burial Service.

By Dr. P's reasoning, the Church ought to have no rules at all. If so, how could it be a "public corporation"? I willingly accept his illustration of the highroad; but remember there are tollbars there, to which *all alike* are subject, and which are essential to the keeping the roads in good repair. In this matter, the Church exacts nothing from Nonconformists, which she does not exact from her own members.

I would now examine a point which I think is the most deserving of attention in all Dr. Parker's last lecture. Amid a mass

of irrelevant matter, *that* does, in some sort, bear on the question between him and me, viz.—The position of the Evangelical Clergy &c., I will quote his words to a sufficient length, and then carefully consider them. I said, in reference to the Burial Service, that if a grossly immoral person had died in that state, and were brought to me for burial, I should certainly omit the strong words of faith and hope by the grave side. By this assertion of course I stand. Dr. P. then says somewhat plausibly,

"Mr. Mitton appears, in the opening of his lecture, on behalf of those who declare their unfeigned assent and consent to all that is contained in the Book of Common Prayer. In treating of the Burial Service, however, he admits that on certain special occasions, he *omits* a portion. Then my answer is this—If Mr. Mitton omits one word of that to which he has declared his unfeigned assent and consent. Mr. Mitton, to say the least of it, exercises the right of private judgment; and if he exercises the right of private judgment, in the very face of an Act of Parliament, then he concedes the fundamental principle of Nonconformity, and in his own practice, up to a given point, justifies our dissent."

Dr. Parker then goes on to say, that if some clergymen omit one thing, others will omit another, and so on, until the substance of the Prayer Book entirely vanishes.

This is an important point. In the first place I say, It is not my business to defend clergymen who, according to Dr. Parker, omit various parts of the service to suit their own convenience. I do not doubt they are well able to defend themselves. I hold that there is a wide difference between omitting, in a certain case, a few words of the Burial Service, and systematically rejecting other parts of the service, contrary to the plain directions of the Prayer Book. Observe, then,—we declare our unfeigned assent and consent to all that is *contained in the Prayer Book*, not to all that is done in *the Church*. If then the Prayer Book enjoins one thing,—if the neglect of the Church at large has allowed this injunction to fall into disuse,—is the blame to fall upon the Prayer Book? Certainly not. We, the Clergy and laity together, may be blameable for not endeavouring to enforce the Prayer Book's injunctions; but we are not to blame for giving our unfeigned assent to the Prayer Book itself. Look, then, at the Burial Service. As plainly as words can speak, it implies that the service was never intended for an immoral person. All such are included under the term, "excommunicated." The verbal process of excommunication has ceased; but practically, every ungodly immoral person dying in that state is excommunicated; and I hold that I am better carrying out the intention of the compilers of the Prayer Book by refusing the service to such a person, than by granting it. Here is a question between the spirit and the letter. Which is to be preferred? Surely about this there can be no doubt; surely our Lord has for ever set this matter at

rest. Think of the well-known instance of the collision between these two recorded in the Gospel. There were the disciples in the corn-fields on the Sabbath, plucking and eating corn. The Scribes and Pharisees would not have done such a thing for the world; it would have been doing "some manner of work." But Christ justified His disciples; while to the Pharisees his language is "Woe unto you hypocrites!" I give you one more example, and one most apposite, because it is taken from the Old Testament dispensation, where obedience to the letter of the law was more rigidly enforced than now. That example is found in the 10th of Leviticus. The two sons of Aaron, Nadab and Abihu, had been struck dead for offering strange fire on the altar of the Lord. That very day it was the solemn duty of Aaron and his family, according to God's commandment, to eat a portion of the sacrifices that had been offered before the tabernacle. Instead of doing this, Aaron burnt his portion. Moses, the representative of the sternness of the law, rebukes him. Hear Aaron's reply:

"Behold, this day have they offered their sin offering and their burnt offering before the Lord; and such things have befallen me: and if I had eaten the sin offering to day, should it have been accepted in the sight of the Lord? and when Moses heard that, he was content."

Here was a clear case where the ceremonial law—to the observance of which Aaron was solemnly set apart—was to be broken, to keep the higher law of natural affection. Moses was content that it should be so broken. If Moses was content, I do not care whether Dr. Parker is content with me or not, for doing a similar thing under like circumstances. Does Dr. Parker mean to tell me, that because on rare and special occasions, a case may arise where certain words in the Burial Service may be inapplicable,—which words too were clearly never intended to be used in such a case,—that because of this, I am to refuse my assent and consent to a book which, from the bottom of my heart I love and revere; which (so far as can be said of a human compilation,) I believe to be faultless; and whose principles throughout I believe to be in strict accordance with the Word of God? I say the laity have ample security for sound churchmanship in their minister, if he makes his declaration of assent to the Prayer Book on such principles as I have done.* Dr. Parker says,

"I have carefully gone through Mr. Mitton's argument respecting the Visitation of the Sick, and Confirmation. I find nothing in it calling for remark. The specimens of his reasoning already given suffice to indicate the quality of Mr. M.'s logic throughout."

I willingly admit that the quality of Dr. Parker's logic and mine is vastly different; in fact they are the "the converse of the proposition."

* The revival of excommunication is suggested in the Lecture. This, however, obviously could not be *verbal* excommunication, owing to the enormous

I would "venture to hint" that the more carefully Dr. Parker went through my arguments on these subjects, the more difficult he might find any remark to be. Dr. Parker, very charitably, only gives a few specimens of *my* reasoning and logic. I, on the other hand, am rejoiced to study that new system of his which solemnly propounds as an axiom, that "the converse of a proposition is necessarily true."

I only beg those of my audience who procure copies of my first lecture to night, to examine what was said on those two subjects, and see what it is through which Dr. Parker has "carefully gone," and finds to "call for no remark." We may reasonably conclude that he no longer believes that the clergy claim the power to forgive sins, or the Bishop to "confer the sevenfold gifts of the Spirit in the rite of Confirmation, or that the mere *saying* of the Creed, the Lord's Prayer, and the Ten Commandments, is all that is required of candidates.

I said in my last lecture that the Church of England had, for three centuries, been a bulwark against Rome and Infidelity. Dr. Parker denies this, and gives three reasons:

1. Dean Close said, some little time ago, at a Pastoral Aid Society's meeting, that the Church contained men of every shade of opinion from almost Infidelity to almost Romanism.

2. That there is a Church Association now formed for the purpose of repressing Romanising practices within the Church.

3. That 84 clergymen have gone over from Oxford to Rome.

Then Dr. Parker triumphantly sums up, and exclaims, "How mighty is this bulwark!"

I reply, if this point is to be decided by authorities like Dr. Parker, I can adduce an equal weight of testimony on the other side. One as much honoured as Dean Close, and whom Dr. Parker himself the other night called "a departed saint,"—I mean Canon Stowell—said in a speech made before the Prayer Book and Homily Society,

> "The great barrier between this country and the Papal power is our Protestant Establishment; and were that barrier once broken down, it is not giving utterance to the day dreams of a bigoted fancy to say, the result of such a catastrophe would be terrible indeed—commencing with anarchy; terminating with the stagnancy of popish despotism."

But neither Dean Close nor Canon Stowell are to be accepted as proof positive on these matters. When we speak of the Church of England, we do not mean a *body of traitors within the camp*. We mean both

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increase of the population. It is, however, deserving of thought whether that practical excommunication which persons who continually hold aloof from Church bring upon themselves, might not (so far as the Burial Service is concerned,) be regarded in the same light as verbal excommunication, i.e. none should have the Burial Service read over them except bona fide members of the Church.

the authorised doctrine of the Church, and also that great body of Englishmen, clergy and laity, who sincerely hold them. In this sense I repeat the Church is, and has been, a bulwark against Rome. Look e. g., at the XXXIX. Articles. Of them, no less than 20 do directly aim at Rome, denounce her errors in the strongest language; call her doctrines "fond things, vainly invented, and grounded upon no warranty of Scripture, but rather repugnant to the will of God." Examine them yourselves and see.

Again, what do the Romanists say of our Church? Dr. Newman, since his perversion, used the following words in an address he gave to a number of men calling themselves "Anglicans," and meeting in what they call their "oratory," in London. He said "You in vain hope to bring your Church, as you call it, into harmony with Catholicity. If the Articles and formularies of the Anglican Church could have been brought into harmony with Catholicity, we would have done it. No pains were spared in order give them a Catholic character, but we found them hopelessly and irremediably protestant."

I say, if the Church of England be not a bulwark against the Church of Rome, how is it the Romanists and Dr. Parker are at one in their desire to destroy it? There are no political opponents of the Church more vigorous and unrelenting than the Romanists as a body. And as for 84 clergymen having seceded to the Church of Rome out of 16,000, and in a space of 26 years, I do not think that proves much. We might ask, how many dissenting ministers have during that time been ordained as clergymen of the Church of England.

It is with sorrow and shame that we admit that there are men who virtually are Romanists within the Church, but I repeat these are manifestly traitors in the camp. The fortifications of the Church are sound, and there are enough good and true Churchmen, both of the Clergy and laity, to man them, and we trust soon to send those traitors to their own place.

"But," (says Dr. Parker,) "we don't want to destroy the Church of England, our mission is to benefit the Church." I only "venture to hint" that there may be a Romish element in some of your offices. It is a mere matter of toothache," &c.

Very good, Dr. Parker, but unfortunately these kind professions we hesitate to accept. What (for instance) about the old clock which was to be pulled down and sold for "old iron." Is that benefitting the clock? Last time you were here, as you warmed with your subject, you told the men of Bradford the contest was about "essentials," that the establishment was "the greatest *political*, *social*, and RELIGIOUS calamity of this country;" that you wished to deliver your countrymen from "damning superstitions." All this does not look much like toothache. And so, when for the twentieth time you change your meta-

phor, and become a surgeon who *for love* wishes to apply the knife to a "festering wound," we say, "Keep off with your festering wounds, we can cut them off ourselves. You want to cut our throats."

Dr. Parker alludes to the Old Clock question. He says he thinks "it would be better for every man to have a good watch of his own." Very well, when you have pulled down the Old Clock, Dr. Parker, are you prepared to give this good watch to every one who has hitherto gone by this clock? You are bound by common fairness to do so. First let us have the watches, then pull down the old clock.

Dr. Parker, speaking of the noble men who adorned the ranks of Nonconformity, says "We are not ashamed of Baxter and Owen, of Bunyan and Howe, and a list of kindred spirits which no man can number." I say very likely not, but I'll venture to say those worthies would be ashamed of Dr. Parker.

Dr. Parker appears here as a bitter opponent of the connection between Church and State. These Puritan divines of the 17th Century, almost without exception, held the rightfulness of the connection between Church and State; *e. g.*, Baxter, in his "Memorandum to Civil Rulers," said

"Let none persuade you that you are such terrestrial animals that you have nothing to do with the heavenly concernment of your subjects, for if once men think that the end of your office is only the bodily prosperity of the people, and the end of their ministers is the good of their souls, it will tempt them to prefer the minister before you, as they prefer their souls before their bodies."

Dr. Owen wrote (in his "Duty of Christian Rulers,")

"If once it come to that, that you shall say you have nothing to do with religion as rulers of the nation, God will quickly manifest that He hath nothing to do with you as rulers of the people."

Now contrast those words with those of Dr. Parker and the published opinions of the Liberation Society. In a little tract issued by that Society entitled "What do Dissenters want?" we find this answer among others: "We want the Legislature and the Government, which are constituted with but little regard to religious considerations; to attend to the secular interests of the people, and to leave their spiritual interests to be cared for by religious men, and religious communities."

Well, the Liberation Society may want what they like, but they must not talk about "taking their stand" by the Puritans of the 17th century. These very men not only held the rightfulness of the Union of Church and State, but many of them advocated the use of a Liturgy; many of them were in favour of Episcopacy.

It is somewhat singular that in 1647, while Cromwell and the Puritans were in power, an Act of Parliament was passed, which ordained the payment of Church Rates, with the most stringent penalties for re-

fusing. About the same time, so highly were the principles of civil and religious liberty understood, that no person was allowed to use the *Prayer Book* even in *private*, and severe punishment was the consequence of disobedience. Speaking then of these men, Dr. Parker, after telling us he is not ashamed of them, proceeds to say, (p. 26) "We pray for their mantles, and for a double portion of their spirit, that we may uphold the *same* holy liberty, and defend the *same* sacred truth."

Dr. Parker comes to Bradford and tells men who have (many of them) neither time nor opportunity to look into these matters for themselves, that dissenters are fined, and oppressed, and insulted by the Church. Let us look for a moment at these assertions.

In the first place, Dr. Parker says that dissenters are deprived of the full honours of the Universities. Here he makes a mistake not unfrequently made by persons who know nothing about the Universities. I beg to assure Dr. Parker that both at *Oxford College* and *Cambridge College*, the highest honours of the Universities *are* open to dissenters; what may be done at *Chicago College* I don't know. It is a curious commentary on his assertion that, this very year, the Senior Wrangler at Cambridge is stated in the *Leeds Mercury* to be a dissenter. This is the highest honour Cambridge has to bestow. In 1860, Mr. Aldis, who is, I believe, a Baptist, was Senior Wrangler. Since then, two of Mr. Aldis' brothers have obtained places nearly as high. It is true, a dissenter as a dissenter may not hold a College fellowship; and not a shadow of right has he to do so. These colleges are founded by private benefaction expressly for Churchmen. Examine any Oxford or Cambridge Calendar, and you will see that their endowments are the result of private benevolence; that they were established as "religious houses" in connection with the Church. So that a dissenter has no more right to hold a fellowship in one of these Colleges than a Churchman to hold a fellowship or scholarship in Airedale College.

One would think, to hear Dr. Parker talk, that there should be no rules at all with regard to anything which is possessed by the Church, according to which notion he undoubtedly is insulted by not being made Archbishop of Canterbury.

Well then, as to these *fines*. Will Dr. Parker kindly supply a list of the fines which he has had to pay for being a dissenter. It is a very easy for him to talk about being *fined*;—it would be a very hard thing for him or any man in Bradford to mention what he has had to pay.

Take first the question of Church-rates. There are no Church-rates in Bradford at all. Why? Because the majority of the ratepayers would reject the rate. Well then, if the ratepayers have this power there cannot be much *oppression* about the matter. A Church-rate can only be legally laid where the majority of the ratepayers are in favour of it; and this is the principle on which the whole country is

governed Dissenters long ago might have been exempt from the payment of Church-rates altogether, since a bill was brought in a few sessions since, to enable a dissenter, by stating a conscientious objection to the vote, to evade the payment of it. But dissenters themselves were the main opponents of that bill. Their language, practically, was "We will neither pay ourselves nor let anyone else pay." I cannot say there is no oppression here. because I think the *Church* is oppressed.

Then again, as to the payment of Clergymen. The most absurd mistakes are made and propagated by men of Dr. Parker's stamp. The notion is conveyed that Clergymen are paid out of the taxes of the country, which is an utter untruth. Not a farthing is granted from the taxes of the country for any such purpose.

Hear Nonconformist testimony on this subject. Dr. Pye Smith, an eminent Nonconformist, said in his controversial correspondence with Professor Lee,

"I know there are some, and those persons of unquestionable moral excellence, and who would abhor any violation of what is strictly just, who recommend the resumption (or rather it would be *assumption*, for the State could not resume what it never gave,) of the Church's property by the Government. This, to my apprehension, would be downright robbery. May our Country never be dishonoured by it."

Again, Toulmin Smith, another eminent Nonconformist authority, says

"So far is the State from at present supporting the Church, that every Parish Church in England was formed, not by the State, but by individual donation in ages past."

We are told that tithes, which form a considerable part of Church property, were originally levied on the Country for the Church by Act of Parliament. Well, in answer to that, I will only say that if Dr. Parker will prove that tithes were *originally* levied in this way, I will cheerfully give £5 to the Liberation Society, upon condition that he gives £5 to the Church Institute in Bradford, if he fail to do so.

No doubt Acts of Parliament have been enacted in relation to tithes, confirming and enforcing the payment of what was originally freely given. But now, just let us suppose that tithes were originally levied about A.D. 850, by Act of Parliament. Suppose the whole thing to be compulsory, (which it certainly was not originally) upon whom does the burden fall? Certainly not upon the *poor*, but upon tho *landowners*. It does not now fall upon *them* even, since I do not suppose a single instance could be given in which land has remained in the same family since that early period. It has been bought and sold, subject to the payment of tithe, and therefore the buyer has paid so much less for the land in consequence.

It cannot be said that tithe is a tax on *industry*; that the farmer suffers; that the harder he works, the more he has to pay; since, by

the Tithe Commutation Act, in 1836, a fixed settled rate of payment was arranged for titheable property. If a farm is worth £500 a year, and is subject to tithe, who is liable to that tithe? It comes out of the landlord's pocket, *not the tenant's*. It makes no difference to the farmer whether he pays £450 to the landlord and £50 to the Church, or the whole £500 to the landlord. So if tithes were taken away from the Church, they could only be restored to the landowners. Would that benefit the poor?

I say the more you examine into these things, the more plainly you will see the gross and wilful misrepresentations which are made in connection with this subject. It is extraordinary what some persons can believe and say about clergymen. Hear what the *Nonconformist* newspaper says about myself. It alludes to my late lecture, from which it gives a long passage, in which I denounce Dr. Parker's visits to the country districts as inconsistent with Christian charity. This the *Nonconformist* dignifies with the title of "unctuous hate." It then goes on to say,

"And next day, probably you could find Mr. Mitton, like other clergymen, hounding on his parishioners for a church-rate; sanctioning the sale of a bedridden woman's bed, to pay for the washing of his surplice; selling a farmer's stock for tithe, and dragging sweet innocent Nonconformist children to church on Sundays."—*Nonconformist, Jan.* 17, 1866.

Ladies and Gentlemen,—Behold the monster! Pity the sorrows of a most hard-worked clergyman! I do not doubt that the gentleman who wrote these words is one who believes that the Prime Minister for the time being sends every clergyman his sermons on Saturday night. But my lecture to-night is not on the question of Church and State. I care far less about that than the question of the Prayer Book. If Dr. Parker, by his lectures, were at all likely to bring about a separation of Church and State, I should regard that as of infinitely less consequence than that he should persuade people that the Prayer Book teaches erroneous doctrines. The one is a matter which affects *time*, the other affects *eternity*.

Dr. Parker demands proof from me that some of the best Nonconformists are disgusted with his doings. I may remind Dr. P. that by his own shewing, all Nonconformists do not approve of them. The gentleman in Lancashire who would "think about it," when Dr. P. asked for aid, proves this. But if by proof, Dr. Parker means, Give names, then I must first have proof what Dr. P will do with these gentlemen when he finds them. The fate of James Wilson is vividly before me; the Lancashire gentleman warns me to beware. In tearing off the mask from their faces, I fear Dr. Parker might tear something else as well. Let me, however, again assure Dr. P. that I do know some whom *I* believe to be the best Nonconformists, who are disgusted

with his proceedings, and that I am in the habit of speaking the truth.

There is a passage near the end of Dr. Parker's lecture which I hail.

"Looking at the position of parties, and the prospects of religious liberty, I am increasingly convinced that the final battle will be fought on questions connected with the Book of Common Prayer."

I say, if there must be war, no better battlefield could churchmen desire. It may be that on some minor points, dissenters have grievances. Where these are proved, every true Churchman would wish them swept away. But if the final battle is to be fought on questions connected with the Prayer Book, with confidence indeed may we regard the issue.

In my last lecture I asked Dr. Parker what was the meaning of the Reformation. To that question he has returned no answer. Doubtless, the "quality of my logic" had already sufficiently disgusted him. Let us, however, recur to that point. We look back for a period of 300 years to the origin of our present Prayer Book. We behold a small band of Christian men in England's darkness and superstition, rising up almost alone, to protest against that hateful yet then terrible thing, Popish despotism. We see them brought before rulers and assemblies for the Gospel's sake. We hear their voices amid the flames, cheering one another, and declaring their stedfastness in abiding by the truth. We hear glorious Latimer saying to his fellow-martyr Ridley, as the flames began to crackle around them, "Be of good cheer, Master Ridley, play the man, we shall, I trust by God's grace, light such a candle in England this day as shall never be put out." Thank God, it never *has* been put out—it never *shall* be.

These were the compilers of the Prayer Book. In those days the Prayer Book was a forbidden thing. It was suppressed by authority. The next time, and the only other time it has ever been legally suppressed, was by Oliver Cromwell and the Puritans. The Pope and the Puritans have been the Prayer Book's enemies; they are so now. We then, I say, look back three centuries, and see the authors of the Prayer Book dying at the hands of the Romanists because they rejected as "a delusion and a lie, the figment of sacramental efficacy." We come again to our own times, and see a man gravely informing his countrymen that the Prayer Book is *an offence against God;* and its doctrine, "*Salvation by Water.*"

Truly, this is a step from the sublime to the ridiculous!

My friends, I thank you for your attention to-night. It now remains for you by serious, and I will add, prayerful meditation, to form your own conclusions.

Remember, truth and error are not to be measured by the success of a joke, or the ridicule of an opponent. Cast away these things as husks. The kernel is grave and solid argument, and the test of solid argument is, that it is based upon, and can be proved by the infallible authority of the Word of God.

THE

RELIGIOUS STATISTICS

OF

WALES.

A PAPER READ AT,
THE ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING OF THE BISHOP AND CLERGY OF THE DIOCESE OF BANGOR, HELD AT BANGOR, AUGUST 9, 1866.

BY

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BANGOR:
J. K. DOUGLAS, BOOKSELLER AND STATIONER, HIGH ST.
1867.

PRICE TWOPENCE.

THE RELIGIOUS STATISTICS OF WALES:

A Paper read at the Annual General Meeting of the Bishop and Clergy of the Diocese of Bangor, held at Bangor, August 9, 1866.

The Principality of Wales has of late years increased in interest and importance as an integral portion of the Empire. It has always been regarded as the land of romance and song, having its own original music, for which it is famed, and its traditional and legendary lore, upon which much of the poetry of Europe and of modern times has been founded. It has also the reputation of being pre-eminently religious; and perhaps we may say, that there can scarcely be a people to whom the epithet *deisidaimonesteroi*,[1] in the sense in which it is used by St. Paul, may with greater propriety be applied than the descendants of the ancient Britons. But though rich in historical associations, and possessing much that may interest the historian, the philosopher, and the Christian, it does not follow but that wrong views may be entertained of the country itself, and of its people, by many who persuade themselves that they are comparatively well acquainted with it, and by some who may have spent the greater part of their lives in Wales. This happens in a great measure owing to the bilingual state of the Principality, and especially owing to its religious divisions. It is the natural result of such divisions, that the actual state of a people, whether moral or religious, having to be arrived at through various channels, can be but imperfectly ascertained. In earlier times, our ancestors were more united; and histori-

(1) Acts xvii., 22. See Dean Alford on the word. Hooker's definition of the term, as applied to the Athenians, is—"*religious some way.*" See 1st Sermon on Jude, 17—21.

cally we know, though it will not be generally admitted, that it is to Wales and the Welsh or British Church we owe all of Christianity not derived from Rome; and it is the primitive Christianity of these Islands. But it is to the representative of that Church, as it now exists, and its religious condition statistically considered, that on this occasion we propose, more especially, to direct our remarks. I say the *representative* of the British Church advisedly, for however various may have been the phases through which our own Church has passed, it is a historical fact that she has throughout preserved her identity. The idea of a Church Reformed implies the existence of a Church before it was reformed, and the transmission of the same to our time after such Reformation. We regard it therefore as a wilful perversion of history to assert that the Church to which we belong is a creature of the State, or of recent origin: as well might she be called the daughter of Oliver Cromwell, because for a time she was subject to his influence and domination, as the "daughter of Henry VIII.," because, under that Monarch, she succeeded in shaking off the yoke of the See of Rome, and commenced in earnest and effectually the necessary process of self-reformation.

It is, in fact, on some such mistaken ground as this that so many of our countrymen at the present day justify their separation from us into various sects, and persuade themselves that they are authorised to propagate so many and such lamentable religious diversities: so far also has the work been carried out, that, to all appearance, schism is no longer regarded a sin.

It is to this state of things impartially considered in contrast, or rather in connexion with our own status and ministerial duties, as Churchmen, that I desire now to bespeak your candid attention.

As Wales, for upwards of 300 years, has consisted of 12 Counties only, I propose, for the sake of convenience and perspicuity, to be guided by

that division in the following statistical observations.

In the year 1851, what is called a Religious Census of the country was taken, embodying in its Report a vast amount of religious information, such as might have been expected from a Liberal Nonconformist, but from which even the most moderate Churchman must, on historical as well as theological grounds, conscientiously dissent. As this Census has been made the basis of Welsh religious statistics for the last decade, as well as for the previous one, and calculations made therefrom have furnished information which has been received with some applause in the House of Commons, I trust I shall be sufficiently justified in introducing the subject, and, after careful and impartial analysis, placing the materials before you in such form, as will enable you to exercise upon them your own discrimination and judgment.

The whole population of *England and Wales* at that time was 17,927,609; and one of the principal objects of the Census was to ascertain the number of attendants at public worship, distinguishing those of the different denominations from members of the Church of England. But, first, it was desirable to ascertain the greatest number per cent. *that would be able* to attend, and how many from necessary causes *would be debarred* from attending, religious worship at a given time. The estimate so made, after deducting 3 millions for *young children*, 1 million for *invalids*, and 3,278,039 for *persons in charge of houses* (2), (in all $7\frac{1}{2}$ millions *unable* to attend), reduced the 17,927,609 to 10,398,013—leaving 58 per cent. as the maximum number of persons *able* to attend religious worship at the same time.

Let us now see what *was* actually the highest number that *did* attend at one time on the Census Sunday, 1851. And in p. clii. of the Report we find that it was 4,647,482, being less than one-half the 58 per

(2) *i.e.* one for each house throughout the kingdom. See census 1851, p. cxx.-i.

cent. who, according to the Registrar-General's calculation, *might* have attended, and only about 25 per cent. of the whole population. If therefore, for convenience' sake, we bear in mind this general statement, that out of three attendances on the 30th of March, 1851, the afternoon and evening attendances (3) being considerably smaller than the morning attendance, the largest number of worshippers, including the Church of England and *all* denominations, on that day, at one time, was only about a *fourth* of the whole population of 17 millions and upwards, we shall considerably facilitate our calculations, so far as they may refer to that part of the country with which we have now more especially to deal.

The exact population of *Wales* (strange to say) cannot well be made out from the Census; for in p. cxciv., deducting Monmouthshire (p. ccxiii.), it is 1,031,496. In pp. ccxxxiii-iv., adding North and South Wales together, it is 1,005,721; and in p. ccc. the population of North and South Wales is 1,011,784. But in the Parliamentary Returns of that period, the population of Wales is 1,013,243. From discrepancies of this kind, of course, one cannot expect much accuracy.

There is another peculiarity or defect to be noticed, —which, whether intentional or not, must have contributed in no small degree to the purpose of mystification. The Returns for the *counties* of England are given for each county, *separately*: those for the *counties* of North and South Wales are severally *lumped;* an expedient which renders it all but impossible to test the accuracy, or rather to expose the inaccuracy, of such returns. We feel, however, entitled to say, that should the Compiler of the Census of '51 try his hand again at Welsh statistics, we shall be prepared, if he gives us the County Returns (provided the returns for each parish cannot

(3) The afternoon attendance was 3,184,115; the evening do., 3,064,449.

be given), to meet him fairly and fearlessly on his own ground, awaiting with confidence the result of the investigation. As to Registration Districts, or Poor Law Unions, such divisions are to most people as unintelligible as the geography of the Moon.

The chief document in the whole Census is Table A, with its Supplement II. (p. clxxxii.) which shows the total number of attendants at public worship in connexion with the Church and with each religious body on the morning of the Census day, including *estimates for defective returns*. But here, again, two things must be noted:—1st, That the *morning* attendance exceeded the afternoon and night attendances, owing to the preponderating number of Church of England worshippers at that period of the day;—a fact which shows that the Church as a rule promotes early worship, whereas the Dissenters generally (as we learn from this and other tables) worship in greater numbers at night. 2dly, The defective returns were made up by what may be called the *doctrine of averages*, viz., by comparing places of worship which returned no congregations (because in some instances possibly they had no congregations to return) with those which made those returns, and striking an average between them. But I doubt whether my Reverend Brethren before me would find much benefit from adopting this facile and convenient mode of mustering a congregation.

Now the greatest number of attendants at public worship, throughout *England and Wales*, on the *morning* of the Census day, was as follows:—

		per cent.
(*a*) Church.....	2,541,244 being	14.17
All Denominations..	2,106,238 ..	11.74
Total.....	4,647,482 ..	25.92

In other words, Out of the whole population of England and Wales, (*i.e.* 17,927,609) about a *fourth* part only, as we have said, was the greatest number that attended *at one time*; and the difference between all denomi-

nations and the Church was as 11 to 14. But those denominations, it should be observed, comprise 4 kinds of Presbyterians, 6 kinds of Baptists, Independents, Quakers, Unitarians, Moravians, 7 kinds of Wesleyans, 2 kinds of Calvinistic Methodists, Sandemanians, New Church, Brethren, Isolated Congregations; with Foreign Lutherans, French Protestants, Reformed Church of the Netherlands, German Protestant Reformers, Roman Catholics, Greek Church, German Catholics, Italian Reformers, Irvingites, Latter Day Saints, and Jews—38 in all.

But analysing this General Table, so as to make out the relative difference between England and Wales (which is wholly unnoticed in the Census), we find that the greatest number of attendants on the *morning* of the same day *in England only* (the population of the 40 counties being (4) 16,915,825) was as follows :—

		per cent.
(*b*) Church (5)	2,453,225	being 14.5
Denoms.	1,868,844	.. 11.04
Total	4,322,069	.. 25.55

Again the greatest number of *morning* attendants in the 12 *counties of Wales*, taking the population at 1,011,784, was as follows :—

		per cent.
(*c*) Church(6)	88,019	being 8.70
Denoms.	237,394	.. 23.46
Total	325,413	.. 32.16

(4) Census '51, p. ccc.

(5) Numbers obtained by deducting Church attendants in (*c*) from do. in (*a*), and Denoms. in (*c*) from do. in (*a*).

(6) In pp. cexxxiii.-iv of census'51. the total of Church attendants is 83,089, or 8.21 per cent.; but adding Church attendants in the county of Monmouth, *i.e.*, 12,934 (p. ccxiii.) to that number, the total is 96,023. In table B, however, in p. cxciv. the number of Church attendants for Wales *and Monmouthshire* is.....100,953

Ded..... 96,023

Difference..... 4,930—which add to 83,089

4,930—result as above 88,019, which *does not include Estimates for defective Returns.*

In other words, the percentage of attendance in *England* is about 1-4th ; the percentage in *Wales* is represented as being nearly a 3rd of the population : while the difference between Dissenters of all kinds in England and the Church is as 11 to 14, and the difference between the Church and Dissenters in Wales is as 8 to 23.

We have now to examine a different Table. Having seen what was the greatest number of attendants at public worship *at one time*, we may in table N (p. ccc.) see what was the greatest number of attendants at *different times* on the same day, or *at the most numerously attended services.*

In England *and* Wales they stand thus :—

		per cent.
Church...	2,971,258	being 16.57
Denoms..	3,384,964	.. 18.88
Total....	6,356,222	.. 35.45

But in England *only* the greatest attendances stand thus :—

		per cent.
Church..	2,861,663	being 16.91
Denoms..	2,951,644	.. 17.44
Total....	5,813,307	.. 34.36

And in Wales *only* thus :—

		per cent.
Church..	109,595	being 10.83
Denoms..	433,320	.. 42.83
Total ..	542,915	.. 53.66

The difference, thus, between England and Wales is, That on the *morning* of the Census day, in *England*, 25 per cent. was the greatest number of attendants ; in *Wales* it was 32 per cent. And at the *most numerously attended services* during the whole of the day, the greatest attendance throughout *England* was 34 per cent.; but in *Wales* it reached 53 per cent. If, however, as the Census states, the greatest

number of attendants at public worship at one time *throughout the kingdom* was but a 4th of the population, the number attending in Wales at that ratio (*i.e.* at 25.92 per cent.) would have been only 262,254; but what are the numbers returned? For the *morning* they were 325,413; and for the *greatest attendances during the day*, 542,915, being considerably more than twice as much as the said 1-4th, and greater than one-half the population by 37,023. Moreover, out of those, 433,320 were returned as Dissenters. (p. ccc.)

The question, then, which now presents itself to us, is this:—*Is Wales so exceptional as to justify so large, so extravagant a demand upon our credulity?* We say nothing, but allow the figures to speak for themselves.

Again—If we analyse the amount of *sitting accommodation* (allowing 58 per cent. to be sufficient for the whole population,) the Returns for Church and Dissent in S. Wales(7) were 83.5 per cent., leaving a surplus of 25 per cent. more than the population could require; and in N. Wales, 91.3 per cent., being 33 per cent. more than the required number. Again in S. Wales, the sittings provided by the *Dissenters alone* are returned as 57 per cent., being one short of the highest number that could be required by the whole population. And in N. Wales, 62.5 per cent., *i.e.* 4 per cent. over the maximum number necessary for the accommodation of all the inhabitants of this part of the Principality able to attend public worship.

It appears, therefore, from these Returns, if they be reliable, that, were the Church of England in Wales extinguished to-morrow, there would be in N. and S. Wales sufficient, if not more than sufficient sitting accommodation provided by the Dissenters alone for all the population able to attend religious worship. And as the Census returns of '51 have been made the basis of additional and similar returns

(7) p. cclxxvii.

for '61, and carried on to the present time, there need be no apprehension that the figures may be swelled to any amount that the increase of the population may require. But it happens sometimes, and it may be the case in the present instance, that what proves, or may seem to prove, too much, proves nothing; for, on the Compiler's own showing, both the sittings and the worshippers are numerically overdrawn.

It is true that a majority of the Returns throughout the kingdom may have been *bonâ fide* Returns: others *must* have been loose calculations, depending upon supposed sittings, and supposed numbers, and which supposed sittings and numbers, no doubt, were wrong. How often do we hear of places of worship being capable of accommodating 2,000, which actually have not sitting room for 800? This mode of exaggeration is not peculiar to Dissenters alone, for I have heard of a congregation of 1600 in a church which could not accommodate more than 600. Mistakes of this kind arise from non-measurement, from not counting heads, and from supposing that a gallery, with a considerable elevation or incline, which presents a large frontage, contains more sitting or standing room than the area below. It must also be admitted as a fact, I fear, that in our part of the country at least, persons were counted over two or three times in different places of worship, to make up one of the three attendances on the Census day.

We, however, leave these remarks (which have necessarily become dry and desultory), in order to lay before you other and more practical observations.

The conclusions which result from an impartial consideration of the Returns to which we have referred, and the tables worked out from them, are—1st, That, as regards the Principality at least, no Religious Census has yet been put forth upon which we can place any reliance whatever. 2dly, That no correct Census of that kind can be obtained by means and machinery such as were employed for the purpose

in '51. The remarks which have been stated may, in some degree, strengthen those convictions, added to the fact, that the refusal to allow a fair Religious Census to be made in '61, was occasioned by the very persons who now pride themselves so much upon *that* which will not bear the slightest critical analysis. Besides, the Census in question is clearly one-sided: as writers of history, if politicians, see and write through their own spectacles, so the Compiler of that Census and its Report, betrays his religious bias in every page.

Our subject will now lead us naturally to enquire, *What may be the proximate Religious Statistics of the Principality at the present time?* In 1861, the population of Wales was 1,111,780, being as near as can be 100,000, or 10 per cent., more than in 1851. But thirty-six of the principal towns of Wales contain a population, according to the last Census, of upwards of 305,000; and five of those towns, viz., Cardiff, Llanelly, Merthyr, Pembroke, and Swansea, contain more than one-half of that number. And when we consider that some of the towns are almost exclusively English; that a vast proportion of the rest are more or less so; and that in addition to that, 6 out of the 12 counties are considerably Anglicised, or contain a vast preponderance of English or Anglicised populations, it may be presumed, inasmuch as the Non-conformists in Wales have but few English Ministers, that the English population of Wales alone, which (including towns and counties) I calculate to be not less than 350 *or* 360,000, (8) will yield the Church a number not much less than the 88,000 returned as the full complement of its attendants on the morning of the Census Day.

(8.) In the *Morning Herald* of 15th Sept., 1866, the proportion of the English population was set down as a 3rd in South Wales, and a 5th in North Wales. The total, thus, according to the Census of 1861, would be 313,700; but this, allowing for the increase in the population since that time, is insufficient. Perhaps the data had been borrowed, indirectly or unconciously, from such sources as the *Morning Star*.

And if this conjecture be proximately true, two inferences will follow,—1st, That the Census of '51, as regards the Welsh Church, must have been most imperfect: (see Census '51, p. clxx.) 2ndly, That the average number of Church attendants in Wales (including the English and Welsh populations generally), could not have been far less than the average attendance in England.

This fact alone, independently of other considerations, renders it highly desirable that there should be correct Religious Statistics for this part of the Kingdom. The whole of the population is but a third of that of the Metropolis at the present time: nearly a third of that is English; and a vast proportion, if not the greater part, of the English population, belongs to the Church. That number, however, be it what it may, added to the Church attendants in our Welsh and rural Parishes, must lessen considerably the disparity in the per centage of attendance, as shown in the Census, between Wales and England.

There are other considerations which, on this head, must not be omitted. It is a fact which wears an encouraging aspect, *That the Church in Wales has been for years increasing, and is slowly but steadily increasing at the present time*, not perhaps so much by the assistance which it derives openly from the rich, as by the persistent labours of the Clergy, contending against peculiar difficulties, often unaided and alone. The Church is necessarily anti-democratic, Dissent is democratic in its tendency. And, by aiding the lower and middle classes, from political motives, or it may be from an over-astute deference to the *vox populi*, the Aristocracy of Wales unconsciously lend a helping hand to foster the democracy which undermines their own power; whereas their true policy, as Churchmen, should be to promote the spread of Church principles and Church Education among all classes, that high and low alike may learn to obey for conscience' sake, and do their duty

in that state of life into which they have severally been called.

Allied to this, if not resulting from it, is another fact, *That there are indications which, in the opinion of thinking men, cannot be mistaken, that for the last* 20 *years Dissent in Wales has not advanced in a proportionate ratio to the increase in the population.* More chapels may have been built—more money has been invested; but many of the chapels returned are mere small private dwellings, (Cen. '51, p. cxxiii.) or parts of dwellings: they have also been provided, not for the 360,000 English inhabitants, but chiefly for the 750,000 Welsh speaking part of the population, *in addition to the Parish Churches*; so that, the area or base of our calculations being, and becoming annually, more contracted, it is a fact which need not be questioned that now for years Dissent, in its multiform varieties, has made no appreciable progress in Wales. There are outward and internal evidences of a very general unsettlement—signs of fear when even approached from without, which indicate internal weakness, to say nothing of the semi-religious novelties which are constantly resorted to in order to sustain the Dissenting cause. The best educated among our non-conformist brethren occupy often a very questionable ground; for the more they read, and the better they are informed, the more they have to disguise their real convictions. It is a sad state of things when the higher members of a sect, from the acknowledged untenableness of their religious position, have to depend for subsistence on the bigotry of those below. In common with many of my countrymen, I give it as my conviction, that Welsh non-conformity, as a spiritual or religious phenomenon, has long reached its climacteric period; and that its decay will be hastened not so much by preaching, as by educating—by enlightening the public mind to appreciate sounder teaching, and to exchange the extravagances of will-worship for the spiritual authority and guidance of the Christian Church.

Regarding, however, its non-advancement as ominously significant, I may venture to put forth a conjecture as to the relative strength of the Religious parties at the present time. I calculate that the number belonging to the Church of England in Wales cannot be less than 150,000, or 13.49 per cent. of the population of '61, which is 1,111,780. On the Census Day in '51, 109,595, or 10.83 per cent. were returned as having attended the Welsh Church's fullest services; and since then 15 years have passed, which is equal to 15 per cent. addition to the population: the Church herself may be presumed to have in some measure increased during that period; and we must not forget that upwards of 100 (9) Church congregations in North and South Wales made no returns whatever to the Registrar General at that time, and that estimates for defective returns are not included in the above calculation. Under such circumstances 150,000, or 13.49 per cent., being only 3 per cent. more than the most numerous attendances in 1851, (and less still, *i.e.*, 2 per cent., if Monmouthshire be included in the calculation), cannot be considered as an over-estimated or unfair proportion of Welsh and English Churchmen, or of such as belong to the Church in North and South Wales. But what numbers to assign to the several denominations of Welsh Dissenters, it is not so easy to determine. To satisfy their own claims, we may be sure that they will not be content with less than the whole population. But supposing, hypothetically or conjecturally, we award to them 250,000, or 22.48 per cent., this added to the 150,000 would give 35.97 per cent. on the population of 1861, which is rather more than the *general* per centage of the most numerously attended services of Dissenters and Churchmen in 1851, giving them the benefit of their

(9.) p. ccxxxviii., *i.e.*, including the three services. "The clergy had scruples about complying with an invitation not proceeding from Episcopal authority;" and "the secular officers of the Church," or relieving officers, were instructed to make the returns.—p. clxx.

own returns from Wales to swell the aggregate number. Supposing, again, we add 50,000 to that, and assign to all the Welsh denominations 300,000 souls, or 26.98 per cent., the two added together would then give a per centage on the population of '61 of 40.47, being 5 per cent. more than the most numerously attended services of *Churchmen and Dissenters* throughout England and Wales in '51, and 8 per cent. more than the most numerous attendances of *all denominations* exclusive of the Church, at that period. But this, after all, let it be remembered, is 133,320 less than the Welsh Dissenting Returns then made from a population less by 100,000 than that of '61! (See p. 9.) Here, however, there must be a pause; for whatever may be the exact number of our non-conformist brethren, be they few or many, less or more than we may on just principles be disposed to give them, we feel that to add 133,320 to the previous number, and 42,828 to that as the supplemented 42.83 per centage on the Dissenting Returns continued to 1861, and at least 21,414 to that again as 42.83 per cent. on the same Returns made up to the present time—in all 300,000 + 133,320, 42,828, and 21,414 = 497,562, or nearly one-half the population—we feel assured (whatever advantage such an accumulation of figures may effect for the Welsh Dissenters themselves, the Welsh population being only about 700,000), that the useless parade of exaggerated numbers would tend only to stultify the principles and calculations of the whole Census of '51, and reduce it beyond doubt to a self-contradictory and incongruous muddle! Taking the Census of '61 as the basis of our calculations, the number of morning attendants in Wales, including Churchmen and all Denominations, at 25.92 per cent. would be only 288,173; and the greatest number at the fullest services, would be 394,126, or 35.45 per cent. of the whole population.

Lastly: a paper of this kind cannot well be concluded without adverting to the *duties* and *prospects*

of the Clergy with special reference to the various sections of the population among whom they minister. Most of the sects claim affinity with the Church, and are proud of the connexion; and yet they use this assumed fact, to show how much more reformed and better are they. But we, as Ministers, can have no sympathy with the Welsh population, or they with us, except through the medium of their own tongue. They are not otherwise accessible. And even then (for such is the dogmatism in which they are nurtured) we should not be credited, though we spoke the truth: in many instances indeed, if we attempted to enlighten our countrymen on points of history or theology, in a way that would militate against their preconceived opinions, they would actually think us mad. Bad Welsh also would prejudice our teaching, for it would indicate a school different to that in which they have been moulded, and lead only to such treatment as would be expected from natives towards foreigners. This suggests especially to my younger brethren in the Ministry the necessity of a thorough acquaintance with the vernacular. To secure cordial sympathy, one should be brought up in nearly the same school of thought, and accustomed to the same colloquial phraseology. And with such qualifications, accompanied by the advantage of a superior education, who could foretell the results?

To act on the mass, however, there must be *Organisation*; and Organisation in the Church is that which the Church most needs. In other religious bodies steps are taken, measures are concerted and matured with extraordinary rapidity; but among ourselves there is such an unwieldiness—so great a torpidity that it would require some indefinite amount of power to secure among us anything like simultaneous action. This, no doubt, is owing in a great measure to our being too much accustomed to think independently, and to act independently; whereas, if we had a mind to influence the mass, there should be fre-

quent intercourse, and a friendly interchange of opinions among us; and after our amicable gatherings and consultations, we should act;—the whole ought not to be allowed to end in talk.

To test the justice of this statement, suppose a correct Return of the Religious Statistics of the Welsh Church were required in a month, or six weeks, from this date. Would it be done? Who would do it? Would there not be an endless variety of opinions about the doing of it? And yet, why should it not be done? Who can say, that it is not perfectly practicable? With a little energy, and practical experience, projects of this nature and even of a higher class, *might* surely be easily and expeditiously accomplished, with benefit to the Church and to the world at large. Still, though we are not just yet in a condition to ascertain our own numbers, however desirable, we need not be frightened by figures unaccompanied by facts; for the time may soon come when (10) *Welsh Statistics*, such as they are

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(10) As a specimen of Welsh exaggeration, I quote the following extract from the *Herald Cymraeg*, a newspaper published at Carnarvon. It is dated March 10, 1866, and is a translation (bearing the signature of the author) of No. 3 of a series of letters which appeared in the *Morning Star*, and which were referred to by Mr Bright in his speech in Parliament. The writer, after stating that the Population of Wales *and Monmouthshire*, according to the Census of '51, was 1,118,914, gives the "*Worshipping Population*" as follows:—

(*a*) "Churchmen . ....138,719, or 22 per cent.
"Nonconformists 473,102, or 78 per cent.

"Those figures (he adds) are confirmed by Table N (p.ccc.) which shows the numbers of persons present at the most numerously attended services on the Census day, which were as follows,—

(*b*) "Churchmen.....134,940, or 21 per cent.
"Nonconformists 490,543, or 79 per cent."

The last totals are nearly right, but the per centage, as regards "the *worshipping population*," is wrong. Any one adding the percentages together will see that they respectively make up 100 per cent., showing that the *whole population* of Wales *and Monmouthshire* attended public worship on the Census Day. Mr E. Baines, a great authority with Non-conformists, gives it as his opinion, that "accommodation (in places of worship) for 50 per cent. of the gross population *would be ample*" (C.'51, p.cxix.); but here we have the whole population attending, which is an *impossi-*

at present, may be looked upon as simply contemptible, and regarded as equivalent in proverbial significance to the *Greek Calends*!

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bility! And this is not all, for it is added—"This, in reality does not show correctly, or rather it lessens, the contrast between Nonconformists and the Church; for at that time there was a large number of Dissenting children belonging to National Schools, together with gentlemen's servants who were dissenters,—all of whom were compelled to attend Church. And, on the authority of one who knows Wales better than myself, it is calculated, that this would make a difference of nearly 25 per cent. in favour of Dissenters." Here, however, the writer must have forgotten two things,—1st, That 25 per cent., as a general average, was the greatest number that attended at one time on the Census day. And 2ndly, That 21, or 22 per cent. (as above) is the highest number of Churchmen that, according to his calculation, attended public worship in Wales. It follows, if the above be correct, that there is not a single Churchman in Wales, but that those who attend Church and Chapel, alike, are *all Dissenters*, as well as 3 or 4 per cent. more than the actual population!

But the above percentages, as we have said, are clearly miscalculations. There is no reason for supposing that they are errors of the press, for they are substantially, though variedly, *repeated*. The numbers, however, should be:—

	per cent.
(*a*) Churchmen.....	12.39
Nonconformists.....	42.28
(*b*) Churchmen..	12.05
Nonconformists.....	43.84

or, more properly, if the totals were correct according to the Census—Population of Wales and Monmouthshire (not 1,118,914, but) 1,188,914.

	per cent.
(*b*) Churchmen,.....	134,940, being 11.34, or rather 132,940, and
Nonconformists,	490,543, being 41.25, or rather 490,563.

The term "*Nonconformists*," however, let it be borne in mind, includes (as above) Roman Catholics, Unitarians, Quakers, Mormonites, and all the sects of Wales!

Suffice it, then, to remark, that it is from miscalculations, and erroneous returns of this kind, we may presume, that the Census of '51, as regards the Principality, was chiefly worked out; and these, or such as these, are the very statistics by means of which the honourable member for Birmingham, in adverting to the moral and religious condition of Wales, elicited the approval of at least the liberal portion of the House of Commons! *Ex uno disce omnes*.

J. K. Douglas, Steam Printer, Bangor.

CONFORMITY

TO THE

CHURCH OF ENGLAND.

BY

EBENEZER BAILEY.

FORMERLY BAPTIST MINISTER AT HULL.

"For the Church of England, I am persuaded that the constant doctrine of it is so pure and orthodox, that whosoever believes it and lives according to it undoubtedly shall be saved: and that there is no error in it which may necessitate or warrant any man to disturb the peace or renounce the communion of it."—CHILLINGWORTH.

SECOND EDITION, REVISED AND ENLARGED.

LONDON:
HAMILTON, ADAMS AND CO.

HULL:
JOSEPH W. LENG.

1864

PREFACE.

IN making this decided avowal of my preference for the Ministry of the Established Church, it has not been so much my object to produce a work essentially original, as to lay before my friends the reasons which have satisfied my own mind in withdrawing from their communion.

A Congregationalist of the straitest sect, I was, in consequence, the subject of many strong and noxious prejudices against the Establishment; but on the occasion of the late Nonconformist Bicentenary, I was called upon more carefully to examine the subject, and I became convinced that the Anglican Church, instead of being the unscriptural thing I had fancied it to be, bears upon it God's own signature.

It will not be supposed, because at a specified time, thought culminated, that my mind *suddenly* veered round to any point of opinion upon which this pamphlet treats. On the contrary, the candid reader will discover that my conversion was gradual; the result of thought sufficiently prolonged to furnish proof of my sincerity, and give me strong claims upon the sympathy of others. Like the leaves of an unblown rose, these things have long lain folded up in the soul, expanding gradually, in accordance with nature's law, beneath the dawning light of truth.

No attempt is made in the following pages to prove the Church of England infallible. Like everything human, she has blemishes and imperfections, and even her *best* things have often been perverted from their legitimate use; but withal I think her system approximates more closely to apostolic doctrine and usage than the system of any other Christian community.

The growing conviction of my mind is, that the majority of Dissenters have never impartially examined both sides of this question; and this I say not by way of reproach to them, for well I know they consider, as I once did, that it would be time lost to examine the arguments adduced by the opponents of a system which they fully believe to be divinely instituted; it is, however, of such I ask a careful and candid perusal of the following chapters.

Whatever may be thought of my conclusions, I trust I have an honest conscience; and to all whose eyes may scan these pages, I say, I have sought the truth, and have gone to the Bible in my search for it. I think I have found it, but I speak as unto wise men; let them judge what I say.

E. B.

PREFACE TO THE SECOND EDITION.

I FIND by a large number of letters which I have received since the issue of my first edition, that I am but one, among hundreds of Dissenting teachers, who have, within a few years, returned to the good old ark of the Church of England; from which, on the responsibility of our forefathers, we came out, seeking a resting place on a wide watery waste, but finding none. Public recantation is never a pleasing task; but I could wish, for the glory of God and the good of the Church, that my brethren had seen it necessary to give wider publicity to their convictions; so that in the foot prints left by them on "life's solemn main," others might find encouragement.

I take this opportunity of thanking the *many* clergymen who have regarded, with so much sympathy and interest, the important step I have felt called upon to take.

E. B.

March, 1864.

CONFORMITY

TO THE

CHURCH OF ENGLAND.

CHAPTER I.

THE CHURCH ESTABLISHMENT.

I AM persuaded that the principle of a Religious Establishment, which embodies and enforces the great doctrines of the gospel is good and scriptural, and that it ought to be firmly and determinately maintained.

The present year* will long be remembered in the history of the English Church, for just now there is gathered around it an opposition which demands its total extinction. Its opponents seem to think, and they certainly say without hesitancy, that, "as a church it is unscriptural, and as an establishment it is unjust: that it owes its origin and progress to priestcraft, and is now indebted, for a lingering existence, to the interested ambition of the holders of its lucrative honors." In bold and unhesitating language they represent it as a nuisance of the dark ages, to be swept away before the rising progress of knowledge, and the manly decision of intrepid reformers.

From this it may be seen that the subject of this pamphlet is one which has acquired peculiar interest: it calls upon the supporters of the Anglican Church to look narrowly to its foundations, to see whether they rest upon the living Rock, and can stand secure against the inroad of tumultuous waters

* 1862.

Under a pressure of conviction, which it would be unsafe longer to resist, and impossible ultimately to overcome, I take up weapons on the side of the Establishment. To abjure a well-compacted system in the bosom of which I was born and nurtured: to break assunder the ties of brotherhood, which friendly intercourse and sweet counsel have endearingly strengthened: to encounter the obloquy which must be expected, when the change which the mind has undergone, is proclaimed: to abandon the opinions which my mother taught me, and which my venerable father has long held and advocated, is to take up a cross for the cause of God and truth. But after devout consideration I feel called upon to vindicate, as best I can, the Church for which Ridley, Cranmer, and Latimer became martyrs; and to review the principle objections of Nonconformists.

Able writers seriously contend that religion ought to be dealt with like any article of ordinary merchandise, the want of which produces the demand, and the demand creates the supply; and that all extraordinary measures to sustain it should be laid aside. I am not surprised that men should argue thus who know nothing of the depravity of the heart; but it is surprising that those who know that every man by nature is alienated from God, and indisposed to return to him, should urge such a fallacy. Dr. Chalmers says, "Such persons seem to have overlooked one most material circumstance of distinction. The native and untaught propensities of the human constitution will always of themselves secure a demand for the commodities of trade sufficiently effective to bring forward a supply equal to the real needs of the population, and to their power of purchasing. But the appetite for *religious* instruction is neither so strong nor so universal as to secure such an effective demand for it. Had the people been left in this matter to themselves, there would, in point of fact, have been large tracts of country without a place of worship and without a minister. The Legislature have met the population half way, by providing them with a church and a religious teacher in every little district of the land; and by this arrangement have increased to a very great degree the quantity of attendance, and the quantity of actual

ministration. In point of fact, a much greater number of people do come to church, and do come within the application of Christian influence, when the church and the preacher are provided for them, than if they had been left to build a meeting-house, and to maintain a preacher themselves. There is a far surer and more abundant supply of this wholesome influence dealt out among the population under the former arrangement than under the latter one: and it is this *excess* of moral religious good, which forms the argument for a national Establishmen that I shall now insist upon."

This forcible extract must at least decide the *expediency* of an Established Church. To suppose that the millions now brought under Christian influence would have done for themselves what the legislature has done for them, is miserable and heartless trifling with the souls of men. The fundamental truth of man's depravity must either be lost sight of, or wilfully set aside before this position can be maintained—that men are to have no means of grace provided for them till they feel the want and express the desire. It is cheerfully acknowledged, that those who have separated from the Established Church, have, by their piety and zeal, done much to propagate the truth, but they have derived their efficiency from the influence which the Government has brought to bear on the great masses of the population. An appeal to results convinces us, that, apart from the help of the magistrate, the dearth of religious instruction would have been awfully extensive; darkness would have covered the earth, and gross darkness the people. Under present circumstances, however, no man can take up his abode on any spot in our highly favoured land, and complain with reason—"No man cares for my soul." There are thousands of desert spots that the voluntary system would leave to barbarism, and where the people would have been as sheep without a shepherd; but the Church of England has put ministers in those very places in no respect inferior to those who minister in the most populous towns; on every hill, and in every valley, the Sabbath-bells send forth their sweet and simple notes of invitation, and the whole length and breadth of the land is brought under pastoral superintendence. In what other way

could this universal provision for a nation's spiritual wants have been supplied? I fear that those who protest most loudly against an Established Church, overlook this view of the subject, which demands their serious and candid attention.

This being admitted, we advance to shew that it is *the duty* of our rulers to promote the interests of true religion. We nowhere assert the magistrate's right *personally* to teach and inculcate the doctrines of the gospel, for that is the office of the Christian ministry; he cannot engraft these doctrines on the heart, for, as an inward principle, true religion is the work of the Holy Spirit. The only way in which he can promote Christianity, is, by providing whatever is requisite for instruction in its truths, and for the performance of its services. And who will say that, in doing this, our rulers go beyond their duty? It is somewhat deserving of notice, that Dr. Owen, the great opponent of Episcopacy, and champion of Independency, should have introduced the following passage in a sermon he addressed to the Long Parliament:— "If," says he, "it once comes to this, that you shall say you have nothing to do with religion as rulers of the nation, God will quickly manifest that he has nothing to do with you as rulers of the nation. Certainly it is incumbent on you to take care that the 'faith which was once delivered to the saints' in all the necessary concernments of it, may be *protected, preserved, propagated* to and among the people over whom God hath set you. If a father, as a father, is bound to do what answers this in his own family unto his children—and a master, as a master, to his servants: if you will justify yourselves as fathers or rulers of your country, you will find in your account this to be incumbent upon you."

The Legislature surely is bound to consult, in all things, the public welfare. The question which arises, then is this: Is religion of importance to society? Let a Pagan answer: "A city seems to me more capable of being built without a foundation, than a polity is capable of securing a system, or, having received one, of preserving it, if sentiments of religion be entirely removed." Higher authority than Plutarch the Pagan affirms: "Righteousness exalteth a nation, but sin is a reproach to any people." It is said, that when our much-

loved Queen was asked by the African Embassy, what is the great source of our national prosperity and renown, she pointed to the Bible, and replied, "That's the secret of England's greatness." So, verily, the State owes the Church, much more than the Church owes the State; and when people talk of separating the two, we may tremble for the State, not for the Church; we may tremble to think that the public aspect of the land would be a godless aspect.

It is my candid opinion, and I shall not shrink from maintaining it, that a people which profess Christianity, and yet do not honour and uphold it in their national character, will be dishonoured and disowned of God. Religion is not less the charter of a nation's blessedness now that it was in the days of Israel of old, when the Holy Ghost inspired the sweet psalmist to exclaim, "Happy is the people that are in such a case; yea, blessed are the people that have the Lord for their God." Is it so? and, *notwithstanding*, shall we authorize the government of Christian England to provide gaols for Englishmen who are thieves, and hulks for Englishmen who are felons, and gallows for Englishmen who are murderers; and shall they not provide churches and pastors for Englishmen who are industrious and patient labourers in mines and factories? "What language, "asks one," could adequately characterise the refinement of barbarity in the father of a large family, who liberally and largely provided diversities of punishment for the offences of his children, while he refused to provide for the only species of education by which they could be effectually won from the commission of such offences?" It must be admitted, that a government which makes no provision for the worship and service of God, abandons one of its highest and most important obligations. This, then, is the state of the argument. It is the duty of the sovereign to promote the good of society; religion, the best gift of God to man, is the chief good of society; the sovereign, therefore, is bound to use all the means he possesses to promote it; but no other than civil means are within his power, consequently he is bound to employ them, and them only, for the advancement of religion. In seeking to evade this inference, Dissenters must take heed lest they condemn

themselves in the things which they allow.* While denying the right of Cæsor's jurisdiction in religious matters, Nonconformists generally, with reference the fourth commandment, call upon the civil government to adopt measures to maintain, in all its integrity, the Christian Sabbath. If they acted consistently, surely they would deny the right of human legislation in the matter, but many of them, startled at the consequences of leaving the Sabbatical ordinance without the protection of the laws, make a distinction between its spiritual and its secular objects. The former, they say, cannot come under the cognizance of human laws, while the latter may. But, it seems to me, the language of the record is such, that the one part of the institution cannot be disjointed from the other, and that, as a whole, it is strictly and unequivocally a religious institute. Nor is it possible in legislation entirely to separate the spiritual from the secular ends of the Sabbath, for the temporal interests of man are so interwoven with religion, that whatever promotes the one, tends directly to promote the other. Besides, apart from this, enough is admitted in the objection itself to answer the purpose of the argument, for it is acknowledged to be a divine mandate; and if a magistrate has a right to enforce the one, he has the same right to enforce the other; and it is this very exercise of secular authority in spiritual matters which forms the principle of ecclesiastical Establishments.

Some one urges a difficulty. Suppose the judgment of these rulers is erroneous and their creed unscriptural, are they at liberty to establish a false religion? Is the Mahomedan, the Roman Catholic, or the Socinian authorised to enforce his belief upon the people? This foolish question has been answered once and again, till, with the numberless shots it has received, it has been riddled through and through. It is a magistrate's duty just so far, and no farther, to support Mahomedanism, as it is his duty to be a Mahomedan. Does

* Since the above was written, the *Athenæum*, in some remarks on Dissent in the Pacific Islands, says—"Those who at home are loudest in denouncing any connection between Church and State, are, in this out-of-the-way corner of the world, perfectly ready to employ the government of the chiefs for imposing fines quite out of proportion to the nature of the offences upon those who venture to transgress the rules which "the Church" may think fit to lay down in any particular locality."

the obligation laid by God upon a Christian parent to "train up a child in the way he should go," justify another parent in inculcating that which is evil? It can never be right to do a wrong thing, consequently it is the duty of the authorities of the State to provide right religious instruction for the people; and in the fulfilment of that obligation, they must necessarily exercise their own judgment, and by the light which God's word affords them, ascertain the true principles upon which it behoves them to act.

Though what has been advanced, seems to me sufficient to shew that a religious Establishment is both expedient and lawful, yet I am prepared to take higher ground. In the only instance in which God ever vouchsafed to legislate for a community, this was the system which he adopted. By the special appointment of Jehovah, the first example of a Church Establishment was given to the world. Can our opponents, therefore, be right in saying that a civil establishment of religion is morally wrong? God cannot be the author of sin, nor can he expressly approve what is in itself evil If an Established Church were a thing absolutely unlawful, or in its own nature inconsistent with spiritual religion, he would not have instituted such a precedent. Yea, I think we are warranted in supposing that in the judgment of God himself, it is the most effective provision for securing the best interests of society. When I hear persons maintaining that the interference of the civil magistrate is absolutely unlawful, it seems at least indirectly to implicate the conduct, and impugn the wisdom of Jehovah himself. If he had never done it in the case of Israel, it would probably never have entered into the mind of man to do it. Unless it can be shewn (and none, as far as I know, have ever succeeded in shewing) that the cases are so totally different as not to admit the application of the same general principle to one as well as the other, it is an instance of great temerity on our part to pronounce it wrong. Do you say that we are not at liberty to argue from this precedent without binding ourselves to observe every rite and precept which was peculiar to the Jewish people? This, if advanced merely as a flippant retort, would not be entitled to much attention, but as a

serious difficulty in the way of candid enquirers seeming to damage the whole force of the scriptural parallel, it demands grave and careful consideration. It sounds plausible, but is it really conclusive? Is there no difference between adopting a general principle as of permanent application and adopting all the details to which that principle has at any particular period been applied? For instance, may not the principle of penal restraint stand, yet the nature or extent of the penalty be altered? We have no wish to return to the beggarly elements of the Jewish system: these were but the shadow, we have the substance. But it must be allowed that there is a part of the Sinaitic covenant, which is unchangeable and must endure for ever. I apprehend that the ordinance of public worship, the agency of a public ministry, and a provision for its support, formed no part of the perishable nature of the Mosaic law; for they are no less requisite for the propagation of the gospel. It is therefore reasonable to infer, that the enlisting the State in the service of religion, which is one of the most efficient of these agencies, still constitutes a religious duty. It is somewhat remarkable, that the apostle Paul, in pleading for one of those things just mentioned, viz:— the maintenance of Christian ministers, builds an argument upon the Levitical law "Saith not the law the same also? 1 Cor. ix. 1 and 13. A tacit assent is often the strongest evidence, and the apostle clearly takes it for granted that the Levitical enactments referred to are just and right, and were never set aside. "For our sakes," he says "no doubt this is written." *Besides*, the fact that a certain thing is divinely appointed implies that it is to be continued unless it is afterwards abolished by the same power by which it was at first ordained. Can a single passage of Scripture be shewn to afford evidence of the abrogation of the union between the Church and State? Truly, the types and shadows of the law were fulfilled, its poor rudiments and ceremonial observances were abolished by Christ, but the support of true religion ever remains a bounden duty; and who among the sons of men can devise a better mode for the performance of this duty than that which the all-wise God appointed for his chosen people?

Moreover, in reading the lives of the kings and governors

of Israel, we see how frequently God expresses his approval of those rulers who displayed most zeal in advancing the interests of religion among their subjects. On several occasions they instituted religious observances which were nowhere directly enjoined but for which the Scriptures make honorable mention of them. For instance, when Josiah found a copy of the law, he appointed solemn fasts and sacrifices, such as had never before been witnessed in Israel—"Like unto him was there no king before him that turned to the Lord with all his heart, and with all his soul, and with all his might." We read that Solomon, in building the temple, expended immense treasures in the undertaking. To meet this expenditure, he imposed a tax upon the State. "This is the reason of the levy which king Solomon raised for to build the house of the Lord, and his own house." 1 Kings ix. 15; and he also levied a tribute upon the remnant of the Canaanitish nations who were left in the land, and were not of the children of Israel. 2 Chron. viii. 8. All this was executed in his kingly capacity: and that the Lord approved of it is evident from his sending fire from heaven to consume the king's burnt offerings, and causing his glory to fill the house. Honorable Scripture testimony is also borne to Jehoshaphat and Hezekiah; yea, and even to Artaxerxes, the king of Persia, when he made proclamation for the worship of God in Judea, calling forth from the inspired penman that expression of devout gratitude—"Blessed be the Lord God of our fathers, who has put such a thing as this into the king's heart, to beautify the house of the Lord which is in Jerusalem." Now, the Scriptures do not afford the least intimation of anything extraordinary in the conduct of these kings just named; we nowhere read they acted according to any peculiar commission. Their acts concerning sacred matters are recorded simply as the free and uncontrolled exercise of those general and common rights which belong to all supreme civil governors. In short, not a shadow of evidence exists for asserting that the kings of Israel and Judah were under a stronger obligation to uphold the law of Moses, than sovereigns now are to uphold the law of Christ.

Let us, however, turn to the New Testament for further

light upon this subject. We are told that Christ decided this question *against* the incorporation of the Church with the State, and that in express terms he forbade the interference of civil rulers in religious matters. The passage adduced is that well known one, "My kingdom is not of this world,"—a text which has perhaps been more perverted than any other in the whole sacred volume. Christ uttered those words when in the presence of Pilate, and in answer to the question, "Art thou the King of the Jews?" Christ had been charged with the design of setting up an authority and kingdom opposed to Cæsar. By this question Pilate inquires whether he claims to exercise authority as an independent ruler; and Christ, in saying, "My kingdom is not of this world," did in effect say, "I am indeed a king, but not in the sense in which you understand it, and in which I am accused; I aim at no earthly throne, or crown, or sceptre. I am not Cæsar's rival. "My kingdom is not of this world." This answer was sufficient for Pilate, and in giving a verdict he said, "I find no fault in him." So little relation has this text to the object for which it is frequently quoted, that we naturally enough suppose that cause a weak one which needs it for a defence. Nothing is so absurd but it may be supported by some detached passage of Scripture. The Roman pontiff who laid by the mitre and crosier, and assumed the helmet and sword, and marched at the head of his troops, might have quoted this passage, "I come not to send peace on the earth, but a sword." We have need to watch well our own deceitful hearts, that we may listen to the teachings of the Bible with singleness of motive. "That Christ viewed a religious Establishment in a favorable light," says Dr. Dealtry, "is evident from the fact that he joined in its public services, and was often found in the temple and the synagogue. He never would have sanctioned it with his presence if it had been unlawful." And are not we to walk even as he walked, and to follow in his footsteps? Strange, indeed, if Christ is to be a pattern to us as far as human infirmity will admit, and yet we cannot lawfully imitate him in conforming to an Establishment. While I consider our Lord s *example* quite sufficient, yet I almost think a stronger argument even, may

be built upon Christ's silence than upon his conformity. Our divine Master foresaw that his disciples in all succeeding ages would appeal to the Jewish polity as a pattern for their imitation; yet not a word falls from his lips adverse to the principle of that polity. He took frequent occasions to correct the erroneous views of the Levitical dispensation, to inveigh against its corruptions, and to intimate that the ritual and the ceremonial part had passed away, but he never insinuates that an Establishment is unlawful under the gospel; yea, he taught the people to hear patiently those who sat in Moses's chair, while in strong terms he condemned the character of those teachers. If the union of Church and State be incompatible with the spirituality of his kingdom, how are we to account for his conduct in relation to it?

Not to lengthen out the Scriptural argument, which has engaged far abler pens than mine, let it suffice to say that a religious Establishment bears, and demands, and challenges investigation before the tribunal of the word of God. It is a fact that of the many nonconformist ministers who have lately broken the sectarian spell and returned into the Church all tell the same story; that to a careful re-examination of Scripture and an elaborate study of the whole question, they attribute their conviction of the Scriptural claims of an Established Church. Moreover, our fathers who left the Church never doubted the Scriptural character of that alliance which existed between Church and State. Especially is this true of "the 2000." They were decidedly in favor of the interference of the State in religious matters. They were for moderate Episcopacy and a Liturgy. They were for tithes and they received them. Their party passed an Act of Parliament which enforced Church rates without the consent of the parishioners. Expensive Gothic Churches, with the massive tower and pointed steeple—flowing gowns and deep toned organs—the dim religious light—the solemn chant—the Lord's prayer and the Doxology, which were pronounced by the Scots to be a "Superstition"—written sermons and choral singing—*these* were the scruples that drove our fathers from the church. But in *these* things modern Nonconformists see no sin and they use them. This thought came home to

me, and I saw I was not influenced in remaining out of the Church by the considerations that tempted many of old to leave it; and I believe, if *they* could rise from the dead, they would tell us that if they could have seen whereunto this thing would grow, they would never have separated themselves from the good olive tree. How can I, therefore, with its sad results before my eyes, perpetuate the schism which they perpetrated.

The New Testament argument, as we have seen, is mainly the argument of allusion—which, rightly understood, is of all others, the most unanswerable. But we do not need it. The *New Testament* nowhere commands us to build churches: but, throwing ourselves on the authority of the *Old*, which did, we find it convenient to build them still. That Christianity, in the days of the apostles, preferred no direct claims to be received as a national and established religion can, I think, be satisfactorily accounted for. At that time all earthly rulers, both civil and religious, set themselves in array against her, from a jealousy which is easily explained. Christianity aimed a deadly blow at idolatry, and this being intimately allied with all the civil institutions of the age, raised against her the hatred and persecution of every existing government. Christianity could not lay claim to that Establishment which she now inherits, till the name of Jupiter had been blotted out, and Venus plucked from her licentious throne, and the temple of Delphos thrown down, and false systems had been subdued and overthrown by her heavenly influence. To have done so would have given her the appearance of a political rival. In primitive times, the civil establishment of the Church was superseded by the miraculous powers vouchsafed to the apostles, by which, religion went on conquering and to conquer. The alliance with the State which she now enjoys, was one of the grand results of the triumphs of the Christian religion.

Now, it does not follow with a religious establishment, that the State assumes spiritual functions. Nonconformists object that, by acknowledging civil authority, the Church attributes to a king that prerogative which belongs only to Christ. Those who so object, surely cannot have read the

thirty-seventh article: "Where we attribute to the Queen's majesty the chief government, by which titles we understand the minds of some slanderous folks to be offended, we give not to our princes the ministering either of God's word or of the sacraments, the which thing the injunctions also lately set forth by Elizabeth our Queen do most plainly testify, but that only prerogative which we see to have been given always to all godly princes in holy Scriptures, by God himself; that is, that they should rule all states and degrees committed to their charge by God, whether they be ecclesiastical or temporal, and restrain with the civil sword the stubborn and evil doers." The injunction of Queen Elizabeth, referred to as above, thus defines the nature and extent of the power included in what is usually objected to as the king's headship of the Church: "Under God to have the sovreignty and rule over all manner of persons born within these her realms, dominions, and countries, of what estate, either ecclesiastical or temporal, soever they be, *so as no other foreign power shall or ought to have any superiority over them.*" We are informed by Bishop Jewel that Queen Elizabeth refused the title of the *head* of the Church, as one improper to be given to any mortal, and in consequence of this, that title was dropped, and the words *chief power* and *chief government*—(see the twenty-seventh article)—were introduced in its stead, as being less liable to be misunderstood, and as more clearly expressing what the disused title was intended to convey. When, therefore, it is said, "The Church of England cannot be the Church of Christ, for the king, and not Christ, is the head of your church," we return the charge, and regard it as wilful misrepresentation. The authority given to the civil ruler of this realm is derived from Christ the Lord, and is in subordination to him. "God hath given *him* to be the head over all things to the Church, that in all things he might have the pre-eminence." The authority which is given to princes is nothing more (if I read my Bible rightly) than that which has always been given to princes by God himself.

The Established Church, in the exercise of her authority, requires her ministers to subscribe to an established creed. It is not with her as it was with the land of Israel, at a time

which we read of in Judges, when there was "no king, and every man did that which was right in his own eyes." According to the present constitution of the Church, no man can teach what he pleases; the truth must be preserved and perpetuated; it cannot change with a new minister, or a new congregation; and this is desirable, for truth, like the polestar, never advances, because it never moves, ever remaining in its place, the one foundation, other than which no man can lay. The fact of the religious Establishment requiring the recognition of certain distinct principles in its ministers, and enforcing certain modes of worship, is perpetually brought forward by those who love not its communion, as an intolerable grievance. But wherefore these complaints? "Has not every independent congregation its established creed? It may not be a written one, but each possesses its recognised standard of gospel truth, in conformity with which the ministers are elected, in conformity with which the ministers must preach; and woe betide the ill-starred wight who presumes to apostatise from the congregational standard. Some dissenting chapels are built, and have endowments annexed, on the express condition that the occupiers of such pulpits inculcate doctrines in accordance with the thirty-nine articles, or with the Westminster Confession of Faith; and we have not heard that the endowments in these cases have ever been rejected as a violation of dissenting principles." It is worse when the ministers of the Church itself complain of an established creed. One of her own divines, speaking of the necessity of bringing into the ranks of the Church's ministry the highest minds of the age, says, "We must take care not to hamper them unnecessarily with servile conditions, or bind them to the obligations of the sixteenth and seventeenth century divines." As though the truths which were brought more prominently into notice by the compilers of the thirty-nine articles were a novelty! Why, they are the same in most particulars as were taught by Augustine, and exactly correspond with St. Paul's "form of sound words." Therefore, to talk of them as servile conditions is to talk nonsense, or something worse. Yet many adherents to the Church of England, and especially the High Church writers, think it

would be a desirable thing to throw away these formularies, and admit men of a variety of opinions to stand on one common platform. In speaking on this point, the Rev. Robert Meek says, "How striking and monitory the contrast presented by independent societies. At this day the pulpits once occupied by Baxters and Owens of the days of Puritanism are the strongholds of Socinianism. It is a most convincing fact, that out of 222 Unitarian congregations supposed to exist in this country (this was in the year 1831), only 46 appear to have been founded by persons of that persuasion, the other 176 were originally connected with orthodox dissenters."* Alas for the desolation! How have the faithful anticipations of the fathers of Nonconformity been frustrated by their comparatively unwise children, who seem to have confounded subscription to a standard with coercion of conscience, and to have imagined that the legitimate exercise of private judgment demanded the suppression of every human formula. Facts like these, prove in the strongest manner, the universal importance of an Establishment to preserve the faith once delivered to the saints.

Congregationalism as a system, is quite incapable of long preserving, or of perpetuating, unimpaired, the grand principles of the Christian Faith. To-day, fever; to-morrow, ague; the effect of which is a chronic something, which preys on the vitals of the system: until, to drop the figure, the old landmarks which the fathers set up are swept away. And this has also been proved true of the Presbyterian Churches, not only in America and throughout the Continent, but in our own land, where they have been independent of the Scottish Kirk. The Church of England alone, seems to be Rock-founded. Socinianism—a dreadful malaria—has entered, with all its evil train, into many a Presbyterian and Baptist congregation, and poisoned its thousands; but not a congregation of the Church of England throughout the kingdom has ever caught the infection. We hear now and then of an Infidel Bishop and an apostate Clergyman, and

* Since the first appearance of this pamphlet, I am credibly informed that the number of congregations which were once Orthodox, and have lapsed into Socinianism, Pelagianism, &c., is *now* two hundred and forty.

external sects hasten at once to chronicle the fact, and because it is a rare occurrence, the curtains of the land do tremble. But Presbyterians and Independents may split and form a hundred hives, and a thousand sectaries may depart for Salt Lake Valley, or embrace any other form of heresy, and, being no uncommon occurrence, the air is as calm as on a sunny day in June. It will not be asserting too much to say that the Church of England has proved the great bulwark against error and irreligion, which had otherwise overflowed the land. With Matthew Henry we say, "Let us give God praise for the national establishment of our religion; that the Reformation was in our land a *national* act; that Christianity thus purified is supported and defended by good and wholesome laws, and is twisted in with the very constitution of our government."

For myself, I am compelled to say, I have found more real satisfaction and enjoyment in the doctrines of the Book of Common Prayer than I ever found before. Not for a single instant have I regretted the step I have taken, in leaving a confusion of sects and schisms, to nestle in the bosom of the Church. I feel like the mariner who puts his foot on *terra firma* after having been sickened by the continual motion of the vessel. "My heart is fixed: O God, my heart is fixed." I am a member of the body in which the faith has lived from the beginning until now. I embrace that simple ancient creed worthy of the illustrious name it bears: "The Apostles creed:" and I feel, that by successive links I am united to the Primitive Church to whom the words of the divine Master were addressed "Lo, I am with you alway, even unto the end of the world."

The external maintenance of Christianity by the State involves also the necessity of a suitable endowment. Funds must in some way or other be raised for the erection and repair of churches, for the support of a gospel ministry, and for the performance of religious ordinances. This is a fact upon which all are agreed. Whatever may be said by some against secularising religious things, it is in vain to attempt the diffusion of religious knowledge without money. While, however, all will allow that a fair proportion of our income

should be given to God's cause, and that a certain and sufficient maintenance is the right of Christ's ministers, there willl be some considerable disagreement as to the mode by which these moneys are to be obtained, whether by legal revenues or by voluntary contributions. By a reference to the 1st Corinthians, we shall see that the apostle, in claiming a maintenance for Christian ministers, builds an argument upon the institution of the Levitical law: "Saith not the law the same also? For it is written in the law of Moses, Thou shalt not muzzle the mouth of the ox that treadeth out the corn" (1 Cor. ix. 8). In this reasoning St. Paul assumes the reasonableness and propriety of the law relating to the support of the priesthood, otherwise his argument would rest upon an unsound basis. The apostle not only takes it for granted that the Levitical enactments referred to are just and right, but he expressly declares them to be written on our account: "For our sakes, no doubt, is this written, that he that plougheth should plough in hope," ver. 10. Well, what were these enactments? The reader is referred to vii. Lev. 29-36, where he will see that the national worship and the support of a national priesthood were inseparable. No man could bring his peace-offerings before the Lord, and have the fat burned upon the altar, without at the same time contributing the breast and shoulder as the portion of the officiating priest. If the worship were imperative, so was the contribution. Now, our opponents here meet us with a broad and sweeping assertion. Granting the legitimacy of the parallel with Israel (which by the bye they cannot question, seeing that its use is authorised by St. Paul), they proceed to say that even then it will not support the Church argument, because all the offerings under the Jewish ritual were voluntary. "No civil power," says Thorn, "possessed a right to compel the Israelites to bring their tithes and offerings to the altar, this being left to their own consciences or sense of religious obligation." Says another, "I defy the production of a law in the whole Mosaic code for enforcing these contributions." In reply, I undertake to shew that the offerings of which we have just read, and to which Paul makes specific allusion when he says that the priests were "*partakers with the altar*," were in-

separable from the support of the priesthood, and compulsory in the highest sense. I refer the reader for proof to Lev. xvii. 2-5, and to the following remarks upon it by M'Neill: "It appears from this that there were some worshippers in Israel who had separated themselves from the national altar, and were offering their sacrifices in the open field. By so doing, they defrauded the priest of his allotted portion. Here, such persons, and all worshippers in the nation are commanded to bring their sacrifices to the door of the tabernacle or national church, and offer them through the instrumentality of the national priesthood." In so doing, they must, as we have seen, contribute to the support of that priesthood. Well, and what was the penalty for refusing to do this? The punishment incurred by the omission of this duty was, "*that* man shall be cut off from among his people." Is not this something like compulsion, when every worshipper who attempted to worship elsewhere, thereby defrauding the priest of his portion, suffered the penalty of a terrible judgment at the hand of his fellow-men?

I have shewn, in a former part of this chapter, that the Jewish theocracy, in its general principles, may be pleaded as a pattern for imitation by Christian rulers without the adoption of all its details. I think, therefore, that the word of God requires that a national provision should be made for the means of national worship. I might, for further proof, refer to the time when the Jewish theocracy was to cease, and the kingdom which followed was to be set up; and there we find a repetition of the commandment concerning the "*priest's due*" (Deut. xvii. xviii.) And when the theocracy, properly so called, *had* passed away, and the government of God over Israel, though occasionally more manifest, was no more direct than it is over our own land, we find David and Solomon, and their successors, making the most efficient provision for the national priesthood. Let the objector read the history of the reformation in 2d Chron. xxxi. 1 to 6, and 20 to 21, and if he receive the Holy Scriptures as of paramount authority, his objections will fade away.

But against compulsory payments for the support of religion, it is urged that it is unjust to compel Dissenters to

contribute towards the expense of a Church to which they are conscientiously opposed. I reply that no man's scruples of conscience can interfere with the general duty of the Government. If so, of what use are our civil rulers? The writer just now quoted says, "If it be right to give up a National Church because some conscientiously object to an Establishment, it is equally right to give up army and navy because some conscientiously object to war. It is no answer to this to say that they who think an Established Church unlawful are *many*, while they who think war unlawful are *few*. The question is, whether it be right in the Government to support, by national funds, an institution which is beneficial to the nation, although some of the people conscientiously object to it? And if it be wrong in a Government so to do in one case, it is equally *wrong*, though it might not excite so much clamour to do it in another case. If it be wrong—if it be coercion of conscience—if it be shameful tyranny in the Government to compel one thousand Dissenters to pay taxes, a portion of which shall be devoted to the National Church—it is equally wrong—equally coercive of conscience—equally shameful tyranny, and more disgraceful persecution, because committed against a weaker and more defenceless body, to compel one single helpless Quaker to pay taxes, a portion of which shall be devoted to the support or enlargement of the national army."

Moreover, I see not how it can be a violation of the rights of conscience, inasmuch as it is a charge which compels not to conformity in either doctrine or worship, but only to a pecuniary contribution for the promotion of the public good. I deny that any Dissenter is compelled to support the religion of the Church of England; he gives to the demands of the magistrate. It is true the civil ruler, when he receives the taxes, appropriates a portion of them to the support of the Church, but this is *his* act, and in no way touches the conscience of the man who pays the tax. The distinction will be seen at once by the recollection that none could be more opposed to heathen worship than the Apostle of the Gentiles, and yet he exhorts the disciples to pay tribute to Cæsar, though Cæsar, when he got it, appropriated a portion of it to the support of a false religion. Supposing Dissenters

do not in any way profit from an Established Church (which can by no means be granted), yet it does not follow that the supreme magistrate is to be debarred on that account from applying a part of the national revenue to what he conceives the most useful and important of national objects. The public expenditure flows and must flow in various channels from which the bulk of the people derive no immediate advantage. From the army, the navy, the customs, the excise, a harbour, a breakwater, a canal, a bridge, and a thousand other things, this or that person may reap no direct benefit; but it would be absurd to assert that they cannot be justly called upon to contribute to the expense, even though they may consider one or all of these objects absolutely unlawful. It cannot be urged for a moment that every man who pays taxes is responsible for their proper distribution. If those moneys which are demanded of an individual are erroneously appropriated, he is not at fault. His cash-box may suffer, but certainly not his conscience. And in thus arguing, I am putting the Church of England on a par with the worship of Jupiter, and regarding her clergy as no better than the priests of a heathen temple; and even on that ground I have proved, scripturally, that it is the duty of Dissenters to pay tribute. But how is my argument confirmed by the fact, that the *Church* is not evil but good, and that her object is to dispense the blessings of salvation all around. It appears to me that, so long as the support of the Establishment, by legal provisions, shall be deemed necessary or proper by the constitutional authorities, they have an undoubted right to tax the community of every description for that purpose, and that a difference of opinion entertained by individuals as to the fitness of the object is no ground of exemption. The State enjoins me to pay, and by force of the social compact, the State has a right to my obedience, and my paying is the evidence, not of my submission of opinion, but of my civil obedience to the State; and if the State applies, or orders me to apply the money paid, to an object which I do not apprehend to be aid-worthy, that is no ground for my refusal to obey, or there is an end to civil obedience at once, and the private opinion of every individual becomes the measure of

his submission. The duty of the subject is to render "tribute to whom tribute is due," and the reciprocal duty of the ruler is to spend the public money in the way most conducive to the public interest. The Dissenter who conscientiously believes the Church of England to be an evil instead of a good, may use all lawful means to procure a change in the law which legalizes the appropriation of public moneys to its use; but in the meantime, while the law remains unchanged, "the Church" claims the exercise of that christian forbearance which submits to every ordinance of man for the Lord's sake, and declines to take the law into its own hands.

It has been necessary thus fully to state the principle for which we contend, but I think it right to say that this principle is seldom called into operation except in the article of Church rates, which, from the smallness of the amount, ought not to be regarded as burdensome. The endowments and possessions of the English Church are, for the most part, voluntary grants, and have no right to be regarded as a tax imposed by the Government. Much is heard from time to time about the Voluntary System. It is trumpeted forth from pulpit, hustings, and platform, in every variety of publication, daily, weekly, and monthly; but let those who catch up the phrase to flourish it in the face of the Church know that to a very great extent the Church of England depends upon the Voluntary principle, since nearly all her endowments were at first the willing gifts of wealthy individuals. Pious proprietors of estates did, in days gone by, erect our Churches for their villagers: and, instead of enriching the Church with lands, they entailed on their children the parochial tithes for religious purposes. The building and endowment of a church by a nobleman, an opulent commoner, or by subscription, is a purely voluntary act; and when years and ages have rolled away, that act does not lose its voluntary character. He who gives a thousand pounds in bequest to a charitable institution, to be paid by equal annual instalments, is as truly a voluntary contributor as though he gave the whole to be expended at once. We, however affirm, notwithstanding, that the Church of England, has a right to legal revenues for her support.

Seeing, then, that the Church of England is established by

the Government of our country (and we have shewn that it is lawful, expedient, and imperative for the rulers of a nation thus to advance the best interests of their people), what is the rule of conduct to be observed by those who dissent from it? It is difficult to imagine anything more express and plain than the divine commandment is with respect to submission to the civil power. I must cite the well-known language of the apostles, "Let every soul be subject unto the higher powers, for there is no power but of God: the powers that be are ordained of God," &c. (Romans xiii.)

There must be of necessity among the various denominations of Christians one sect which, sooner or later, obtains the lead, and through the excellence of its principles, or the superior piety, numbers, zeal, rank, or wealth of its votaries, obtains either a partial or complete ascendancy. The consequence is, that there must be some union, or relation, or alliance, or compact (call it what you will) between the clergy of that Church and the Government of the country. If there be none of design and arrangement, there will be one wrought out of necessity. Some union is absolutely inevitable from the nature of things, and by whatever designation it may be called (and it is trifling to dispute about a name), it is *bona fide* a religious establishment; and upon such society the Government confers certain temporal privileges, not because of its doctrines or ceremonies, but because it embraces the opinions of the majority. And this is a process which no parliamentary enactment can prevent, without a total destruction of that liberty of conscience which all have an indefeasible right to enjoy. A lion there must be, and that country is happy where the lamb can lie beside him. Who has ever heard or read of a Church more tolerant than the Anglican Church? There are some denominations under whom I should be afraid to venture my protection if they were the dominant party. I fear if some of them were to get to the top of the tree we might all have to regret it. I am sure, therefore, that all who withdraw themselves from the church of the nation have reason to be thankful that they can worship God under their own vine and fig-tree, none daring to make them afraid: and let them not think it too much to abide by the

majority: in this respect doing unto others as they would others should do unto them.

The friends of the Church of England have, I feel convinced, no cause to fear, for the foundations of the Establishment are in the Holy Scriptures. The opinions of not a few among Dissenters, the words of the great and honorable Reformers, and the teachings of divine truth, shew, that as respects her ecclesiastical principles, the Church is right. There are faults in the structure; her builders sometimes use bad materials, and sometimes work with bad tools; too often work carelessly, and occasionally tamper with the design; but other foundation can no man lay. Amid the convulsions of the moral world, and the gigantic march of infidelity, this Church shall rise like a watch-tower founded on the "Rock of ages," and against her the gates of hell shall not prevail. She shall be like the tree beheld by the seer of the Apocalypse, whose root was watered by the river of the water of life, yielding its fruit every month, and shedding its leaves for the healing of the nations. "O ye, our censors, who see every fault, hear all evil tidings, and sometimes see what is not, and hear what has never been spoken, be faithful but be fair, be vigilant but be discriminating, strike but listen; be sharp threshing instruments, but do not omit and destroy the precious grain." And all ye who are fast and firm friends of a most devout and religious conformity, devote your time, and talents, and property, and moral influence; devote all that can be consecrated, to advance the glory of God, to promote the welfare of the nation, looking for an aproximation to that state of things of which Dr. Chalmers has sketched so lovely a picture: "What can well be more captivating than a Christian Government, solicitous for the moral and spiritual interests of all the people; a complete sub-division of town and country into sections of manageable extent; a pious, zealous, praying, working minister in every section; every family visited; every individual taught; every soul adequately cared for; and a church-going and a church-loving people, as the happy result of such superintendence, handed down to the minister of the next generation!" What a beautiful combination of national and spiritual loveliness! Well might

Chalmers's antagonist, Dr. Wardlaw, relent as he beheld it, and plead guilty to a rising hesitancy in venturing to assail it. Were the alliance between the Church and the State only carried out into fair and full conformity with the original scheme of our Constitution, the English Church would be the model for the world. Imperfectly as the theory is realized, the effects would be most disastrous if men could succeed in untwisting from our laws those golden threads of Christianity which are interwoven with them. The more God's truth is embodied in the institutions, and pervades the administration of our country, the nearer we approximate to that state of things predicted by the seer of Patmos, when "the tabernacle of God shall be with men, and he shall dwell among them; and he shall be their God, and they shall be his people."

CHAPTER II.

THE CHURCH GOVERNMENT.

IT has been said that the principles of Episcopacy, Presbyterianism, and Independency, are all to be found in the New Testament. Assuming this to be the case (and all will allow there are some passages which seem to favour each of these systems), the inquiry with which we have to deal is this, which of these modes of Church government receives most support from the word of God and apostolic practice? I have carefully studied the question, and I believe the incidental information supplied by the Scriptures, furnishes the most decisive evidence in favour of Episcopacy; and will justify us in claiming for the ecclesiasticism of the Church of England, the high sanction of apostolic times.

No society can subsist without some kind of government; and God, who is not the author of confusion, compares the Church to the household of an absent master, in which some servants are placed in higher offices to "rule" over the rest, and give them their meat in due season; yet, be it remembered, this government is in subordination to the one supreme governor Jesus Christ, "whom God has given to be head over all things to his Church." *Several* offices were at first instituted in the Christian Church, as may be seen by reference to 1 Cor. xii. 28, Eph. iv. 11. Some of these were evidently of an extraordinary nature, and appertained exclusively to the primitive times. Setting aside, however, such as were intended to serve a temporary purpose, there are others confessedly of perpetual utility and universal obligation. As an Episcopalian, I maintain a triple distinction of rank and order; on the other hand, it is the belief of most Protestant dissenters, that the

only permanent ecclesiastical officers authorized by the New Testament are bishops and deacons: the office of the former being to attend to the spiritual concerns of the Church; of the latter, to direct its temporal affairs; and that among these there are no gradations. According to this, they admit only one order of *spiritual* officers properly so called: that of deacon being of a secular nature, much the same as the modern churchwarden. I may here observe, then, that if any ministerial imparity can be established from Scripture, it will be sufficient to invalidate the systems of Presbyterianism and Independency. That which is essential to the Episcopal regimen, and which distinguishes it from all others, is the control and superintendency of a single church officer over the rest. All therefore that I am about to contend for is, that by divine institution there is a triple distinction of orders in the ministry, giving to one a power and pre-eminency over the other two. These are called, in the New Testament, bishops or overseers, presbyters or elders, (the word *priest*, as used in the services of the Church of England is an abbreviation of *presbyter*; our Saxon ancestors pronounced the word more fully, *preoster*), and deacons or ministers. Here we have the lineaments of that gradation in the ministry which subsists in the English Church.

I may here remark, and it is worthy of observation, that a threefold ministry is sanctioned by the institutions of Judaism. In the Jewish Church, divinely organized, we find three grades of ministers, viz., the Levites, or ordinary priests, whose office it was to attend to the usual work in the outer court of the Tabernacle. Over these presided a higher grade of priests, whose duty it was to superintend the Levites, to burn incense in the holy place, and to offer upon the altar in that court the shewbread: these were termed the chief priests. Over these again presided the high priest, whose office it was to superintend the whole priesthood, who only could perform certain functions which were peculiar to his rank and office, and who once a year might enter alone into the holy of holies. Thus we see the institutions of Judaism tend strongly to support the claims of Episcopacy. It has become customary with many writers to set the Old Testament Church and the New

Testament Church in direct opposition to each other. Such persons forget that the New Testament is the continuation, the commentary, the illustration of the Old. The only difference between the Jewish Church and the Christian Church is the difference which exists between a landscape with the sunshine off, and a landscape with the sunshine on: that is all. The latter is the former brightened, renewed, glorified. Both Churches have the same founder, the same object of faith, the same hope presented to their view, and were both instituted with the same design; and though the dispensations are changed, yet Christianity was the religion of the Jewish as much as it is of the apostolic Church. The only change relates to a difference between a Messiah about to come, and a Messiah actually arrived. The incarnation, suffering, death, burial, resurrection, ascension, and glorification of Christ are expressed in the ordinances of the New Testament as *past*, but they were expressed as *future* in the ordinances of the Old Testament. The design of both Churches, then, is evidently the same; both are schools in which the children of God are trained up into a meetness for their everlasting inheritance; both must have temporal laws and ordinances, office bearers, and rules of worship. When, then, the abrogation of the Levitical economy, and the introduction of the Christian dispensation took place, what can be more reasonable than that the inspired apostles, under the direction of the Holy Ghost, should take as the rule of their Church ministry and government, the very same which had been, by God himself, prescribed to Moses. I quote the following from the first prize essay "on the office of the deacon," by the Rev. G. B. Thomas, dissenting mininster, St. Neots:—"So long as the first Christians remained in Jerusalem, they continued to worship in the temple, and especially in the synagogues which abounded in that city. They were regarded, at first, as one of the numerous Jewish sects of the time, who held some strange notions respecting Jesus of Nazareth and the resurrection from the dead, which they sought to promulgate as occasion served. Since they strictly observed the ceremonial law, they remained unmolested for a time: the worship of the temple and synagogue

went side by side with the prayers and the breaking of bread from house to house. But they were soon made to experience the truth of our Lord's words, 'They shall put you out of the synagogue; yea, the time cometh that whosoever killeth you will think that he doeth God service.' That time came. Thus cast out and scattered abroad upon the persecution that arose about Stephen, there can be little doubt that in the places where they found refuge, they formed themselves into societies that would naturally take the form of that religious community with which they had stood hitherto in close connection—the Jewish synagogue—so that the existing order of things in the synagogues for religious instruction and discipline, which had been originally organized by inspired men, was silently and without the formality of express legislative enactment transferred under apostolic superintendence and with apostolic sanction, to the meetings of the disciples—the Churches of Christ."

But to the New Testament let us at once appeal. That Episcopacy is sustained by apostolic practice may be gathered from the circumstances of the Church at Jerusalem. That church was composed of many thousands of believers, as may be gathered from Acts ii. 41; iv. 7; xxi. 20. In the latter passage it will be allowed that the translation of the number is not sufficiently full, and that the original Greek means "tens of thousands." Now it would have been impossible for these all to assemble in one place and constitute one Church; and add to this, the fact that they had no large public buildings for divine worship, and the authorities were too jealous of their own fostered superstitions, and too powerful to allow the believers in Jesus of Nazareth to carry on their worship, in one large company, in the open street, and then ask "what must have been the consequence to the Christians? Is it not clear that a multiplication of congregations was rendered inevitable, and that the increasing multitudes must have worshipped the Lord their God in private houses? Moreover, everybody knows that there were presbyters and deacons in that Church, whose office it was to take care of the flock and feed the Church of God. These were the ministers of the congregations. It appears also—as well from the

writings of the ancient fathers, who were the apostle's contemporaries, as from the teaching of the book of Acts—that St. James presided over the Church at Jerusalem as its Bishop. "Without admitting this," says the Rev. Robt. Meek, "It would be difficult to account satisfactorily for the deference shewn to him or the authority exercised by him. In the synod held at Jerusalem to settle the question about the circumcision of the Gentiles, James delivers his opinion with manifest authority: "Wherefore my *sentence*, is that we trouble not them which from among the Gentiles are turned to God," Acts xv. 19; and his sentence proved decisive. When Peter was delivered by the angel out of prison, he bid some of his disciples go and shew these things to James and to the brethren, Acts xii. 17. But why was James particularly named, unless he possessed some pre-eminency in that Church? Paul, on his last visit to Jerusalem was presented to James as the chief minister: "When we were come to Jerusalem, the brethren received us gladly, and the day following Paul went in with us unto James, and all the elders were present,"—"a plain description," remarks one, "of a bishop in conjunction with his clergy." These circumstances prove satisfactorily that St. James filled the Episcopal chair at Jerusalem, and that beside him there were two distinct orders of mini ters who were concerned in the care of the Church. The mode of government we contend for was evidently adopted by that Church which may be called the mother Church of Christianity.

Additional confirmation may be given on this point by instancing the address to the seven Churches of Asia. It is somewhat remarkable that each letter is addressed to "the angel" of the Church. I lay no stress upon any criticism with regard to the special meaning of the word "angel;" I merely say there would be no small incongruity in supposing that the apostle meant an angel literally; we are compelled to understand the designation as applied to some individual in the Church spoken of. Well now, take for example the Church at Ephesus, the first Church mentioned by the apostle John. This Church must have consisted of several congregations, for in Acts xix. we read of a rapid and extensive increase. Each of these congregations had its

ministers, for we read in the 20th Acts of the elders or presbyters of the Church at Ephesus assembling at Miletus to hear the apostle's farewell charge; and he addresses them as those whose office it was to feed the Church of God. Now the question is, Was the address to the Church at Ephesus intended for one only of the many congregations which we have already proved to have been in Ephesus at the time? If so, how could it be ascertained for which it was sent? How could John have made the invidious selection, when all were on a perfect equality, all equally presbyters, or equally bishops, or equally angels? And if he had sent his Lord's message without selecting or naming an individual, into what rivalry and confusion would the various Churches and pastors have been thrown. If, however, the Epistle was intended for all the congregations at Ephesus, considered as one Church, under *one chief pastor*, who was regarded by St. John as an authorized primate, invested with power and dignity above the rest (and this is the obvious meaning of the words when compared with the circumstances of the case), then we have a distinct and pointed announcement of an Episcopal constitution like unto that which characterizes our national Church. The Rev. Dr. M'Neill, in advocating this view of the question, aptly says: "Suppose a gracious renewal of miraculous communications from the Lord to his people; and suppose some favoured servant to receive an inspired message in terms similar to that received by St. John, addressed to the angel of the Church of London; we are so scripturally constituted, that we should have no hesitation in at once selecting the individual to whom it should be forwarded. But who is the *primus inter pares* to whom the dissenters would send it?" I think it will require no little sophistry and manœuvre to evade the pressure of such scriptural argumentation.

It has been argued that New Testament bishops and presbyters were one and the same, and that these titles are applied to the same individual indiscriminately. That there is some difficulty here I am prepared to allow; but for a long time I have given this my most careful investigation, and to my mind the following reflection is satisfactory. While the

Churches were being planted, the apostles held the government in their own hands; and this government they did not commit to any until the converts multiplied insomuch as to make extra help requisite, or until they were called to take their leave of the Churches. So that the very men who became bishops when the numbers increased, and the Churches grew, were called presbyters or elders, while the Churches were yet in their infancy, and beneath the sole rule of the apostles. That the presbyters are in some places exhorted to perform the bishops' duties, as in 1 Peter v. 2, is accounted for by the fact, that at that time the apostles were often called into other countries to proclaim the everlasting gospel, and to light other lamps with the torch of truth, and in the mean time their powers were delegated to those elders who, as circumstances required, acted as their representatives. A writer before quoted says, "To argue from the fact of their being thus occasionally called without distinction bishops and elders, that the office was one and the same, would be just as reasonable as to urge that there was no high priest in the Jewish polity, because all the three orders are sometimes included under the names of priests and Levites. If such a mode of argument were admitted, it might be proved, that because Christ is called an apostle and a bishop, that every apostle and every bishop is on an equality with our divine Lord."

"It is very remarkable," say some, "that when the apostle was addressing the officers of the Church at Phillippi, he mentions only bishops and deacons. If there were elders in this Church who were distinct from bishops, how is the omission to be accounted for?" It may be satisfactorily explained in this way. When the numbers of those who believed were few, two officers would suffice to preach the word and minister the sacraments. The bishop, in the mean time, could do the work of the presbyter, although (except in special cases) the presbyter could not do the work of the bishop; and afterwards, when the converts multiplied, other labourers might be sent into the vineyard; in prospect of which increase, Paul lodged in the hands of Titus this commission: "For this cause left I thee in Crete, that thou shouldst ordain elders in every city."

And even though it could be shewn that bishop and pres-

byter are the same, and that the names are used so promiscuously in the new Testament as to leave no distinction of office, that presbyters are called bishops, and bishops presbyters, yet all the arguments stand as firm for Episcopacy. Just suppose that the difference in names is removed, and that bishops and elders are called by one name, still there is a distinction in the offices. It must be evident to every candid reader that there were officers in the primitive church superior to the teachers of particular congregations, and to whom these teachers were in subjection; and that certain functions are ascribed to bishops which are never said to be discharged by elders. If to make regulations for the government of the Church, which were not commanded by divine decree, Titus i. 5; if to ordain and set apart elders to the work of the ministry, Titus i. 5; if to receive accusations, and sit in judgment on presbyters, 1 Tim. v 19; if to authoritatively observe the doctrines preached by those who were stewards of the mysteries of God, 1 Tim. i. 13; if these do not prove that the bishops were superior to, and distinct from, the elders, then we must shut our eyes and ears against the plain teaching of the word of God. How idle, then, to demur about a name.

What we have gathered from the writings of the apostles is sufficient, I think, to prove that Protestant Episcopacy is scriptural; but the system receives additional confirmation from the universal practice of the Church for 1500 years after the time of the apostles. In proof of this, we have the testimony of the ancient fathers of the Church, and nearly all ecclesiastical writers. In Palestine and Syria, in America and India, in Greece and Italy, in France and England, in Spain and Africa, and in all the islands of the sea, the Church in its earliest days was everywhere Episcopal. We never read of more than one chief pastor in a city at a time: James in Jerusalem, Irenœus in Lyons, Clement in Rome. Ignatius in Antioch, Polycarp in Smyrna: and a chain of Bishops can be produced, link after link, from the time of the apostles to the present day. No ancient Church can be named in which the orders of bishop, presbyter, and deacon were not found, and in which these orders did not continue in uninterrupted succession from their earliest days until the

time of the Reformation; at which time the most learned and pious of the original framers of the Presbyterian form of church ministry, and especially the venerable Calvin and the learned Beza, the chief founders of the Protestant Churches at Geneva and in France, pleaded necessity alone for their rejection of Episcopacy, of which they at the same time strongly avowed their veneration. Calvin, in particular, declared those to be worthy of every anathema who would not reverence and submit to Episcopacy where it was to be met with in its legitimate form; and Beza expressed his deliberate opinion, that it was hardly possible for any man in his senses, who had given the subject careful investigation, to reject this mode of church polity. He considered that England had retained her Episcopal ministry by the peculiar blessing of God, and expressed his wish that she might long continue to enjoy it.

If this work would admit of it, a great mass of evidence might be introduced here from the early writings of the Christian Church. Clemens Romanus (mentioned by Paul in Phil. iv. 3, and who was Paul's companion and John's disciple) wrote an epistle to the Corinthians in the name of the Christian Church at Rome (of which church Clemens was bishop), and clearly distinguishes the bishops from the presbyters. Ignatius also (who was the disciple of John the Apostle and Evangelist, and bishop of Antioch, who was thrown to wild beasts by order of the Emperor Trajan) has several striking passages in his shorter and general epistles. In one place he says: "In like manner, let all reverence the deacons as of Jesus Christ, and the bishop as the Father, and the presbyter as the sanhedrim of God. Without these there is no church." Now, it is obvious that the contemporary friends of any body of men must know the sentiments of those men more accurately than even the wisest men who do not live till ages after. Such of the fathers, therefore, as conversed with the apostles, or with their immediate followers, are the most likely to know the true sense of their writings. The use, then, which is to be made of the testimony of these good men is precisely that which a discreet lawyer would make of all the best contemporary authors who lived when Magna Charta was obtained. If in this code of civil rights anything appeared obscure, he would consult the

best authors of the age who had written upon the same. Magna Charta is to us, as Englishmen, what the word of God is to us as Christians, the one containing a copy of our *civil* rights and privileges, the other of our *religious* rights aud privileges. Nor does it diminish from the authority of the holy Scriptures to consult the writings of the fathers, in order to see how the Bible was understood in the ages in which they lived, any more than it would diminish from the authority of Magna Charta to consult the writings of historians to see how that was understood in the ages in which they lived. Accordingly, Christians in all ages and of every denomination have eagerly claimed the verdict of the fathers in their own behalf, and no one ever lightly esteemed their testimony but those whose principles and doctrines the writings of the fathers condemned. And their testimony is clear, full, and most decisive upon the point in question.

Now, it must appear very strange to every reasonable mind if the government of the primitive Church were according to the fashion of *modern dissent*, that Episcopacy should so soon after the death of the apostles have prevailed all the world over. "There was no Christian emperor to command it, no coercive power to enforce it, or if there had been any, we know no force was equal to the courage of the Christians of those times; for they cheerfully submitted to martyrdom in defence of their faith. What device, then, shall we resort to, to understand this strange alteration? I have never read that the apostles, seeing the distraction and disorders which would arise from congregationalism, and having proved its impracticability, gave orders in their last will and testament to substitute Episcopacy. I cannot conceive that the spirit of Diotrephes had entered into so many of the ministers of the Church that they should attempt a fresh organization, and achieve it without opposition, all the watchmen being in the meantime so fast asleep, and all the dogs so dumb, that not so much as one should open his mouth against it. Between the days of the apostles and the time when Episcopacy is acknowledged to have been universally received, there was not time for, nor possibility of, so great an alteration." Yet, if the primitive church were presbyterian or congregational,

not only did it become Episcopal in one hundred years throughout the world, but not one ancient historian has told us by what means the change took place, or who effected it, or that such a change took place at all. When these thoughts presented themselves to me I was much embarrassed: having ripened into conviction, they have led me to desire deacons orders at a bishops hands.

It has been said again and again, "The mode of government which obtains in the Church of England is derived from the Church of Rome." Now, this assertion can easily be disproved. There is the Syrian Church in the East, which never submitted to antichrist, and which has continued an Episcopal Church from the Apostles' days. The Syrian Christians inhabit the interior of Travancore and Malabar in the south of India, and have been settled there from the earliest days of Christianity. When the Portuguese arrived under Vasco de Gama in 1503, they were agreeably surprised to find upwards of a hundred churches on the coast of Malabar. But when they became acquainted with the purity and simplicity of their worship, they were offended, and made allusion to the Pope. "Who is the Pope?" said the natives; "we never heard of him." The Europeans found that the Hindoo Christians maintained the order and dicipline of a regular church under Episcopal jurisdiction, and that for 1300 years past they had enjoyed a succession of bishops appointed by the patriarch of Antioch. "We," said they, "are of the true faith, whatever you from the west may be, for we come from the place where the followers of Christ were first called Christians." "The existence of the Syrian Church in the heart of a Pagan country," says an eminent writer on this subject, a "church which never submitted to antichrist, retaining Episcopal government and a scriptural liturgy, deriving her Episcopacy from the earliest and best days of Christianity, furnishes one of the strongest proofs of the apostolic origin of this mode of church government." Water is purest at its fountain, among the mountains where it gushes cold from the rock, or bubbles up at the mossy spring: the nearer to the source, the clearer is the stream. By every mile it rolls it grows in volume, and what it acquires in depth and breadth it loses in purity, growing the muddier the

farther it goes. How like to what happens with the Church of Christ, which, as it increases, becomes more loose in doctrine, and more lax in discipline. With an increase of numbers, it presents such an increase of corruptions, that to find its purest days we must turn our steps backward to the period of its rise. We have done so; and what is the result?

In a manner not less confident, I appeal to modern dissenters for testimony in favour of Episcopacy. Not very many years have passed since the London Missionary Society sent out a minister of high standing and talent in their connection to take the superintendence of their missions in Africa, and invested him with power as their representative to overlook and control their missions in that quarter. By reference to the society's printed annual reports, the reader will find him spoken of as "The Superintendent of the Society's Mission in Africa." Some of the Churches objected to this appointment, as being an invasion of their independent rights, and refused to submit to this delegated authority, disclaiming the Society's right to appoint over them a "Bishop." The superintendent was, however, continued, and the remonstrant Churches seceded. Here, then, we have plain prelacy.

And with regard to the Church of Scotland, have not the proceedings of the General Assembly proved, beyond a question, that the Scotch Church possesses a very effective Episcopacy in fact, though she has discarded it in name? What is the General Assembly with its delegated Commission, but a sort of collective Episcopacy? Its censorship of doctrine, its watchfulness over the details of established discipline, its grave admonitions of offenders, and after the first and second admonitions in vain, its authoritative rejection of hereties and schismatics; these are precisely the functions of the Episcopate. The difference between this and the Church of England lies in the name and republican form which they have given to an institution which certainly originated in individuals, and not in assemblies; but the authority, in its effect upon their Churches, is substantially the same. Other instances might be quoted if necessary, to shew that dissenters, by their actions (and actions speak louder than words), announce unto the world that, in their

opinion, Episcopacy is at least an expedient mode of Church government.

Having, I think, satisfactorily proved that the gradation of offices which obtains in the English Church is according to Scripture, and in agreement with the constitution of the Church in primitive times, it will follow that we point out the distinct powers belonging to these distinct offices. In respect to their spiritual character, there are duties which, being inherent to the pastoral office, may be performed by all ministers in common; and in respect to the second order, that of Presbyters, little difference of opinion exists among the various denominations of Christian societies. It will therefore only be necessary to state briefly those which are appropriate and peculiar to bishops and deacons.

In the primitive Church it seems to have been the office of the bishop solely, to ordain presbyters to the work of the ministry. "For this cause, says the apostle, left I thee in Crete, that thou shouldst ordain presbyters in every city as I had appointed thee," Titus i. 5. I believe it is a great mistake to suppose that the ordination of men to the ministry of the Word was by popular election. Some are of opinion that the original meaning of Acts xiv. 23, in the appointment of presbyters by Paul and Barnabas, implies that it was done by the suffrage or voting of the people. Now, I suppose it is unquestionable, that the word translated *ordained* did primarily allow this meaning—viz., election by lifting up of hands. But everybody knows that it often signifies choice or election *simply,* without voting. Many instances of this latter have been collected by Dr. Hammond, which the reader may see by reference to his notes on the text in question. Since this is the case it is impossible to prove that the votes of the people had anything to do with these ordinations merely from the use of the word, unless something to that effect can be gathered from the context, and I think no such intimation can be found. The Rev. Thomas Hartwell Horne, B.D., says, "The most fair method of discovering the meaning of an author in any doubtful word, is to examine how he uses that word in other parts of his writings. Now, the word here supposed to imply the votes of the people is used but once

besides by St. Luke, and there it could not be made to teach any interference of the people, for it is used to express the choice of God himself." God shewed him openly, not to all the people, but unto witnesses *chosen before of God*, Acts x. 41. Apart from this, I consider there is abundant scriptural proof that it was the bishop's office to ordain men for the ministry. Paul does not use the Greek word to which reference has just been made when he commands Titus to ordain presbyters in every city, but he uses a word which has no relation to the suffrage of the people, and which is properly translated "ordain," that is, "constitute or appoint presbyters." For what end does the apostle give Timothy such minute directions respecting the character of the persons to be ordained by him, if these directions were not to guide his choice? And after all these orders, he cautions him to "lay hands suddenly on no man." That injunction would have been meaningless if the presbyter had been chosen by the voice of the people. In vain do we search the New Testament for an instance of any church asserting or exercising the power of electing its own pastor. "No case occurs in the inspired history," says the Rev. John Angel James, "of a mere popular ordination."

For many years past I have had a secret and increasing dissatisfaction with the congregational mode of making ministers. If the people can call whom they will to the sacred office, and invest him with the right to preach the gospel and administer the sacrament, then they must have that right in themselves, and the ministry is all unnecessary. If the mantle of the prophet is theirs to bestow, the prophet will be expected to preach the preaching they bid him. Dissent invests the people with that degree of authority which has no precedent in sacred Scripture, and which is ruinous to the peace and harmony of many a congregation. I have long seen and felt the evils of that system of church government adapted by Dissenters. By declaring each congregation independent of all others, and by investing its power in the hands of the majority, encouragement is held out to confusion, dissension, and strife. A pastor is to be chosen; the church meeting at which the business is

to be decided by vote is composed of persons, who, jealous of the only importance they possess, revel in the exercise of power. Men without education and judgment, and of very narrow views, think themselves quite competent to decide the most important questions, and obstinately maintain the most extravagantly absurd opinions. It is said that there were times when "Shakspeare thought himself no poet" and "Raphael believed himself no painter," but at such times every labourer and charwoman in the assembly is (at least in self-estimation) an infallible theologian. Others who long have stood aloof from each other through some disagreement, take this opportunity to vent their ill feeling and quarrel. The determination of a few individuals who, lustful of power, resolve to have their own way, rends the society in pieces, and a division ensues. Then is seen the mournful spectacle of two Christian societies of the same denomination fighting like cats and dogs, and opposing each other with all the arts of rivalry and animosity.* Sad as such things are, yet the principles of Independency fully justify them. Chosen by the people to the office which he holds, the pastor is ever dependent upon the people for the maintenance of that position. If, in the exercise of pastoral supervision, he "exhort and rebuke with all authority," the discharge of his duty is resented as an abuse of power, and he finds it necessary to resign. The Church can easily replace him, but it cannot *afford* to lose the evildoers. He may think himself in a good position if he is not looked upon as being in subjection to the Church, and directed as to what he *is*, and what he *is not* to preach. If party spirit creep in, if the Church is unholy, if the cause is in a depressed condition, another minister is deemed necessary, and the former pastor may be cast upon the world, compelled in his declining days to turn his attention to secular things. Instead of being regarded as "abassadors of Christ," and

*A clergyman writing to me since the above was written, says, "I can fully bear out your statement as to the confusion, dissension, and strife consequent upon investing the power in the hands of the majority. In an Independent chapel, in my native town, there have been deadly feuds existing for thirty years. Some years ago the "members" fought on the Market-hill for three successive Sundays; and the riot act had to be read. The particular Baptists at C—— can rejoice in a dozen swarms, all of which left the parent stock with much confusion."

"stewards of the mysteries of God," like menial servants they are first taken upon trial and then hired, and are liable at all times, for anything, or for nothing, at the will or caprice of their masters and mistresses, to be turned away. That there are many dissenting congregations to which these things are not applicable is cheerfully admitted, but it must be ascribed to the wisdom and piety of those who manage their affairs rather than to the Church polity; for it seems to me, these evils are inherent to the system. A facility for schism is offered, because there is no principle of cohesion, no centre of unity. All this mischief is spared where the bishops, by virtue of their office as superintendents of the Church, possess the sole privilege of deputing such persons as they judge are well qualified for the work of the ministry.

Another office peculiar to bishops is the administration of a solemn covenant to those who wish "openly before the Church" to confess the Lord Jesus Christ, whereby they "promise that, by the grace of God, they will endeavour themselves faithfully to observe such things as they by their own confession have assented unto." This ceremony is commonly called confirmation, and, as I understand it, is a very scriptural and important office. When Philip, the deacon and evangelist, had baptized the Samaritans, the apostles which were at Jerusalem sent unto them Peter and John, who, when they were come down, laid their hands upon them, and prayed for them, that they might receive the Holy Ghost, Acts viii. 14-17. We learn from this that even in the apostles' times a ministration, besides baptism, was required. and that this office was strictly appropriated to the apostles, According to Heb. vi. 1-2, baptism and the laying on of hands were, in the apostles' estimation, of sufficient excellence and dignity to be at *the foundation*, and to be written among the "principles of the doctrine of Christ." Other examples might be given, such as Acts xiv. 22, and Acts xv. 41: and if two or three competent and in every way credible witnesses are held in a court of law to be worth as many as would crowd the court-house, these taken from the word of God will surely suffice. Dissenters adopt a form very similar, though not so scriptural, when their members take upon themselves

a public profession. I refer to the gift of the right hand of fellowship, accompanied by a solemn charge from the lips of the pastor; and this is looked upon by them as a ceremony of high importance, calculated to impress the mind with a just sense of the great obligations of church fellowship. How much more scriptural and appropriate is the confirmation service of the Church of England, administered in an early stage of Christian discipleship, by the apostolic mode of laying on of hands, and by the bishop's fervent prayer.

Another office belonging to bishops of the primitive Church was to regulate such matters as were not settled by divine authority. The apostle says, "For this cause left I thee in Crete, that thou shouldest set in order the things that are wanting," Titus i. 5. Many things relating to the government of the Church are not particularly determined by revelation. Bishops, for instance, are "to lay hands suddenly on no man," but the previous trial and examination to which such as are candidates ought to be subjected, is not prescribed. We are commanded to assemble together for the worship of God, but the time, the place, the order of proceeding, are nowhere decreed. So with regard to many other things. It is not the design of revelation to furnish minute directions on every point; something is left to the prudent decision of the Church. Hence the Church adopted the twentieth article. Now, if ever there were a society whose mode and rites of worship were so fixed by God as to make variation or addition by human appointment unlawful, it was the Jewish Church. It is, however, matter of fact that to the appointments of God there were added other rites which were of mere human origin. In the Mosaic law the erection of synagogues, and the services performed in them, are not expressly enjoined, yet are they approved, (Acts xv. 21.) and our Saviour sanctioned them by his presence. If we come to the New Testament, we discover the exercise of the same authority in matters of faith, and in the appointment of the circumstantials of Christian worship. Did not the Council of Jerusalem, consisting of apostles and elders, exercise such power in matters brought before them? Acts xv. 6-23. Did not Paul decree that women should be veiled in the public assembly, merely because these things

were agreeable with the notions of decency then prevailing? And, in addition to Paul's command to Titus, before quoted, do not such rules as these, "Let all things be done decently and in order," "Let all things be done to edification," clearly recognise a discretionary power in the minor points of church government, as circumstances might require? No society, in fact, ever associated for religious purposes without having its peculiar regulations in addition to the injunctions of Scripture, and which, though unwritten, are so far coercive, that no one would be suffered to minister among them, or even be admitted into membership, who does not profess to adhere to these rules. Yet most of the objections urged against the Church of England by those who dissent from her, turn upon the twentieth article. "A man that were unacquainted," says Bishop Grove, "with the true state of the case, that should stand by and only hear the bitter cries and invectives that have been made against ceremonies, would be ready to imagine that, sure, our Church was nothing else but ceremonies. But he would be mightily surprised when, upon enquiry, he should find that these ceremonies which had occasioned all this noise, should be no more than four: the surplice, the cross after baptism, bowing at the name of Jesus, and kneeling at sacrament. He would be amazed to think that these should be the things about which so many massive books had been written, so great discords and animosities raised, such a flourishing church once quite destroyed, and now most miserably divided, after it had been so happily restored; and his wonder must be increased when he should perceive that of these four there were but two, and no more, in which the people were any way concerned. The cross and surplice are to be used only by the minister, and if his conscience be satisfied, no man's else need be disturbed about them."

The position maintained by some, that, "whatever is not enjoined in the New Testament is forbidden, and, therefore, unlawful to be appointed or observed," if true, would render it necessary that we should observe every custom practised in the early Church; for, says Bishop Burnet, "it is a higher attempt to alter what was settled by the apostles themselves, than to set up new rules in matters which they left untouched."

This, it is plainly seen, would lead us into many absurdities. I am reminded here of the following story: "When a clergyman, whose church was adorned with no less than three galleries, one over the other, pleaded for the removal of at least the uppermost of the three, he was sternly told that "gallery above gallery was an apostolic institution, seeing that when Paul was preaching, Eutychus fell from the third loft."

Carrying out, literally, every apostolic custom, we must adopt what sanguine politicians have often dreamed of, but Christians only have ever attained unto, "*a commonwealth,*" Acts iv. 32. Then, what of the kiss of charity? the agapœ or love feasts? the weekly celebration of the Lord's Supper? annointing the sick with oil, and washing one another's feet? In admitting these apostolic rites, those who do so, proclaim that the apostolic churches, in mere circumstantials, are only to be followed as decency and the existing state of society will allow; and what is this but the exercise of that power which is condemned as anti-christian in the Established Church? It puzzles my mind to know what there is in the rites ordained by church authority, either in their nature, number, or tendency, to justify so much opposition. "Bowing at the name of Jesus," in the repetition of the creed, expressive of adoration, has surely in it nothing superstitious, and has, at least, some sanction from Scripture, which declares that at the name of Jesus every knee shall bow. The use of the sign of the cross in baptism has been supposed to constitute a part of the ordinance, but the Rubric enjoins this sign after baptism; and who can deny that it is a rite in itself most expressive of the saint's object of glorying, and consecrated by the practice of the Church in the earliest ages? As to the surplice: there is as much reason for the use of a white garment by the Episcopalian, as for a black one by the Independent, or the gown which is worn at the administration of baptism by the Baptist minister. Kneeling at the sacrament is considered a more becoming posture than that of sitting, for which it is argued that we kneel to an earthly prince when we receive a favour from him. Should we not be deeply reverent when we receive from our divine Master, by the hands of his minister, the pledge of his inestimable love?

Those who contend on this subject, to be consistent, ought to receive the sacrament in a recumbent posture, for in that position it was received from our Lord by the disciples. The writer, just quoted, says, "Habits and postures are the necessary circumstances of all public meetings; and fall within those general rules given by the apostles to the Churches in their times, where we find that the apostles had their customs as well as the Churches of God (1 Cor. xi. 16), which were then opposed to the innovating and contentious humours of some factious men; and such a pattern have the apostles set us of complying with those things that are regularly settled wheresoever they are, that we find *they became all things to all men:* to the Jews they became Jews, though that was a religion then extinguished in its obligation by the promulgation of the gospel, and was then falling under great corruption, yet, in order to the gaining some of them, such was the spirit with which the apostles were actuated, they complied in the practice of these abrogated rites. If, then, these were complied with by inspired men, how much more ought we to acquiesce in such rules as have been agreed on by common consent, and established by those that have lawful authority over us?"

Some ecclesiastical authority, "to set in order the things that are wanting," must exist somewhere; and as authority is identified with government, it should be vested in those to whom Christ has committed the government of his Church. We find in the "article" under consideration, a most effectual guard against the abuse of that power with which the rulers of the Church are endowed. The subsequent clauses of the article are often forgotten, "and yet it is not lawful for the Church to ordain anything that is contrary to God's word written, neither may it so expound one place of Scripture that it be repugnant to another; wherefore, although the Church be a witness and keeper of Holy Writ, yet, as it ought not to decree anything against the same, so, besides the same, ought it not to enforce anything to be believed for necessity of salvation." Bishops, and those in authority, are confined to the execution of the laws, and if they should in any way go beyond those laws, the inferior ministers may lawfully resist them." In the Anglican Church no presbyter

hesitates to oppose whatever is judged to be a violation of Episcopal authority, or to controvert any supposed erroneous doctrine which a bishop may deliver in a charge, or publish to the world; and this, too, is deemed consistent with the deference and obedience which is due to the diocesan, because it is merely the opinion of an individual, who, though a bishop, has no independent authority to decree either ceremonies or articles of faith, or to go farther personally than to put in force the existing laws and canons of the Church.

The office of the Deacon remains to be considered; and the only question which requires settlement is, whether the office be, as Dissenters imagine, merely temporal, confined to the management of the secular affairs of the Church; or a spiritual one? In the 6th of Acts we have an account of the ordination of the first deacons. They are not, it is true, called deacons by the sacred historians, although the name is given to them in the title of the chapter. The word, indeed, from which deacon comes is used in the account two or three times. It is used with respect to the apostles "giving themselves to the deaconship of the word," and then these men on this occasion to the deaconship of tables. The word deacon is a very general term, signifying ministry or service, occurring a great many times in the New Testament. It is applied to the apostles, applied to Timothy, applied to Jesus Christ; but yet it was used afterwards in a technical and an official sense, to signify a particular officer in the Christian Church, as the Church began to grow. Primarily, doubtless, the deacons were chosen to serve tables, to superintend the direct and daily administration of relief to the poor; but that office, in the course of time, even in the apostles' days, assumed a form distinct from the one thing for which these men were appointed, and several reasons concur to prove that they were intended for a further ministry in divine things; they were to be men full of the Holy Ghost, and were admitted to their office by ordination, a rite which we cannot suppose would have been used in appointing to a temporary and civil office;—we certainly have no example of its employment for any other than spiritual objects. Moreover, of the men here spoken of, some actually exercised sacred functions. Stephen, "full of faith

and power, did great wonders and miracles among the people," and his adversaries "were not able to resist the wisdom and spirit by which he spake." (Acts vi. 8-10). Philip also, one of the seven, is expressly called an evangelist (ch. xxi. 8), and having gone down to the city of Samaria, "preached Christ unto them" (ch. viii. 5), and the result was that the people who believed Philip were baptized, both men and women. The qualifications required for a deacon are almost the same as for bishops, and an unprejudiced person reading over the requirements for the diaconate in 1 Tim. iii. 8-17 would conclude them to be such as the apostle would not insist upon for appointment to a temporal office. The apostle says also, "They that have used the office of a deacon well, purchase to themselves a good degree;" and as in this part of the epistle he is referring to the ministers of Christ, we understand the import of the term rendered "a good degree" to be nothing less than an honourable promotion to a higher rank in the ministry. We cannot regard this degree otherwise than of a spiritual kind, for the Church is a spiritual society. In addition to the foregoing evidence, we find those who were unquestionably presbyters of churches; at some time discharging the duties of the deacon. Timothy, in 1 Thess. iii. 2, is described as being "a minister of God," which means nothing else than God's deacon. St. Paul, in 1 Tim. i. 12, refers to his being put "into the ministry," which is in the original "into the diaconate." When, therefore, we find this office so closely combined with the ministerial office, we cannot but conclude, I think, that it is a sacred order.

Thus, with as much brevity as possible, I have given the principal reasons which have enforced upon my mind the conviction that Episcopacy is the divinely appointed mode of government of the Church of Christ. In doing so, I have omitted many arguments of less moment leading to the same conclusion, only lest I should swell this work to what might be considered an unreasonable magnitude. I think, however, enough has been advanced to shew that the mode of church polity which characterises the Church of England, may claim the high sanction of apostolic times.

CHAPTER III.

THE CHURCH FORMULARY.

TWO hundred years have passed away since the bishops and clergy of the Church of England assembled at Westminster, and after solemn prayer to Almighty God, and long continued deliberations, revised and ratified the "Book of Common Prayer," and delivered it in that form in which it is to be found to this day. From that day to the present, this book has been the subject of objection and attack, and it will be our business in this chapter, to consider seriously, the objections with which it is generally regarded by Nonconformists, and whether they are well founded.

Multitudes of persons who are opposed to the Church of England, say that Liturgical forms are unscriptural, consequently unlawful. So far is this from being the case, that forms of prayer are encouraged and enjoined by the Scriptures, as may be seen by reference to Deut. xxi. 7-8, Numbers vi. 32-26, Deut. xxvi. 3-15. If the use of a form of prayer had been in itself wrong, God would not have prescribed it for the Jews. When David brought up the ark from the house of Obed-Edom to the tent which he had pitched for it at Jerusalem, he composed a form of prayer and thanksgiving for the occasion, selected out of four different psalms, and put it into the hand of Asaph and his brethren, for the use of the whole congregation. And after the Babylonish captivity, when synagogues arose in every part of the Holy Land, *a set form* of prayer was prescribed to be used in all those sacred buildings, and a fixed calendar of lessons of holy Scripture, was framed. (See Dean Prideaux's Connection, Part 1, Book 6).

Moreover, our Lord sanctioned precomposed prayers by joining in the Jewish Liturgy, and I do not read that he even once condemned them. I *do* find him teaching his disciples a form of prayer, not only intending it to be used as a *model*, but bidding them use *those very words*. Jesus said unto them, "*When ye pray, say*, Our Father which art heaven," &c. It appears that Christ taught this prayer in answer to a request made by one of the disciples, who said, "Lord teach us to pray, as John also taught his disciples." The natural conclusion is, that John had taught his disciples a form of prayer, and that Christ gave this comprehensive prayer to be used by his disciples as a form too. In this light it certainly was regarded in the best and purest days of Christianity. The disciples of our Lord, accustomed as they were to a liturgical service in the temple and the synagogue, could not judge of it otherwise than as a set form. We are informed by learned men that the several petitions of it (with one exception) are taken from the Jewish Liturgy then in use; and our Lord's adoption of them must be deemed as sanctioning by his example the use of precomposed prayers. The prayer likewise was twice delivered, first in his sermon on the mount, and afterwards in discourse on the way from Bethany to Galilee,—which repetition on two distinct occasions proves it to have been intended for a form. As Joseph said to Pharoah, "The dream is doubled unto Pharoah, because the thing is established by God;" so may we say here; the delivery of this prayer was doubled unto the disciples, that they and we might thereby know the more certainly that our Saviour intended and commended it for a set form of prayer unto his Church.

Again, the sublime prayer recorded in the 4th chapter of the "Acts" was precomposed. Peter and John having been threatened, and commanded not to preach in the name of Jesus, "went to their own company and reported all that the chief priests and elders had said unto them; and when they heard that, they lifted up their voice with one accord, saying"—(here follows the prayer). The whole company could not thus have lifted up their united voices unless the prayer had been precomposed. To this, however, it is objected, that possibly only

one of the company spoke in the name of all the rest, who might join with him mentally, not in an audible manner. The Scriptures, it is true, *sometimes* attribute to a multitude what was done by one person only, who acted in the name of the rest; but these are exceptions, where the meaning is determined by the context; in all other cases where anything is related as the act of a multitude, it must be understood literally, as performed by every individual of them at the same instant. It must be so in the present case, for the people are said to have "lifted up their voices unto God with one accord," *i.e altogether*, which would have been impossible if the prayer had been an extemporary effusion by one of the number. Again, St. Paul alludes to the "exhorting one another with the Psalms," and tells us of irregularity and confusion created at first by the popular participation in religious worship. And as for those passages of Scripture which are supposed to hold forth an expectation that under the gospel, we should have the ability to pray without a form (see Romans viii. 26), we are not thereby warranted to expect verbal inspiration, but that our hearts are to receive spiritual influence; and none will deny that we may have the spirit of supplication, although the expressions we use are precomposed.

That forms of prayer were common in the early Church, from the days of the apostles, is evident. Ancient liturgies are still extant, which bear such appellations as the following: "Common Prayers by Justin Martyr," "Constituted or appointed Prayers by Origen," &c., &c.; and whatever may be thought of the genuineness of portions of those Liturgies in their present form, yet they may serve as witnesses of the practice of ancient Christendom in this respect. The Reformed Churches also followed the example of the more primitive Churches. That great Reformer Calvin thus expresses his opinion on this point: "I strongly recommend that there should be a fixed form of prayer and ecclesiastical rites, from which it should not be lawful for the pastors to depart in the discharge of their office." No ancient Christian Church gave any countenance to extemporaneous prayer; all Christian Churches agreed in having some set form of public devotion, and therefore those persons who say they cannot pray fervently

to God in set forms of prayer, virtually accuse themselves of being of a very different spirit from that of all the holy martyrs and saints of all the best ages of the Church who in that way worshipped God.

But I go further, and affirm that forms of prayer are equally expedient still. To lead the devotions of a congregation, and present extemporaneously the wants of a multitude to God, is an office for which but few are qualified; and any man with proper feeling, after having often engaged in such a responsible undertaking, will wish that he could by some means be relieved from it. There must be times when the best and most talented men find themselves through many contingencies unfitted for such a duty. A slight bodily ailment, the weight and temperature of the atmosphere, or extreme nervous excitement, oftentimes unhinge the mind; and then without a liturgy the congregation must suffer. Against all this, the Prayer Book of the Church of England secures her children. And in addition to this, it seems to me to be convenient that the assembled congregation should previously know what petitions are about to be presented to the divine Majesty, or how can they "*agree* on earth touching anything that they shall ask?" The remarks of Bishop Beveridge on this point are very appropriate. "If I hear another pray, and know not beforehand what he will say, I must first listen to what he will say next. Then I am to consider whether what he saith be agreeable to sound doctrine, and whether it be proper and lawful for me to join with him in the petition he puts up to almighty God; and if I think it so, then I am to do it; but before I can well do that, he has got to another thing." How true this is, our feelings themselves shall be judges. For my own part, I seldom listen to an extempore prayer without experiencing this inconvenience. The mind does not float with the mind of the minister on the stream of his supplication, but is engaged in fathoming its depths, or is whirled round and round in its eddies, or run aground on its shallows. The spirit of the individual prayeth, but his "understanding is unfruitful to others," 1 Cor. xiv. 14.

Such being the case, perhaps I may be forgiven if I say *I devoutly thank God for the Church of England Liturgy.* I

had often read our Saviour's words, "my house shall be called the house of prayer for all people;" but I never so well understood them as I do now. Hitherto the pulpit—not the throne of grace—has been the centre around which I have seen God's people grouped. Preaching—not praying—has been the great business of the Sanctuary. An off-hand, unedifying prayer, frequently curtailed, and a few verses of song as an interlude or rest, is the only apology which Nonconformists in the main, offer for worship. Now when I go within thy gates, O Zion, it is to worship God: not through the medium of an extemporaneous prayer, which must of necessity often be dull, and unwholesome, and common place; but with the chastened fervour of an incomparable liturgy. Years ago, as a school-boy, I was expected to go once on the Sabbath to the Episcopal Church, and I well recollect how my attention was engaged with the Book of Common Prayer, and how anxious I was to "know the places," that I might take part in the responses. In my earlier ministry I sought to introduce some parts of it into the Sabbath worship, but the attempt was fruitless: nevertheless I seldom failed to read the morning and evening services before I appeared in the pulpit, that my own prayers might be more to the edification of the people and better adapted to the high purposes of worship. During the last two years of my ministry I frequently attended a week night service at the Episcopal Church, and the oftener I joined in the service the more it gained upon my affections; and now, with Dr. Adam Clarke, I can well say of the Prayer Book, "next to the Bible it is the book of my understanding and my heart."

I do not believe, as some would have it, that a form of prayer necessarily generates and encourages formality. That the constant repetition of the same form does not so forcibly arrest the attention as new sentiments and expressions would do, must be confessed; but let us remember, novelty is not devotion. We may be more intent on listening to the voice of the minister, than on pouring out our hearts before the Lord. We may have our imaginations pleased, and our spirits elevated without real spiritual edification. The heavenly minded author of the "Saints everlasting rest," says, "the

constant disuse of forms is apt to breed giddiness in religion, and to make men hypocrites, who shall delude themselves with conceits that they delight in God, when it is but in those novelties and varieties of expression that they are delighted; and therefore I advise forms, to fix christians, and to make them sound." The Rev. Charles Simeon says—"It is with *solid truths*, and not with *fluent words* that we are to be impressed, and if we can desire from the heart the things that we pray for in our public forms, we need never regret that our fancy was not gratified, or our animal spirits raised by the delusive charms of novelty." Dissenters know, that in the repetition of favorite hymns they can worship God in spirit and in truth. I quite believe them when they say their singing is not formal, and hence they may learn, and I claim the acknowledgment from them, that the repetition of the liturgy is not open to this objection. Formality may creep into our religious services, whether we pray with a written form or without one. I have often seen a whole congregation sitting down in a state of fatigue, waiting with anxious impatience for the close of the extemporaneous prayer; and at the termination of the service, lamenting to each other the extreme tediousness and disgust they had previously felt. I apprehend, therefore, the charge of formality may be pretty equally divided between those who use a liturgy, and those who use it not. Both may pile the unhewn stones, and lay on the wood, and set the victim in order; and yet there may be no fire from heaven, and in consequence no sweet smelling savour will ascend unto God. We must look for the Spirit of God when we enter the house of God, and ask him to grant us that living power of prayer, without which, though with our lips we draw near to God, our hearts will be far from him. I by no means concede that the liturgy generates formality; nay, rather—given, that any person be in a devout frame of mind, I do think he would be far more likely to have his soul elevated to heaven by the liturgy of the Established Church, than he will by the generality of prayers which he would hear in nonconforming places of worship.

But the objection has been tauntingly urged by some, that the prayers of the Church of England have, for the most part,

been taken from the missal of the Church of Rome. "While you denounce that Church," say they, "you have not disdained to filch from her some of the choicest portions of your liturgy." This is not true, for the service of the Church is far older than the Reformation, and has come down to us from the primitive years of Christianity. It may have come *through* Rome, but it did not come *from* Rome; it belonged to the Christian Church long before the errors of Romanism were engrafted on it Shall we now reject the good because it has been associated with that which is evil? We do not read that the Jews, on their return to their own country, broke up and shivered in pieces the sacred vessels that their fathers had used, because they had been carried into Babylon and defiled by idolators. No; they purified and cleansed them, and dedicated them once more to the Lord God of Israel. So the Service of the Church of England may have been corrupted by association with a corrupt Church, but since those days it has been through the fire of the Reformation; and whoever examines it without prejudice, must acknowledge it to be full of true evangelical light and godliness.

But to come more particularly to the subject matter of the Prayer Book. The objections which are here urged arise mainly from one cause, viz., objectors do not understand the book, and so make objections about things which do not exist. The Rev. R. W. Dibdin, M.A., of West Street Episcopal Chapel, St. Giles-in-the-Fields, says, the key to the Prayer Book is contained in the following sentence :—"*Its formularies are designed for the Church.*" When this is correctly stated, its supposed difficulties at once disappear. The visible Church of Christ is a congregation of faithful men; this is the Church of England's definition of a true Church (see the 19th Article); consequently it is a definition of itself, inasmuch as it assumes itself to be a true Church of Christ. Therefore, all who are unconverted, though they profess to be her members, are members only in name, they are expelled from the mere circumstance that they are not faithful men; and, consequently, they are not eligible for her services. All the services of the Book of Common Prayer are intended for believers from beginning to end; they are for the Church, for faithful men.

Even the Baptismal service teaches that the infant must be converted before it can receive the ordinance. When the child is brought to the font, in the address made to the sponsors, the minister says, "Forasmuch as . . . . none can can enter into the kingdom of God, except he be regenerate and born anew of water and of the Holy Ghost, I beseech you to call upon God the Father, through our Lord Jesus Christ, that of his bounteous mercy He will grant to this child that thing which by nature he cannot have, that he may be baptized with water and the Holy Ghost, and received into Christ's holy Church, and be made a lively member of the same." Then the minister says, "Let us pray. Almighty and everlasting God, who, by the baptism of thy well-beloved Son, didst sanctify water to the mystical washing away of sin, we beseech thee, of thine infinite mercies, that thou wilt mercifully look upon this child; wash him and sanctify him with the Holy Ghost, that he, being delivered from thy wrath, may be received into the ark of Christ's Church. The minister proceeds to tell those by whom the child is presented, that they have every reason in the word of God for expecting their prayers to be heard (and is it not so when prayer is offered sincerely? Mark xi. 24). Since they only know whether they have offered acceptable prayer, the minister, addressing himself to them, asks, whether they consider the child born again, and a possessor of the grace of true repentance. "Dost thou, in the name of this child, renounce the devil and all his works, the vain pomp and glory of the world, with all covetous desires of the same, so that thou wilt not follow nor be led by them?" To which they reply in the name of the child, "I renounce them all;" *i.e.*, I believe God has heard our prayers, and that the child does repent of sin, and renounce the world, the flesh, and the devil, and if it could express its meaning it would be baptized. The minister cannot examine either the heart of the child or the heart of the sponsors; so, relying upon what the latter say, he says, "Seeing now, dearly beloved brethren, that this child is regenerate and grafted into the body of Christ's Church, let us give thanks." And the child is to be dipped in water. Now, if any shall say, *There is no reason to suppose that child is born again,* though earnest and

believing prayers may have been offered for it, let such know they do indirectly give the lie to this promise: "Believe on the Lord Jesus Christ, and thou shalt be saved, *and thy house.*" What have the last three words done that they should be cut off when this passage is quoted? By faith in the divine promise *my soul* is saved; but why should not my faith be as broad as the promise, that the souls of *my children* may be saved also? Not that the father's faith can be a substitute for the faith of the children; they must believe too; but the father's faith makes him pray to God for his little ones, and say, "Lord, thou hast saved me, but thou hast only in part fulfilled thy promise, till thou hast saved my house;" and, in answer to his prayers, God bestows faith upon his children, and they are saved. The covenant promise is the same to believers under the New Testament as it was under the Old, "to be a God to them and their seed," Acts ii. 39. Pleading God's promise on behalf of his child, is not the believing Christian, equally with the believing Jew, warranted to cherish the assurance that his child is made a child of God, and an heir of the kingdom of heaven?" Our Lord answered the believing prayers of the woman of Canaan, Jairus the ruler, the man whose son was a lunatic, and the nobleman from Capernaum, when they pleaded with him for their children, though their prayers were for temporal mercies; how much more will he hear you when, in praying for the everlasting salvation of your offspring, you put your hand upon his word and pledge him to his covenant. God is not unfaithful to his promises, and in those cases in which regeneration has not taken place in answer to prayer, the demand might be made, "How is it that ye have no faith?" I have great pleasure in referring the reader to a sermon by the Rev. Charles H. Spurgeon, No. 333 New Park Street Pulpit, in which the following passage occurs:—"If you can exercise faith for a dead soul, that dead soul shall be quickened and receive faith itself. If you can look to Christ with the eye of faith for a blind soul, that blind soul shall have sight given it, and shall see. There is a wonderful power in *vicarious faith*—faith for another. Not that any of you can be saved without faith yourself, but that when another believes for you, and on your account, and

quotes the promise before God for you, you may be unconscious of it, but God hears and answers that faith, and breathes on your soul, and gives you faith to believe on the Lord Jesus Christ." Now, I hold that to be in strict accordance with the Prayer Book. Hence, the minister says to those who present the child, "Ye have heard, also, that our Lord Jesus hath promised in his gospel to grant all these things that ye have prayed for; which promise, he, for his part, will most surely keep and perform." The child is said to be saved, and justly so: for if all that is said is *truly* said, it cannot be otherwise; and, on the strength of this belief, the child is baptized. This is just what the Baptists believe. They do not contend for the baptism of adults, but for the baptism of believers. "Shew us a child, however young," says an eminent Baptist minister, "who believes in Christ, and we gladly accept him; but if a man as old as Methuselah were to come to us in unbelief, we should say to him, Sir, your age certainly entitles you to our respect, but it gives you no manner of claim to baptism as ordained by Jesus Christ." The Catechism of the Church of England is quite scriptural, when in answer to the question, "What is required of persons who come to be baptized," it replies, "Repentance whereby they forsake sin; and faith whereby they steadfastly believe." I think I hear some one saying, "It is all very well, but we deny the possibility of an infant being a believer." What then will you say of John the Baptist, who was filled with the Holy Ghost from his mother's womb, presenting a case of regeneration and faith in the earliest moments of his existence. What will you say of those who die in infancy? Are not such capable of spiritual regeneration? Scripture says, "except a man be born again, he cannot enter the kingdom of God." We cling to the persuasion, that dying infants *are* made possessors of saving grace, and we derive comfort from it. What is there to forbid our cherishing the same persuasion concerning infants who live having been prayerfully dedicated to God? To quote the words of that estimable and devout clergyman, the Rev. R. W. Dibdin, "Now if any say *infants* cannot have faith, I reply that a person may have faith whether he exercises it or not; it is not necessary to have the

exercise of a thing to shew that we possess the thing itself. Faith is not in the intellect, but in the heart. An infant may have faith just in the same way that an infant may be a sinner, though it does not know what sin is. Some cannot understand this: they still say an infant cannot have faith. Then the answer is, it cannot have baptism. Scripture always requires faith first. 'He that believeth and is baptized, shall be saved.' If any really think infants cannot have faith, they should join the Baptists, or else act as the Baptists do."

Now, while I heartily concur in the above, I do not pretend to say (neither does Mr. Dibdin), that every child who is baptized is a converted child. I know the baptismal service is often misapplied, and that sponsors are not always faithful to their trust (see 29th Canon), but the doctrine of the Church is scriptural, although we confess that doctrine is not always consistently carried out; and so, many infants are baptized who have no right to baptism. Some one says, "Seeing that the ordinance is often misapplied, would it not be better to wait until the child, having reached an age of responsibility, can make its own profession of faith." We reply, no; the grossest abuse of a practice in itself good and scriptural, is not a sufficient argument against it, or the ordinance of infant baptism must be abolished altogether, which the practice of the Church from the very beginning does not sanction. The latter fact was the cause of one of my earliest misgivings on this matter: it struck me forcibly as an important argument for the apostolic origin of Infant Baptism. A learned professor once introduced a brilliant lecture on the Divinity of Christ, with these words: "It is a strong presumptive proof of the Divinity of Christ, that the Church Catholic has held it from the earliest ages." Now, may I not also say, "It is a strong presumptive proof of the apostolic origin of Infant Baptism, that the Church Catholic has held it from the earliest ages." If, in the third century, or even in the second, a council had enjoined Infant Baptism, it would justly have created the suspicion in our minds that it was an innovation: but no council of the Church ever commanded it: the practice was coeval with the apostles. This view, *at least sanctioned* by Scripture, leads us to the conclusion that "the baptism of

young children is in any wise to be retained in the Church." However full of difficulty this subject may be when considered *practically*, I think what I have stated is, without question, the doctrine of the Prayer Book.

If any brethren should read this book who are so strictly Baptist as to remain unconvinced on this point notwithstanding; I would say to them, "This need be no excuse for remaining out of the Established Church; for although the Book of Common Prayer has but "one baptism," and that for believers, yet it has two services,—one for children, the other for adults." The Church evidently deems the baptism of adults by far the more important, as may be seen by reference to the 27th article; though by mentioning young children in the supplementary clause of that article, the Church wishes it to be seen that she is careful of the little ones entrusted to her. If you do not think it right to baptize children, and are willing to forego the privilege of making them partakers of the prayers of the faithful, yet you cannot but agree with the Church of England in what is hereafter stated: "When any such persons as are of riper years are to be baptized, timely notice shall be given, &c., that so due care may be taken for their examination, &c. When assembled, the priest asks of each person to be baptized, 'Dost thou renounce the devil and all his works? . . . Dost thou believe in God the Father Almighty, and in Jesus Christ, his only begotten Son, our Lord? . . . Wilt thou be baptized in this faith?'" This, surely, will satisfy the most persistent Baptist.

Then, with regard to the service for the burial of the dead, to which we next come. This is generally considered the most sublime service in the whole book, yet it has been greatly misrepresented. As it stands now, when the relatives of the departed meet around the grave, the minister speaks these words: "Forasmuch as it hath pleased Almighty God, of his great mercy, to take unto himself the soul of our dear brother, here departed, we therefore commit his body to the ground: earth to earth, ashes to ashes, dust to dust, in sure and certain hope of the resurrection to eternal life through our Lord Jesus Christ; who shall change our vile body, that it may be like unto his glorious body, according to the mighty

working whereby he is able to subdue all things unto himself." It is objected, that though this may very appropriately be read at the grave of the believer, it must be wholly improper for those who are cut off in the midst of notorious sin; and on that objection the following conclusions have been built: One says, "The Church of England teaches that all who die go to heaven, whatever was their previous character." Another says: "Not satisfied with having attempted to deceive the dying, the Prayer Book follows up the delusion to the very last." Now, all this appears to me to be nothing less than fighting a shadow, inasmuch as this service was never intended for any but the Church. "The visible Church of Christ is a congregation of faithful men." And for whom else could forms of devotion be composed? Surely not for the unbelieving. Objectors lose sight of this, and so make objections about things which do not exist. It is ridiculous to suppose that the good and holy men who compiled the Book of Common Prayer, ever thought of making prayers for those who do not pray, and Confessions of Faith for those who are unbelievers, and a Christian Burial Service for those who die ungodly. The Prayer Book is intended for the Church, *i. e.*, the righteous; and to them the offices are to be administered. This is the key with which we unlock whatever seems incongruous or contradictory.

Archbishop Sancroft gave it as his opinion to a minister who consulted him on this question, "that he acted not against his obligation when he denied any part of this service to such as all the world agree it was never designed for." The following remarks of Bishop Hoadly, on the same question, are worthy of consideration: "I do verily think that a minister in the Church of England is under no obligation to use these expressions over notorious sinners, nor ever likely to suffer any inconvenience for omitting them. I design not by this to teach any persons to play with what ought to be sacred among Christians, or to make light of declarations or subscriptions. I hope I am far from it. I desire it may be considered that the omission of these sentences in such cases is not contrary to the original design of the Church in prescribing this form, but more agreeable to it than

using them. I find it almost unanimously affirmed by as great writers as any that have appeared in this cause, that this office supposes such discipline in the Church, that all notorious and incorrigible sinners should be excommunicated, and so incapable of this office. If this be so, and yet no such discipline exercised, to what part of his charge, to what part of his vow, is he false, who either denies the office to those of whose acceptance with God there cannot be the least hope, or omits these expressions which render this office so improper on such occasions." That "the discipline" to which reference is made in the above quotations, may speedily be restored to the Church, is the writer's fervent desire.

Some have said the Church of England teaches, that her ministers have power to absolve from sin. The passages objected to are as follows: At the beginning of the morning and evening prayer, the minister reads, "He hath given power and commandment to his ministers to declare and pronounce to his people, being penitent, the absolution and remission of their sins." And in the form for the visitation of the sick, it is expected, after the sick man has confessed his sins (which, we, by the bye, remark, he is not urged to do, but which he is to be moved to do if he feel his conscience troubled), that the clergyman shall say, "By his authority committed unto me, I absolve thee from all thy sins, in the name of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost." Now, say some, "Is not this a modified form of Romanism? Does not this 'moving to confession' involve the putting on of the Spiritual thumbscrew? Is not this 'absolving from sin' an arrogant assumption of divine rights?" I confess frankly I am not able to see it in that light. In the absolution I find these explicit words: "*He* pardoneth and absolveth *all them that truly repent.* . . . Wherefore, let us beseech him to grant us *true repentance* and his Holy Spirit." Now, where is the wrong, when to such as repent, the minister says, "By his authority I absolve thee." Consult your dictionary, and you will find the ecclesiastical meaning of the word "absolve" is "to pronounce sin remitted." Verily, the prophet Nathan exercised this right when he declared to penitent David on a confession of his guilt, "The Lord hath put away thy sin:

thou shalt not die." Moreover, it is in strict accordance with the words of our Lord, in John xx. 23, "Whose soever sins ye remit, they are remitted unto them." The teaching of the Church of England is not that her ministers have power to forgive sin, but that they have authority to *pronounce sin forgiven.* And, in doing this, her ministers do no more than all ministers of religion profess to do. Do not they, if not in the same words, yet to the same effect, assure those who are truly penitent that their sins are pardoned; and has not God given power and commandment unto them to "speak comfortably unto Jerusalem, and cry unto her that her sins are forgiven?" I do not pledge myself that every word used in this service is just the wisest and the best (especially when we consider that years have elapsed and language has changed) that could possibly be, but I can honestly accept its teachings, because I believe it contains nothing contrary to the word of God.

In referring next to the administration of the Lord's Supper, we meet with this objection: "By indiscriminately admitting any persons as communicants, this ordinance is wickedly profaned." It may be a sufficient answer to this to point to the Catechism, wherein the Church teaches the qualifications which are necessary to a right participation of the Holy Communion: "*Quest.*—What is required of them who come to the Lord's Supper? *Ans.*—To examine themselves whether they repent them truly of their former sins, stedfastly purposing to lead a new life: have a lively faith in God's mercy through Christ, with a thankful remembrance of his death: and be in charity with all men." Moreover, when the minister gives notice for the celebration of this service, he solemnly admonishes those who intend to commune, to "consider the peril of unworthily receiving it." The Curate is also to guard against the profanation of this service by "advertising any notorious sinner, that in any wise he presume not to come to the Lord's table." How much more likely to be salutary are these private admonitions than the painful discipline of Congregationalists. Amongst the latter, if an appeal be taken to the minister, instead of being conducted with delicacy and consideration, it is referred to the "church-

meeting" (that hotbed of strife,) and the whole body of "members" claims the right to rake up the matter; to investigate and pronounce. In this, then, as it appears to me, the minister of the Established Church has an advantage which the dissenting minister has not. I do not mean to say that he always uses it. I say nothing about things as they should be, I am only stating what the doctrines of the Church are.

I shall now just touch upon a delicate and difficult point in the ordination service, which is a favourite object of attack. The Prayer Book puts into the mouth of the officiating bishop, on the solemn occasion in question, the words of Christ, when he commissioned his apostles to go and preach his glorious gospel, and establish his Church upon earth. To the feeble-minded this has been a stone of stumbling, and the adversaries of the truth have called it a base usurpation of divine rights. It is of immense importance, therefore, that we should determine what our Lord meant when he said, "Receive ye the Holy Ghost." It is self-evident that receiving the Holy Ghost here cannot mean receiving him for conversion, for the apostles were already converted, and in this sense had become partakers of the Spirit. Nor could it mean receiving the Holy Ghost in such a miraculous manner, with such supernatural endowments as upon the day of Pentecost. How then is it to be interpreted? I hold that the legitimate meaning of this expression is this, "Receive the special gift and guidance of the Holy Ghost for the work to which I send you, that of preaching my gospel faithfully, and administering my holy ordinances." Matthew Henry says, "Christ hereby gives them an assurance of the Spirit's aid in their future work, in the execution of the commission now given them, 'I send you, and you shall have the Spirit to go along with you.'" Well, the Church of England holds, that all who are duly called and fitly qualified to preach the gospel, and answer honestly that they believe themselves moved by the Holy Ghost to take upon themselves this high office (and she cannot help it if men act the hypocrite in so solemn a transaction), she holds that, under these circumstances, they do receive power from the Great Spirit for their divine work;

and, therefore, she directs her bishops to give to those whom they ordain the assurance of that divine gift, and this they do in the name of the Great Head of the Church. They do not pretend to impart the Holy Spirit: all they do is to invoke the Holy Spirit. God only bestows the blessing: they give an assurance of the bestowment. I do then most solemnly protest against that unfairness which says, the bishop plucks from Christ's head his kingly crown, and trenches upon the divine prerogative.

I have not space or inclination to notice all the expressions which captious men have cavilled at. If in dealing with those which with tender minds have considerable weight, and which have not only prevented many worthy men from entering into the Church, but do at the present time press upon the consciences of many, (some whom I know personally,) who in all things approve the public formulary of the Church; if, I say, in dealing with such, I have been enabled to impart any measure of satisfaction, I shall have made a good use of the opportunity which is thus afforded me. "With what justice many objections are urged," says the Rev. Charles Simeon, "may be seen by a comparison between the prayers that are offered elsewhere, and those that are offered in the Established Church. Now, take the prayers that are offered on any Sabbath in all places out of the Establishment, have them all written down, and every expression sifted and scrutinised as our Liturgy has been, then compare them with the prayers that have been offered in all the Churches of the kingdom, and see what comparison the extemporaneous effusions will bear with our precomposed forms. Having done this for one Sabbath, proceed to do it for a year, and then after a similar examination compare them again; were this done (and done it ought to be, in order to form a correct judgment on the case), methinks there is scarcely a man in the kingdom that would not fall down on his knees and bless God for the Liturgy of the Established Church."

The excellencies of the Prayer Book appear to me to outweigh, by far, its faults. The late pious and eloquent Robert Hall, M.A., one of the most distinguished of Baptist divines, passes upon it the following eulogium: "I believe that the

evangelical purity of its sentiments, the chastised fervour of its devotion, and the majestic simplicity of its language, have combined to place it in the very first rank of uninspired compositions." Dr. Clarke, the distinguished methodist commentator, says, "next to the Bible it is the book of my understanding and my heart." Dr Morrison thought so highly of it, that he had no sooner completed the version of the Scriptures in Chinese, than he translated the morning and evening prayer. Many other testimonies might be quoted which have been borne to the value of the Liturgy, by those who, like Robert Hall and Dr. Morrison, did not avail themselves of its use.* Let us look a while at the stated morning and evening service of the Church, and from the introductory sentence to the dismission prayer, we shall find much to be said in its praise. How beautiful is its arrangement. It begins with promises to the penitent, and then from the lips of the minister there follows a Scriptural exhortation to repentance: after which, the people unitedly pour out their hearts in confession to God: the minister then pronounces the blessed assurance of pardon to all them that truly repent and unfeignedly believe God's holy gospel; and the congregation proceeds to offer thanksgiving with gladness, and to intercede for themselves and for all men. Confession has its place; thanksgiving has its place; intercession has its place. Like the members in the human body, each one being pro-

* The Rev. H. W. Beecher, of New York, writes thus from Scotland to his own congregation upon the Liturgy:—"The services began. You know my mother was, until her marriage, in the communion of the Episcopal Church: this thought hardly left me while I sat grateful for the privilege of worshipping God through a service that had expressed so often her devotions. I cannot tell you how much I was affected. I had never had such a trance of worship, and I shall never have such another view until I gain "the gate." I am so ignorant of the Church Service that I cannot tell the various parts by their right names; but the portions which most affected me, were the prayers and responses which the choir sang. I had never heard any part of a supplication—a direct prayer—sung by a choir; and it seemed as though I heard not with my ear but with my soul. I was dissolved—my whole being seemed to me like an incense warted gratefully towards God. Throughout the service, and it was an hour and a quarter long, whenever an "Amen" occurred, it was given by the choir, accompanied by the organ and the congregation. Oh! that swell and solemn cadence yet rings in my ear. Not once did it occur in the service, from beginning to end, without bringing tears into my eyes. I never knew, I never dreamed before of what heart there was in the word Amen. My soul then thou didst magnify the Lord, and rejoice in the God of thy Salvation."

portionate, the whole is symmetrical. It is a beautiful chain, not one link of which can be spared.

The whole service is intended for edification and spiritual improvement. Is humility the foundation of true religion? What deep humiliation is expressed in the general confession and throughout the Liturgy. Is faith in the Lord Jesus the appointed way to heaven? With what importunity is his name urged as the channel through which all our mercies flow. How well fitted are the responses to quicken the attention of the worshipper, and to concentrate his wandering thoughts. If the worship be not confined to the minister, why should the language made use of be confined to the minister? If the people assemble and meet together to pray and praise, as well as to hear, why should they not *lift up their voices* in prayer as well as praise, and magnify the Lord with the tongue as well as in the heart? And when every voice is lifted up, what fulness and fellowship is there in the service, and how are we reminded of the responsive worship of cherubim and seraphim, and of the elders, and saints, and angels, who answer with voice and harp by turns, and cry one to another, "Holy, holy, holy, is the Lord of Hosts, the whole earth is full of his glory."

The wisdom with which the Liturgy is adapted to the edification of all is very astonishing. Like Solomon of old, who brought from Paros its marble, from Lebanon its cedars, from Ophir its gold, from Egypt its linen, from India its jewels, from Arabia its perfume, from Tyre its purple and its workmen, to construct and embellish a magnificent temple; so the compilers of the Liturgy have examined every case and condition of mankind for this comprehensive service. There is no grief, or anxiety, or temptation, or perplexity, or want, which is overlooked. The order of morning prayer, especially, is so comprehensive, that it embraces all classes and conditions of men. How often is it very appropriately quoted in non-conforming places of worship, and how indirectly do dissenters thus bear witness to its worth. It embraces in its arms all mankind: the traveller by land or by water, the fatherless and the widow, the prisoner and the captive, the monarch and the magistrate, the parent and the child, the sick and the

desponding, our enemies and our slanderers, all ranks and nations, all are presented in the arms of faith at the throne of grace. Indeed, there is a minuteness in the petitions that is rarely found even in men's private devotions; for instance, we pray to God, not only to deliver us in all time of our tribulation, but in all time of our wealth also; not only to strengthen such as do stand, but to raise up them that fall. Where can the broken-hearted penitent find words more congenial with his feelings than in the Litany, where, under the character of a miserable sinner, he renews his application for mercy to each person of the sacred Trinity? Where can a person, full of gratitude and of the Holy Ghost, find words wherein to give scope to all the exercises of his mind more suitable than in the Te Deum? "We praise thee, O God, we acknowledge thee to be the Lord. All the earth doth worship thee, the Father everlasting. To thee all angels cry aloud, the heaven and all the powers therein. Heaven and earth are full of the majesty of thy glory."

The interchange of blessing following the apostles' creed has always seemed to me peculiarly delightful. The minister stands in the desk, and says, "The Lord be with you;" the people respond, "And with thy spirit." In the East this was the common everyday salutation. We ransack these sunny lands for gay flowers to adorn our gardens, why not transplant some of their beautiful customs? Considering the day, the place, the purpose of the assembly, what can be more beautiful and appropriate?

There is another advantage in the Liturgy of the Church of England which I think is not sufficiently appreciated. I allude to the commemoration of all the great facts of our faith in the course of the year. It begins with Advent, and directs attention to the Scriptures which teach that Christ has already come, and that he will come again a second time without sin unto salvation. Then it leads us unto Bethlehem, and with the wise men and the shepherds we visit the manger and the "House of Bread." We are next invited to follow the Saviour, who, being made under the law, was circumcised, and we see him carried into the temple at eight days old, Afterwards he is manifested to the Gentiles, and this is cele-

brated as the offering of the first ripe ears before the general harvest. Then, in the season of Lent, we see the great Redeemer set apart preparatory to the baptism of suffering wherewith he was baptized: and we do well to fast, when we consider that our sins procured his sufferings. At length, treading the *Via Dolorosa*, the Church leads us to the last supper, the garden of Gethsemane, the hall of judgment, the cross of Calvary. Then, waiting and watching for his glorious resurrection, we visit the empty sepulchre on the morning of the first Lord's day, and we hear it said, "He is not here, but he is risen." We next stand on Mount Olivet, and while on us he breathes the blessing, we see him ascending to his Father and our Father, his God and our God. None can doubt that it is a good thing thus to keep before the minds of the people the fundamentals of our faith.

Then last (though not least), we do not forget that throughout the whole of the Liturgy, sound scriptural doctrine is wisely and proportionately interwoven. We have that stupendous mystery—the doctrine of the Three in One, and the One in Three, most simply yet most sublimely stated. The Godhead of the Father, the Godhead of the Son, the Godhead of the Holy Ghost, are all recognised. "O holy, blessed, and glorious Trinity, three persons and one God, have mercy upon us miserable sinners." While Dissenters (not a few,) have drifted into Socinianism, and have denied the Lord that bought them, this emphatic devotional testimony, sounding in the ten thousand sanctuaries of the national Church, has been like a bower anchor holding the vessel to her moorings. Have we not the doctrine of man's natural depravity clearly laid down in the general confession? Is not the sinner's hope of acceptance with God ascribed to the one offering once offered on Calvary? On the doctrine of a full and finished atonement, the Church gives no uncertain sound. Dependence on self is renounced, and salvation by grace is declared. The work of the Spirit is duly honoured, while Christ is all and in all, the foundation and the top-stone. The compilers of the Liturgy evidently set out with the Bible, and they sought to abide by the Bible. Now this speaks well for the Church of England. The Church of Rome, conscious that her dark dogmas will not

bear the light of the word of God, discards the scriptures, and keeps the light of the gospel burning, and that with a precious dimness, only in the study of the priest, or fettered like a curiosity to her altars. It is not so with the Church of England. In her stated services the unadulterated word of God is brought more prominently forward, and is more extensively read than in any other branch of the visible Church. That the Liturgy is so replete with Scripture is a decided advantage, for where the worship of the solemn assembly is entirely dependent on the utterance of the minister, he, entertaining mistaken views, may insidiously instil those errors into the hearts of the worshippers. Error will be more likely to find its way into the heart during the season of devotion, than when listening to the sermon, for the mind is then more susceptible. We are, hence, constrained to be thankful for the English Liturgy. It is no small advantage, when under the influence of religious feeling, for the mind to be furnished with scriptural doctrine, expressed in scriptural language.

On the ground of what has been advanced, some may be asking, Do you then consider the Liturgy altogether perfect? I answer, No. It is a human compilation, and therefore cannot claim a title to absolute perfection. I have been led to admire the service of the Church, and have become attached to it; and for this, among other reasons, that it nowhere claims infallibility for anything except the word of God. The Church of England places in the very forefront of her Confession of Faith, that glorious article which affirms that "holy Scripture containeth all things necessary to salvation, so that whatsoever is not read therein, nor may be proved thereby, is not to be required of any man that it should be believed as an article of faith, or be thought requisite or necessary to salvation." To testify the highest commendation of every point and syllable, every rite and ceremony, every matter and thing, prescribed in the Book of Common Prayer (though it may be no more than some may think lawful), is more than she asks any man to do. The act of Uniformity only requires my assent and consent to the use of what this book contains. I frankly acknowledge, I think there are some expressions,

even among those which have been brought under notice in this chapter, which might be altered for the better. Still I can honestly (and no man can judge me, for no man knows my state of mind), accept all the services of the Prayer Book, being convinced that when interpreted according to the general tenor of the Church's teachings, they contain nothing contrary to the word of God. And I do think no such objection can be laid against them as need deter *any* conscientious man from giving his unfeigned assent and consent to the use of what is taught in the Book of Common Prayer. I do not see how subscription can be esteemed any considerable difficulty, if it be explained according to its original design, which appears plainly to be nothing but that all who minister in the Church of England should be under an obligation to use this book. There seems to me to be something besides a desire to promote the cause of God and truth, when Nonconformists stretch this declaration beyond what its plain intent and meaning will honestly bear, in order to make it appear as rigid and unreasonable as possible. Dr. Stanley, (whose praise is in all the Churches), in his recent letter on Subscription, writes as follows: "If we pay due regard to the mind of the imposers, due regard to the counteracting qualifications of the different parts of the formularies themselves, due regard to the common sense of mankind and opinions of English divines, due regard to the sense of holy scripture, at least wherever its expressions are used in the formularies, there is not any section of the English Church, lay or clerical, which might not innocently subscribe to the present forms." Hear that celebrated Nonconformist, Richard Baxter: "I do hold that the Book of Common Prayer, and of bishops, priests, and deacons, containeth in it nothing so disagreeable to the word of God, as maketh it unlawful to live in the peaceable communion of the Church that useth it." Dr. Mason, of America, says: "So long as a Christian Church maintains the fundamental truths of Christianity, and a form of worship unencumbered with idolatrous and grossly superstitious ceremonies, it is improper to depart from that church." He also proves that in the primitive and purest ages of Christianity, those were regarded as guilty of an offence of the greatest

magnitude who separated from the Church on the ground of difference of opinion in matters non-essential. These statements are quite in accordance wiih the teachings of the apostle Paul, in the 14th of Romans. Some whom he there addresses, thought themselves obliged to observe certain ceremonies, from the obligation of which others deemed themselves free. Does he bid them forsake each other's communion, and form separate churches? Does he bid them blacken the character of those who see not with themselves in all things, and denounce them as dishonest and untruthful? No; but to love each other, to abstain from censoriously judging each other, and to "follow after things which make for peace."

The unity of God's people seems to me to be a hundred-fold more important than those minor observances for which man, in the pride of his heart, so earnestly contends. If of two evils we are compelled to choose one, the wiser plan would surely be to choose the least. Suppose I lived in a family in which once a week the master of it required all to come to prayer, and to adopt the posture of kneeling: suppose it my opinion that he had no right to prescribe to me the posture, and I preferred standing: yet, when I should consider that I may lawfully kneel, and that my not keeling may probably be the occasion of much unpleasantness, I should feel obliged to comply for the sake of peace, and might justly be thought to have little regard to the quiet of the family if I did not. It may be an important thing that God's people should see eye to eye, but it is of far higher importance that Christ's prayer should be fulfilled, "that they all may be one, that the world may believe that thou hast sent me." This is an argument the force of which ought to outweigh almost every other. The evils which result from divisions in the Church are incalculable; they supply the enemy with weapons of attack; they harden the consciences of the undecided; they are the principal obstacles in the way of the Christian's progress. These evils are felt in almost every parish throughout the land, separating man from man, and Christian from Christian, distracting good designs, wasting valuable means, paralysing charitable efforts. Hence the apostle's protestation against the sin of schism, and

his inculcation of Christian unity on that broad basis most likely to preserve it (Romans xiv).

I wish those with whom I of late have been closely allied, could see that they might do many times more good by remaining in the Church than they are capable of doing by deserting it. It does not appear to me to be the part of a brave British seaman, because the vessel is under stress of weather, and some of her bulwarks are stoved in, and she has sprung a leak in more places than one; to desert that vessel in the time of danger and the turbulence of storm. Methinks he would try at all hazards to bring her into port. To all with whom my words shall have any weight, I would say "the best way to reform the Church of England is to rally around her, and make her the centre of union: it can bring no guilt upon the conscience, and will be a sacrifice well pleasing to God." If we are justified in separating ourselves from every imperfect Church, we may perpetuate our divisions until every man shall become a Church by himself. "A Common Christian," remarks one writer, "is informed that such and such particulars in the Church of which he is a member have no scriptural precedent, and that, therefore, it is sinful to comply with them; he consequently deserts his Church, and joins with one which he thinks more correct, till a similar defect is pointed out also in this, which he must again leave in the pursuit of another still less objectionable: and thus he is driven about from Church to Church in the expectation of finding what nowhere exists; and he at length sits down in despondency, not being able to discover upon earth the imaginary perfection he had been taught to expect." O for grace to merge our minor and non-essential differences in a vigorous and Christian endeavour to secure that cordial and visible unity of the Church, which will demonstrate to an unbelieving world the divine mission of the Redeemer, and the heavenly excellency of his religion! The Church of England, of all the branches of the one Church, appears to the writer to present the only centre around which Christians seeking to do this can rally and unite. Her articles of faith serve as a standard of unity; she enjoins no terms of com-

munion which are *anti*-scriptural; she is established by that authority to which Christians are required to be subject; she is the body from which all other denominations have sprung and separated. If in this way God's Church were united, each Christian seeking to advance its best interests, what a high state of purity and blessedness she might attain unto. What an irresistible power for good, "fair as the moon, clear as the sun, and terrible as an army with banners." Blessed, thrice blessed, shall that man be who shall lay but one stone in the wall of the temple of peace, and who, according to his ability, shall pour the oil of love upon the broken waters of the Church of Christ.